

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL
CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT CINCINNATI, OHIO
OCTOBER 2 TO 13, INCLUSIVE

1939



JUDD & DETWEILER
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION

OF LABOR

1940

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DELEGATES

TO THE

FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated	1	201	Mrs. Florence Marston, 11 West 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.
Air Line Pilots' Association.....	1	10	David L. Behncke, 3145 West 63rd Street, Chicago, Ill.
Asbestos Workers, International Associa- tion of Heat and Frost Insulators and...	2	20	Joseph A. Mullaney, 4132 Benham Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, New York.
		20	C. W. Sickles, 211 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Automobile Workers of America, Inter- national Union, United.....	2	21	Homer Martin, 5060 Hollywood, Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin.
		21	George Kiebler, Eddystone Hotel, Detroit, Michigan.
		183	A. A. Myrup, 2719 N. Wilton Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Inter- national Union of America.....	4	183	Joseph Schmidt, 2719 North Wilton Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		182	Peter Beisel, 153 Selma Avenue, Webster Grove, Missouri.
		182	Jacob Goldstone, 175 Beach 114th Street, Rockaway Park, New York.
		95	William C. Birthright, 1141 North Delaware Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen	5	95	Chas. T. Crane, Room 407, Labor Temple, 4th and Jefferson Streets, Portland, Oregon.
		95	Anthony Merlino, 306 Fountain Street, New Haven, Connecticut.
		95	Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward Street, Rochester, New York.
		95	John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Avenue, Dallas, Texas.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, Inter- national Alliance of.....	1	18	Leo Abernathy, 3031 Bessemer Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		25	Harry Hayes, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	4	50	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		50	J. N. Davis, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		50	William E. Walter, 506 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		50	Harry Nacey, 162 East 23rd Street, New York, New York.
		59	John B. Haggerty, 307 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	3	59	J. B. Prewitt, 310 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		59	Miss Mary G. Morley, 406 Old South Build- ing, Boston, Massachusetts.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	2	154 154	John J. Mara, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts. George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, 406 North Franklin Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	140 140 140	Joseph Obergfell, Station E, Box 28, Cincinnati, Ohio. Albert J. Kugler, 2474 Hudson Boulevard, Jersey City, New Jersey. Joseph J. Hauser, 3631 Salena Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	109 109 108 108 108 108	William J. Bowen, Bowen Building, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Harry C. Bates, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Richard J. Gray, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. William J. Moran, care Labor Advocate, El Paso, Texas. Thomas H. O'Donnell, 910 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois. John J. Mulligan, 1274 East 58th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	3	34 33 33	Frank Kasten, 1550 West 95th Street, Chicago, Illinois. William Tracy, 1550 West 95th Street, Chicago, Illinois. Thomas Hutson, 1550 West 95th Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	5	79 79 79 79 79	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri. J. H. Lyons, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri. J. T. Fitzpatrick, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri. J. J. Dempsey, 1415 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. D. M. Gayton, 2639 Liberty Street, Allentown, Pennsylvania.
Building Service Employees' International Union.....	6	117 117 117 117 116 116	George Scalise, 1441 Broadway, New York, New York. Wm. L. McFetridge, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois. Thomas J. Burke, 509 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Wm. Mohlman, 24 East 6th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. Jesse Fletcher, 1316 8th Avenue, Seattle, Washington. Charles C. Levey, 643 Liberty Avenue, Room 1305, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	4	163 163 162 162	Felix H. Knight, 107 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri. Joseph Tremblay, 744 3rd Avenue, Verdun, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Irvin Barney, 107 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri. J. J. Fitzgerald, 68 Ontario Street, Albany, New York.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	375 375 375 375 375 375 375 375	Wm. L. Hutcheson, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. Maurice A. Hutcheson, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. Frank Duffy, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. H. G. Coszens, 57 Victory Boulevard, Tompkinsville, Staten Island, New York. Ralph Bagley, 47 N. W. Third Street, Miami, Florida. J. C. Barrett, 708 North 17th Street, Birmingham, Alabama. Walter E. Gebelein, 944 Tuxedo, Webster Groves, Missouri. John Stevenson, 12 East Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	1	70	R. E. Van Horn, 604 Carpenters Building, Washington, D. C.
		41	W. S. Gross, 1 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri.
		41	H. E. Greenwald, 1740 East 12th Street, Room 219-220, Cleveland, Ohio.
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of.....	4	41	M. Minaden, 1740 East 12th Street, Room 219-220, Cleveland, Ohio.
		41	John Zitello, 1740 East 12th Street, Room 219-220, Cleveland, Ohio.
		80	Leo E. George, 3851 31st Street, Mt. Rainier, Maryland.
		80	William I. Horner, 2224 North Veron Street, Arlington, Virginia.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office..	5	80	Albert G. Hunt, 835 Greenwich Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		80	Albert J. White, 8211 Detroit Street, Houston, Texas.
		80	Elroy C. Hallbeck, 4649 Lake Park Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		304	George M. Harrison, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks Building, Court and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	3	303	Phil E. Ziegler, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks Building, Court and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		303	Robert Morgan, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks Building, Court and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		327	W. G. Desepte, 1095 Market Street, Room 208, San Francisco, California.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	2	326	C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	1	14	J. J. Glenn, 5505 Carthage Avenue, Norwood, Ohio.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	19	C. L. Rosemund, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		334	D. W. Tracy, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		334	G. M. Bugniazet, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		334	Chas. M. Paulsen, 4919 Cuyler Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	334	W. J. Kenefick, P. O. Box 504, Springfield, Massachusetts.
		334	Edward Hayde, 22 West First Street, Mt. Vernon, New York.
		333	George Renz, 754 5th Street, Lyndhurst, New Jersey.
		34	John C. MacDonald, 321 Tremont Street, Room 10, Boston, Massachusetts.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	34	Frank B. Comfort, 20 West Queen Lane, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		34	John J. McAuliff, 6103 Charlotte Avenue, Pine Lawn, Missouri.
		118	John Possehl, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		118	F. A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		118	Joseph S. Fay, 265 West 14th Street, Room 1101, New York, New York.
Engineers, International Union of Operating.....	6	118	Joseph J. Delaney, 265 West 14th Street, Room 1101, New York, New York.
		118	Bert Swain, Labor Temple Building, Seattle, Washington.
		118	A. L. Mugnier, 603 Milam Building, Houston, Texas.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.	3	35	Edward J. Vols, Room 1110, 292 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.
		35	Matthew Wall, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York.
		34	Henry F. Schmal, 3138 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Fire Fighters, International Association of	2	154	Fred W. Baer, 207 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		153	John P. Redmond, 1837 North Austin Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	4	67	John F. McNamara, 321 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		67	John Clinton, 330 South Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		67	James L. Kelley, 330 South Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		67	Frank Shanley, 1860 Broadway, Room 704, New York, New York.
Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of	1	35	H. D. Dannenberg, 2908 Chippewa Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
		80	T. A. Rickert, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York.
Garment Workers of America, United	5	80	A. Adamski, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York.
		80	J. P. McCurdy, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York.
		80	George C. Slater, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York.
		80	Mrs. Daisy A. Houck, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York.
		50	James Maloney, 1531 Philadelphia Savings Fund Building, 12 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada	4	50	William W. Campbell, 157 Sherwood Avenue, Rochester, New York.
		50	George S. Bennett, 505 North Second Street, Millville, New Jersey.
		50	Charles B. Wolfe, 253 Lincoln Avenue, Dunkirk, Indiana.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint	1	178	M. J. Gillooly, 204 Hardee Building, corner Huron and Jefferson Streets, Toledo, Ohio.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International	1	9	Thomas Durian, 5377 North 34th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
		76	Cecil E. Custer, 4737 Fulton Street, Washington, D. C.
Government Employees, American Federation of	3	75	Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, Dupont Circle Apartments, Washington, D. C.
		75	James A. Campbell, 3546 Saybrook Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The	1	50	Laurence Foley, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
		75	Max Zaritsky, 245 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United	4	75	I. H. Goldberg, 31 West 37th Street, New York, New York.
		75	William Harding, Jr., 700 South 14th Street, Newark, New Jersey.
		75	Miss Lucy Oppenheim, 31 West 37th Street, New York, New York.
		221	Joseph V. Moreschi, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	7	221	Joseph Marshall, P. O. Box 355, San Francisco, California.
		221	Herbert Rivers, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		221	M. D. Cox, 408 Ridgely Building, Springfield, Illinois.
		220	James Bove, 55 West 42nd Street, 731 Bryant Park Building, New York, New York.
		220	J. B. Etchison, 414 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.
		220	Michael Carrozzo, 100 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION vii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of votes for each delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	7	264	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
		264	Chris Lane, 184 West Canton Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		264	Net Messing, 21 Summer Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.
		264	Emanuel Koveleski, 90 State Street, Rochester, New York.
		264	Louis Koenig, Lawyers Building, 2nd Floor, Detroit, Michigan.
		264	Helen Caren, 310 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
		264	Hugo Ernst, 530 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3	27	William J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
		27	Harry J. Hagen, 4750 Highland Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.
		27	Charles J. Case, 8 East Long Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Laundry Workers' International Union....	2	146	William Donovan, 1640 West Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		146	Lawrence Palacios, 1640 West Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Leather Workers, International Union, United.....	1	25	Bernard G. Quinn, 3828 North 10th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		120	Edward J. Gainer, A. F. of L. Building, 9th and Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		120	M. T. Finnan, A. F. of L. Building, 9th and Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		120	Luther E. Swartz, Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.
Letter Carriers, National Association of....	5	120	Charles D. Duffy, 332 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		120	William J. Gorman, 2429 Cornelia Street, Brooklyn, New York.
		120	Frank W. Meyer, Route 1, South Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....	1	6	Robert Bruck, 1506 Jonquil Terrace, Chicago, Illinois.
		41	Fred W. Rose, 3829 Fillmore Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
		41	Francis P. Slater, 450 7th Avenue, New York City.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	3	221	Joseph P. Ryan, 265 West 14th Street, 19th Floor, New York, New York.
		221	John R. Owens, 265 West 14th Street, 19th Floor, New York, New York.
		221	Fred B. Gerrard, 19th floor, 265 West 14th, New York City.
Longshoremen's Association, International.	3	317	H. W. Brown, Machinists Building, 9th and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington, D.C.
		317	N. P. Alifas, Room 303, Machinists Building, 9th and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington, D.C.
		317	D. M. Burrows, Machinists Hall, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Machinists, International Association of...	6	317	W. P. Robinson, Labor Temple, 11th and Marshall Streets, Richmond, Virginia.
		316	Harley F. Nickerson, 1301 South Third Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
		316	William C. Ripberger, P. O. Box 6, Station V, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		116	F. H. Fljzsdal, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of.....	5	115	E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
		115	L. E. Keller, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
		115	J. J. Farnan, 1202 Belmont Street, South Bend, Indiana.
		115	W. V. Turnbull, 3420 West Broadway, Notre Dame de Grace, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of.....	2	28	William McCarthy, Room 305, Bowen Building, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		27	John J. Conway, 5335 North 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization.....	1	30	John J. Scully, Room 1104-5, 15 Moore Street, New York, New York.
		126	Patrick E. Gorman, 829 Eastern Parkway, Louisville, Kentucky.
		126	Dennis Lane, 160 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	5	126	M. S. Maxwell, 3012 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
		126	Earl W. Jimerson, 755a Collinsville Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois.
		125	John J. Walsh, Pearl River, New York.
		50	Robert Byron, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet.....	4	50	James J. Ryan, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		50	James W. Close, 620 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		50	James T. Moriarty, 122 Bow Doin Street, Suite 23, Boston, Massachusetts.
Mine Workers of America, International Union Progressive.....	1	350	Joe Ozanic, Reisch Building, Springfield, Illinois.
		59	Harry Stevenson, Lock Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	4	58	Al. Armbrust, 209 Young Avenue, S. E., Canton, Ohio.
		58	William Leishman, care Frank Brown, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
		58	William Rapiet, 10416 Linnet Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
		167	Joseph N. Weber, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		167	C. L. Bagley, 720 Washington Building, 311 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, California.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	6	167	Chauncey A. Weaver, 616 Insurance Exchange, Des Moines, Iowa.
		167	Edward Canavan, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		166	Jack B. Tenney, 1417 Georgia Street, Los Angeles, California.
		166	A. Rex Riccardi, 120 North 18th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		167	L. P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
		167	Jos. F. Kelley, P. O. Box 433, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	167	James P. Meehan, 84 Towerhill, Lawrence, Massachusetts.
		167	Christian M. Madsen, 3209 Evergreen Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		167	John Oliver, 326 Stuyvesant Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.
		167	Arthur W. Wallace, Painters and Decorators Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	3	69	Matthew J. Burns, 112 State Street, Albany, New York.
		69	Arthur Huggins, 112 State Street, Albany, New York.
		68	Frank P. Barry, 101 Ludlow Street, Saratoga, New York.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.	1	70	George Q. Lynch, 311 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative....	4	49	Michael J. Collieran, 401 West 263rd Street, Riverdale, Bronx, New York.
		49	John H. Donlin, 5145 West Cermak Road, Cicero, Illinois.
		48	M. J. McDonough, 411 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		48	John E. Rooney, 15401 Grovewood Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	5	80	John Coefield, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		80	Thomas E. Burke, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		80	George Masterson, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		80	Charles M. Rau, 408 South Leavitt Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		80	William Quirk, 1340 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Pocketbook and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies Handbag.....	2	50	Samuel Reinlib, 1060 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey.
		50	Samuel Laderman, 1060 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers, International Union, Metal.....	2	35	W. W. Britton, 48 Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		35	Ray Kelsay, 48 Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car.....	2	30	Asa Philip Randolph, Room 301, 217 West 125th Street, New York, New York.
		30	Milton P. Webster, 4231 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, National Association of.....	1	15	Willis A. Bohall, 2906 Stuart Avenue, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	3	44	James M. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		43	E. L. Wheatley, Room 215, Broad Street Bank Building, Trenton, New Jersey.
		43	John O'Malley, 502 Market Street, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	9	Eppa Honey, Bureau of Printing and Engraving, Washington, D. C.
		80	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	79	Walter C. Moeller, 1906 Lawn Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		79	Joe A. Wilson, Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		79	John Woods, 127 Huntington Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		79	Henry Kruse, 660 Nelson Place, Newport, Kentucky.
		65	John P. Burke, Fort Edward, New York.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	5	65	H. W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Massachusetts.
		64	Elmer P. Meinz, 2294 Hampden Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.
		64	Matt Slater, 206 Margaret Street, Port Arthur, Ontario, Canada.
		64	James S. Killen, Box 31, Route No. 6, Olympia, Washington.
		133	Edward McMorro, 260 East Vernor Highway, Detroit, Michigan.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	6	133	Joseph J. Kehoe, 328-338 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		133	Louis Bengel, 1005 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		133	Othmer Mischo, Room 214, 1012 North Third Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
		133	W. M. Rea, 2536 Euclid Avenue, Room 306, Cleveland, Ohio.
		132	Jerry P. Coughlin, 447 Carew Street, Springfield, Massachusetts.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Railway Mail Association	3	73	J. F. Bennett, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		72	Henry W. Strickland, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		72	Lawrence E. Ernst, P. O. Box 598, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition	2	20	George W. Jones, 1116 Washington Boulevard, Oak Park, Illinois.
		20	J. M. Gaviak, 1804 Terminal Tower, Cleveland, Ohio.
Seafarers' International Union of North America	3	37	Harry Lundeborg, 402-404 Lumberman's Building, San Francisco, California.
		37	Matthew Dushane, care, Harry Lundeborg, 402-404 Lumberman's Building, San Francisco, California.
		36	Thompson, R. D., 11 Stuart Street, San Francisco, California.
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of	1	9	George L. Warfel, 3922 Wabash Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri.
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical	4	105	George E. Browne, 630 Fifth Avenue, Suite 803, New York, New York.
		105	Thomas V. Green, 210 Richfield Terrace, Newark, New Jersey.
		105	E. J. Brock, 790 Hippodrome Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		105	Louis Krouse, 803 International Building, 630 5th Avenue, New York, New York.
State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of	4	65	Arnold S. Zander, 448 West Washington Avenue, Madison, Wisconsin.
		64	C. B. Noxon, 3190 South Washington Street, Englewood, Colorado.
		64	W. T. Burnett, Room 108, 519 Main Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		64	Frank C. Snyder, 4022 Walker Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International	3	28	Leo J. Buckley, 2812 Harrington Avenue, Bronx, New York.
		28	Chas. A. Sumner, 2645 East 28th Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
		27	Chas. E. Sinnegan, 72-38 66th Street, Glendale, Long Island, New York.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen	2	21	Paul A. Givens, 8 East Market Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		20	P. J. Cullen, 180 West Adams Street, Room 412, Chicago, Illinois.
Stove Mounters' International Union	2	21	Edw. J. Winter, 503 North 3rd Street, Belleville, Illinois.
		21	A. E. Johnson, 108 North 28th Street, Belleville, Illinois.
Switchmen's Union of North America	2	39	Thomas C. Cashen, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
		39	John Lundergan, Imperial Hotel, New York, New York.
Teachers, American Federation of	4	64	George S. Counts, 420 Riverside Drive, New York, New York.
		64	Irvin R. Kuenzli, 506 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		64	John M. Fewkes, 509 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		64	Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, 2302 Delancey Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	6	584	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		584	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		583	John M. Gillespie, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		583	F. W. Brewster, 552 Denny Way, Seattle, Washington.
		583	John O'Rourke, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
		583	George Wilson, 639 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	2	175	V. O. Gardner, 3673 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial.....	1	175	D. J. Mahoney, 304 Third Avenue, S. E., Waseca, Minnesota.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	2	35	Frank B. Powers, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	2	74	Charles E. Winesburg, 271 Fairmont Avenue, Wheeling, West Virginia.
Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United.....	1	73	Raymond E. Rodgers, care Midwest Tobacco Co., 335 West 5th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Building and Construction Trades Department.....	1	55	Sal B. Hoffmann, 19 West 44th Street, New York, New York.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	55	Alfred Rota, 610 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Railroad Employees' Department.....	1	31	Rudolph Heintz, 22 South Clinton Street, York, Pennsylvania.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	John P. Coyne, 500-04 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John P. Frey, Room 402, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Arizona State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Bert M. Jewell, Room 520, 844 Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Arkansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	I. M. Ornburn, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Hugh W. Brown, 7028 Division Avenue, Birmingham, Alabama.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. L. Patterson, 225 Ellis Building, Phoenix, Arizona.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	H. M. Thackrey, Labor Temple, 1121½ West Markham Street, Little Rock, Arkansas.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Burt B. Curran, 730 South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John E. Gross, 317 American National Bank Building, Denver, Colorado.
Idaho State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Egan, 1024 Main Street, Bridgeport, Connecticut.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Walter Hoyt, 2106 N. E. Second Avenue, Miami, Florida.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles B. Gramling, Route 5, Box 356, Atlanta, Georgia.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Aug. Rosqvist, Box 249, Pocatello, Idaho.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Reuben G. Soderstrom, 704 Security Building, Springfield, Illinois.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Adolph J. Fritz, 701 Peoples Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	A. A. Couch, 612 Paramount Building, Des Moines, Iowa.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Edw. H. Weyler, 205-6 Tyler Building, Louisville, Kentucky.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. H. Williams, 223 Ward Building, Shreveport, Louisiana.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank J. Coleman, 414 Washington Loan and Trust Building, Washington, D. C.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Kenneth I. Taylor, 11 Beacon Street, Room 801, Boston, Massachusetts.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John Reid, 306 Bauch Building, Lansing, Michigan.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. A. Olson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Nevada State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Emmet Sullivan, 1105 West 3rd Street, Sedalia, Missouri.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James D. Graham, Box 476, 419 Breckenridge Street, Helena, Montana.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Roy M. Brewer, Box 255, Grand Island, Nebraska.
North Carolina State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Tom Jolly, 334 West Pueblo Street, Reno, Nevada.
			Louis P. Marciano, Brearly Avenue and Lawrence Road, Trenton, New Jersey.
			George Meany, 265 West 14th Street, Room 1102, New York, New York.
			C. A. Fink, 1615 Salisbury Avenue, Box 522, Spencer, North Carolina.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
North Dakota State Federation of Labor..	1	1	W. W. Murrey, 10 16th Street, South, Fargo, North Dakota.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Donnelly, Suite 405, Atlas Build- ing, Columbus, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Walter H. Smith, 417 Equity Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	D. E. Nickerson, 506 Labor Temple, Port land, Oregon.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor...	1	1	James L. McDevitt, 430 North Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Working- men.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, 3175 Porter Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Elizabeth M. Cahir, 312 Strand Building, Washington Street, Providence, Rhode Island.
South Carolina State Federation of Labor..	1	1	J. W. Harrison, care of Post Office, Spartan- burg, South Carolina.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Maynard Baird, 210 Fretz Building, Knox- ville, Tennessee.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry W. Acreman, 717 Littlefield Building Austin, Texas.
Utah State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Paul M. Peterson, 915 South West Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	O. C. Moore, 1436 West 48th Street, Norfolk, Virginia.
Washington State Federation of Labor...	1	1	James A. Taylor, 6th Avenue and University Street, 108 Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash- ington.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Tom Cairns, 503 Grant Street, Charleston, West Virginia.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry Ohl, Jr., 516 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Martin Cahill, care Paul O'Brien, Secretary, Lock Drawer 882, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Akron, O., Summit County Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Chet Smead, 10 South Main Street, Akron, Ohio.
Allentown, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Harry B. Parks, 207 South 5th Street, Allentown, Pennsylvania.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council.....	1	1	Redmond M. Burr, 320 South Fifth Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
Arkansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Charlie H. Gresty, Box 32, Arkansas City, Kansas.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	Dewey L. Johnson, 426 Altoona Place, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.
Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union..	1	1	John Moretti, Room 32, Boardwalk Arcade, Atlantic City, New Jersey.
Battle Creek, Mich., Federation of Labor, Calhoun County.....	1	1	Clarence J. Beaudoin, 291 West Burnham Street, Battle Creek, Michigan.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council.....	1	1	W. O. Hare, 515 Lyric Building, Birmingham, Alabama.
Blackford and Jay Counties, Ind., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Ralph Anders, %Marion Cooper, 225 East Chestnut, Hartford, Indiana.
Bloomington, Ind., Federation of Labor...	1	1	Dion Summers, 712 North Grant Street, Bloomington, Indiana.
Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Thomas J. O'Brien, 49 North Ogden Avenue Chicago, Illinois.
Boise, Ida., Trades and Labor Council...	1	1	Willard D. Bell, R. No. 4, Whitney Bench, Boise, Idaho.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John J. Kearney, 184 West Canton Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Brasil, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Oral Bell, North Meridian Street, Brasil, Indiana.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Joseph Stefani, 35 North Monroe Terrace, Dorchester, Massachusetts.
Charleston, West. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Volney Andrews, 603 Security Building, Charleston, W. Va.
Charlotte, N. C., Central Labor Union...	1	1	H. L. Kiser, 201 Interurban, Charlotte, North Carolina.
Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union.	1	1	R. M. Cooke, 2606 East Main Street, Chatta- nooga, Tennessee.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	F. A. Ackerman, 100 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xiii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Jeff O. Johnson, 11014 Lowe Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John J. Hurst, 407 Railway Clerks Building, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas A. Lenehan, 1248 Walnut Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Columbus, O., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John C. Getreu, 247½ South High Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Council Bluffs, Ia., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Gordon E. Beck, 2640 Avenue D., Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Daytona Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union.	1	1	John Latour, Daytona Beach, Florida.
Dearborn County, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Delver Shuman, 408 Shipping Street, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.
Des Moines, Ia., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Jas. W. Soutter, 1367 East 14th Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly.	1	1	J. M. Osborn, P. O. Box 1694, Denver Colorado.
Detroit, Mich., Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank X. Martel, 274 East Vernor Highway, Detroit, Michigan.
East St. Louis, Ill., Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	A. L. Wegener, 701 Illinois Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois.
Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Stewart A. Seifert, Box 65, Easton, Pennsylvania.
Edwardsville, Ill., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Theodore Nischwits, 142A North Main Street, Edwardsville, Illinois.
Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Trades Council.....	1	1	George F. Cushing, 1076 Julia Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	A. L. Bailey, 928 Missouri Avenue, Fort Worth, Texas.
Gloucester, Mass., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Walter Cenerazzo, care, John E. Carrigan, 3 Wells Street, Gloucester, Massachusetts.
Green Bay, Wis., Trades Council.....	1	1	Luis Butterfield, Sr., 921 South Roosevelt Street, Green Bay, Wisconsin.
Hamilton, O., Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	Milton Doll, 439 South Second Street, Hamilton, Ohio.
Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John F. Cauley, 972 King Street, W., Apt. 4, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
Houston, Tex., Labor Council.....	1	1	O. R. Denman, 91 Dennis Street, Houston, Texas.
Huntington, West Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Paul K. Woods, 1913 Eighth Avenue, Huntington, West Virginia.
Huron, S. Dak., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George Tobin, 230 Idaho Avenue, S. E., Huron, South Dakota.
Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Charles Lutz, 45 Virginia Avenue, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Jackson, Mich., Trades Council.....	1	1	W. E. Basore, % Chas. W. Germain, 502 Douglas Street, Jackson, Mich.
Jackson, Miss., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	L. H. Jones, 512 George Street, Jackson, Mississippi.
Jacksonville, Fla., Central Labor Union..	1	1	E. C. Valentine, P. O. Box 396, Jacksonville, Florida.
Jamestown, N. Y., Central Labor Council..	1	1	Joseph Melcher, Gifford Building, Jamestown, New York.
Jasper, Ala., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. B. Killingsworth, Jasper, Alabama.
Johnstown, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Clyde S. Slick, 702 Von Lunen Road, Johnstown, Pennsylvania.
Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union..	1	1	R. R. Graham, 3035 North 31st Street, Kansas City, Kansas.
Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council.....	1	1	Hugh S. O'Neill, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Missouri.
Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	Leonard Mattson, 1824 54th Street, Kenosha, Wisconsin.
Lafayette, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	T. J. Cavanaugh, 513 Central Avenue, Lafayette, Indiana.
Lake County, Ill., Central Labor Council..	1	1	Ben H. McMahon, 128 North West Street, Waukegan, Illinois.
Lake Geneva, Wis., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Claude Downes, 504 Logan Avenue, Lake Geneva, Wisconsin.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Lancaster, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Thomas W. Meyer, 427 Harrison Avenue, Lancaster, Ohio.
Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union....	1	1	John F. Wade, 207 Saratoga Street, Lawrence, Massachusetts.
Lexington, Ky., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	R. T. Baxter, 139 North Broadway, Lexington, Kentucky.
Los Angeles, Calif., Los Angeles County Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. W. Buzzell, 540 Maple Avenue, Room 203, Los Angeles, California.
Louisville, Ky., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Alexander Jeffrey, 2113 Eastview Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky.
Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Sidney E. LeBow, 24 Maryland Avenue, Lowell, Massachusetts.
Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank C. Burke, 372 River Street, Waltham, Massachusetts.
Marion, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Clifford B. Welch, 265 South High Street, Marion, Ohio.
McComb, Miss., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	V. F. O'Flinn, 1039 Venable Street, McComb, Mississippi.
McKeesport, Pa., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Charles Harris, Box 15, Coal Valley, Pennsylvania.
Meridian, Miss., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. W. Cameron, 1520 11th Avenue, Meridian, Mississippi.
Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles E. Johnson, 925 N. E. First Avenue, Miami, Florida.
Middletown, O., Trades and Labor Council.	1	1	W. J. O'Brien, Supt. Middletown News-Journal Company, Middletown, Ohio.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Herman Seide, 518 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Minneapolis, Minn., Central Labor Union..	1	1	George E. Murk, 18 North 8th Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Moberly, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly.	1	1	Alden P. Baker, 112 Kirby Street, Moberly, Missouri.
Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Ida Lee Merchant, Route 1, Box 400A, Military Road, Mobile, Alabama.
Muskegon, Mich., Trades and Labor Council, Greater Muskegon.....	1	1	Earl Smith, 609 Mulder Street, Muskegon, Michigan.
Nampa, Ida., Trades and Labor Council....	1	1	H. I. Hansen, 1804 Sixth Street, South, Nampa, Idaho.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council.....	1	1	Jacob C. Baer, 66 Hughes Street, Maplewood, New Jersey.
Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties.....	1	1	William J. Egan, 7 East 6th Street, Newport, Kentucky.
Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union..	1	1	E. J. Shave, 219 Mallory Avenue, Hampton, Virginia.
New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Edward W. Burns, 634 Gravier Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.....	1	1	James C. Quinn, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	H. W. Furlow, 1518 De Grasse Avenue, Norfolk, Virginia.
Oglesby, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	Frank Rolando, 228 Second Street, Oglesby, Illinois.
Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Leonard Dickerson, P. O. Box 562, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Olympia, Wash., Trades Council.....	1	1	J. B. Jackson, Labor Temple, Olympia, Washington.
Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mace M. Brown, 3715 South 24th Street, Omaha, Nebraska.
Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Marion D. Lambert, 1812 East Hernandez Street, Pensacola, Florida.
Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly....	1	1	James W. Gentry, Labor Temple, 400 North Jefferson Street, Peoria, Illinois.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Frank Burch, 814 Commonwealth Building, 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council....	1	1	John McCaig, care, Bricklayers' Local No. 2, Law and Finance Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Portland, Me., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Horace E. Howe, 381 Ocean Street, South Portland, Maine.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council, Portland and Vicinity.....	1	1	Gust Anderson, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Portsmouth, O., Central Labor Council....	1	1	Ed. Switalski, 816 Findlay Street, Portsmouth, Ohio.
Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Earnest S. Smith, R. F. D. No. 2, Box 153, Portsmouth, Virginia.
Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union.....	1	1	William J. Fallon, 31 Thackrey Street, Providence, Rhode Island.
Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Joseph Powers, 318 North Boundary Street, Raleigh, North Carolina.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council...	1	1	A. P. Bower, 705 Walnut Street, Reading, Pennsylvania.
Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	W. D. Anderson, 1305 Nottaway Avenue, Richmond, Virginia.
Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Harry O. Perlee, 1300 25th Street, Rockford, Illinois.
St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council...	1	1	Warren S. Welsh, Room 9, Old Corby Building, 5th and Edmond Street, St. Joseph, Missouri.
St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union...	1	1	Mary E. Ryder, 4983 Westminster Place, St. Louis, Missouri.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council.....	1	1	Jno. A. O'Connell, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
Santa Barbara, Calif., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Miss Bee Tumber, 25 East Ortega Street, Santa Barbara, California.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council, Seattle and Vicinity.....	1	1	Claude O'Reilly, 552 Denny Way, Seattle, Washington.
Seymour, Ind., Jackson County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Elmer O. Briner, P. O. Box 192, Crothersville, Indiana.
Sheridan, Wyo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	A. Roy Young, 246 Smith Street, Sheridan Wyoming.
Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Mrs. Rose Norwood, Somerville, Massachusetts.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert E. Woodmansee, 223½ South 6th Street, Springfield, Illinois.
Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. R. Andrews, 1502 North Clay Street, Springfield, Missouri.
Springfield, O., Trades and Labor Assembly.	1	1	Edward E. Forrer, 1815 Sunset Avenue, Springfield, Ohio.
Tampa, Fla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	William E. Sullivan, P. O. Box 1904, Tampa, Florida.
Toledo, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John M. Froehlich, 3304 Gallatin Road, Toledo, Ohio.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union...	1	1	John Locher, 1211-A Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Wichita Falls, Tex., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	W. W. Wilkinson, 1608 Collins Street, Wichita Falls, Texas.
Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union...	1	1	James T. Houghton, 608 French Street, Wilmington, Delaware.
Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jos. G. Berger, Box 123, Wisconsin Rapids, Wisconsin.
Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. G. Gordon, Labor Temple, Yakima, Washington.
Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William McGeary, Yonkers, New York.
Advertising Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union, No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	Maury E. Rubin, 605 Clara Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.
Aluminum Workers' Union No. 18780, E. St. Louis, Ill.....	1	9	Eddie R. Stahl, 3142 Belleview Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois.
Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union, United, 19388, Louisville, Ky.....	1	1	Edward Donhoff, Valley Station, Kentucky.
Baggage and Mail Handlers' Union, Terminal Brotherhood of, No. 21019, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1	1	Arthur Williams, 529 West 8th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Beet Sugar Workers' Union No. 20748, Santa Ana, Calif.	1	2	W. B. Casey, 1907 South Birch Street, Santa Ana, California.
Bowling Alley Pin Setters, Federal Labor Union No. 20413, Chicago, Ill.	1	11	Richard D. Foss, Room 701, 417 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Cane Craftsmen's Union No. 20687, Cincinnati, Ohio.	1	1	Edward F. Bernd, 842 Poplar Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cannery Workers' Union, San Pedro, Wilmington and Terminal Island, No. 20147, San Pedro, Calif.	1	11	James Waugh, 526 Ocean Avenue, Terminal Island, California.
Cantors' Association, Jewish Ministers, No. 21585, Montreal, Que., Can.	1	1	Nathan Remenik, 4265a Esplanade Avenue, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
Cereal Workers and Allied Industries Union No. 20977, Battle Creek, Mich.	1	1	Alfred Chandler, Jr., Post Tavern Hotel, Battle Creek, Michigan.
Coal Yard Employees' Union No. 19782, Milwaukee, Wis.	1	4	Joseph Driscoll, 6607 A. W. Burleigh Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Cotton Workers' Union, Southern Chemical, No. 21061, Chattanooga, Tenn.	1	1	F. M. O'Rear, 3705 Rossville Boulevard, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
Dairy Products Employees' Union No. 21888, New York, N. Y.	1	1	Daniel Joseph Angley, 2513 Frisby Avenue, Bronx, New York.
Dental Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 21651, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	1	Bertram P. Herron, 1718 South 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Dextone Workers' Union No. 20705, New Haven, Conn.	1	1	Nicholas Bertier, 303 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut.
Distillery Workers' Union No. 21449, Lawrenceburg, Ind.	1	5	Robert Auttersen, 408 Shipping Street, Lawrenceburg, Indiana.
Envelope Makers' Union No. 20311, Dayton, Ohio.	1	5	George W. Winget, 270 McClure Street, Dayton, Ohio.
Express Agency Employees' Union, Railway No. 20159, Jacksonville, Fla.	1	1	Albert Harris, 1432 West 23rd Street, Jacksonville, Florida.
Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wis.	1	1	Charles Heymanns, 935 Huron Avenue, Sheboygan, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio.	1	4	Tom Finnegan, 1524 Werts Avenue, S. W., Canton, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	19	William Ketner, 1912 West Carey Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Federal Labor Union No. 19152, Minneapolis, Minn.	1	15	W. A. Younker, 501 East Hennepin Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Federal Labor Union No. 19635, Muskegon, Michigan.	1	5	Arthur M. Pierce, 512 Seventh Street, Muskegon Heights, Michigan.
Federal Labor Union No. 20183, Barberton, Ohio.	1	3	Jack Cikity, 1334 California Avenue, Akron, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, Ohio.	1	10	Walter J. Mason, 544 Creedmoor Avenue, Barberton, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 20388, Battle Creek, Mich.	1	11	Russell M. Hickey, 39 Clark Street, Battle Creek, Michigan.
Federal Labor Union No. 20573, Seattle, Wash.	1	1	E. H. Huntington, 1707½ Yale Avenue, Seattle, Washington.
Federal Labor Union No. 20713, Lancaster, Ohio.	1	3	Robert Glick, Carroll, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 20910, Battle Creek, Mich.	1	5	Alfred L. Leonard, 587 Capital Avenue, S. W., Battle Creek, Michigan.
Federal Labor Union No. 21212, Cincinnati, Ohio.	1	1	Mary Roberts, 1206 Sycamore Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xvii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Federal Labor Union No. 21900, Meridian, Miss.....	1	1	Allie C. Cameron, 1520 11th Avenue, Meridian, Mississippi.
Firemen's Union No. 18966, Birmingham, Ala.....	1	1	Dan Gales, 90 3rd Avenue, Pratt City, Birmingham, Alabama.
Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans....	1	1	George Barnes, 1954 North 4th Street, Kansas City, Kansas.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 19924, Knoxville, Tenn.....	1	1	Chester Dansby, 506 Payne Avenue, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 20178, Portsmouth, Va.....	1	1	Robert J. Brown, 305 Rogers Avenue, Portsmouth, Virginia.
Freight Handlers' Union, L. and N., No. 21808, Birmingham, Alabama.....	1	1	J. W. McCall, 1308 Thomas Ave., Birmingham, Alabama.
Freight Handlers' Union, L. and N., No. 21899, New Orleans, La.....	1	1	John P. Kelly, 336 South Liberty Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Fruit and Vegetable Workers' Union, Monterey County, No. 21655, Salinas, Calif.....	1	1	Andrew S. Bordges, 24 Pine Street, Salinas, California.
Fur Workers' Unions Nos. 21479, 21480, 21481, Toronto, Ont., Can.....	1	3	Max Federman, 169 Robert Street, Toronto Ontario, Canada.
Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.....	1	11	Patrick Gallagher, 9624 Hamilton Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Grocery Employees Union, United, No. 20541, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	1	2	Phillip Whitehead, R. D. Warrendale, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania.
Grocery Handlers, Porters and Warehousemen's Union No. 19897, Jersey City, N. J.....	1	4	George Kane, 342 4th Street, Jersey City, New Jersey.
Grocery Supplies Union, Wholesale No. 20658, Chicago, Ill.....	1	4	Harold F. Nelsen, 201 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Hardware Dealer Employees' Union, Wholesale, No. 20549, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	John W. Jordan, 3036 Wilton Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Insurance Agents' Union, American Federation of Industrial and Ordinary, No. 20817, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Jack Bradon, 4451 West Congress Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Junk Yard Workers' Union No. 21607, East St. Louis, Ill.....	1	1	William B. Nichols, 1627 Ridge Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois.
Ladies Apparel Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 21105, Shelbyville, Ind.....	1	1	Mrs. Violet Klare, Labarba Apartment, Shelbyville, Indiana.
Merchandise Workers, Wholesale, No. 20475, Chicago, Ill.....	1	2	M. E. Stowe, 3510 Pine Grove Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Miners' Union, Red-Ore, No. 21971, Bessemer, Ala.....	1	1	J. W. Wood, Route 2, Box 131, Bessemer, Alabama.
News Vendors' Union No. 20769, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	7	G. William Maguire, 528 Kearney Street, San Francisco, California.
Newspaper Workers' Union No. 21877, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Charles F. Wills, 6019 South Maplewood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
News Writers' Union No. 19982, Jackson, Miss.....	1	1	Fred W. Patton, 151 Wesley Avenue, Jackson, Mississippi.
News Writers' Union No. 21892, Salisbury, N. C.....	1	1	J. D. (Dave) Brown, Box 266, Salisbury, North Carolina.
Office Employees' Union No. 19980, Oklahoma City, Okla.....	1	1	Mrs. Harriette Peterson, 417 Equity Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Office Employees' Union No. 20732, Chicago, Ill.....	1	2	Miss Mollie Levitas, DeWitt Hotel, 244 East Pearson Street, Chicago, Illinois.

xviii DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Office Workers' Union No. 21427, Columbus, Ohio.....	1	1	Don Loudon, 405 Atlas Building, 8 East Long Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Office Employees' Union No. 22027, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1	1	Joseph G. Gusweiler, 519 Main Street, Room 108, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Office Workers' Union No. 22071, Tulsa, Okla.....	1	1	Paul Stauffer, 1138 East Haskell Street, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Oil Workers' Union, Edible, No. 21509, Vernon and Vicinity, Calif.....	1	1	Lester M. Eldred, 233 East 10th Street, Long Beach, California.
Oystermen's Union, United, No. 19600, Bivalve, N. J.....	1	3	Virgil Phillips, Port Norris, New Jersey.
Porters, Railroad Depots, Bus Terminals, Airports, Red Caps, Attendants' Union No. 20342, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Frank A. Sayre, 5835 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Quarry Workers' Union No. 21469, Bloomington, Indiana.....	1	3	Merle Cline, R. R. 4, Bloomington, Indiana
Rectifiers of Spirits, Wine and Wholesale Liquor Workers' Union No. 20496, Chicago, Ill.....	1	7	James Dever, 5042 North Kildare Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Salt Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 19042, Akron, Ohio.....	1	2	John Cook, 923 Silvercrest, Akron, Ohio.
Smelter Workers' Union No. 21538, Blackwell, Okla.....	1	1	Earl Myers, 529 West McKinley Street, Blackwell, Oklahoma.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16812, Detroit, Mich.....	1	1	Miss Ethel Hurst, 405 Hofmann Building Detroit, Michigan.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.....	1	1	L. E. Groner, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 19266, Akron, Ohio.....	1	1	Miss Frances Demko, 398 Grace Avenue, Akron, Ohio.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20380, Miami, Fla.....	1	1	M. E. Roberts, 743 N. W. 2nd Street, Miami, Florida.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20798, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	1	Mrs. Elma A. Goodwin, 735 Rives-Strong Building, Los Angeles, California.
Storage Warehouse Employees' Union No. 18571, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	32	Edw. J. Hartsough, 501 Fairmount Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18203, New York, N. Y.....	1	2	Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, Room 702, New York, New York.
Theatrical Agents and Managers' Union, Assn. of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y.....	1	8	Joseph Grossman, 99 East 4th Street, New York City, New York.
Warehouse Employees' Union No. 20558, Richmond, Va.....	1	1	Samuel H. Kelly, 2207 West Grace Street, Richmond, Virginia.
Warehouse Employees' Union No. 21102, Baltimore, Md.....	1	4	Charles Di Guardo, 3803 Belair Road, Baltimore, Maryland.
Warehousemen's Union No. 21104, Washington, D. C.....	1	3	Edward C. Nagel, Glen Arden Road, Landover, Maryland.
Warehousemen's Union No. 20542, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1	1	Dewey Beck, 732 Highland Avenue, Covington, Kentucky.
Warehouse and Storehouse Employees and Janitors' Union, Station, No. 20290, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	John Barnes, 113 Greeley, Kansas City, Kansas.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xi

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Weighers, Dispatchers, Supervisors and Assistants' Union, Licensed, No. 20571, New York, N. Y.	1	2	Arthur J. Sharkey, 559 10th Avenue, New York, New York.
British Trades Union Congress.	1	2	Herbert Henry Elvin, 70 St. George's Square, London, S.W.1., England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	1	1	D. W. Kennedy, Care of R. J. Tallon, 172 McLaren Street, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
Women's International Union Label League.	1		Mrs. Mary Cramer, 2501 Chestnut Street, Hannibal, Missouri.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
88	National and International.	279	34,938
4	Departments.	4	4
41	State Bodies.	41	41
116	Central Labor Unions.	116	116
81	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.	79	268
3	Fraternal Organizations.	3	3
333		522	35,370

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	1911 James Duncan *1915	1913 George W. Perkins. *1917
To British Trades Union Congress		
1895 { Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1910 { W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1924 { Peter J. Brady. Edward J. Gainer.
1896 { J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser	1911 { Wm. B. McFarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1925 { A. Adamski. Edw. J. Evans.
1897 { Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeill.	1912 { George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1926 { †Frank Farrington. Wm. L. Hutcheson.
1898 { James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	1913 { Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.	1927 { John Coefield. Michael Casey.
1899 { James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy	*1914 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1928 { Michael F. Greene. William B. Fitzgerald
1900 { J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	†1915 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1929 { William J. Rooney. William P. Clarke.
1901 { Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1916 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1930 { John J. Manning. Thomas E. Maloy.
1902 { Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1917 { John Golden. James Lord.	1931 { Joseph P. Ryan. Joseph V. Moreschi.
1903 { Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1918 { J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.	1932 { Joseph A. Franklin. E. E. Milliman.
1904 { W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1919 { †Wm. L. Hutcheson. John J. Hynes.	1933 { Thomas E. Burke. Christian M. Madsen.
1905 { John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	1920 { Timothy Healy. Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	1934 { Michael J. Collier. Edward Flore.
1906 { Frank K. Foster James Wilson.	1921 { Wm. J. Spencer. James J. Forrester.	1935 { Henry F. Schmal. Dennis Lane.
1907 { John T. Dempsey W. E. Klapetsky.	1922 { Benjamin Schlesinger. E. J. McGivern.	1936 { William J. McSorley. Edward Canavan.
1908 { Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1923 { Peter Shaughnessy. Anthony J. Chlopek.	1937 { William C. Birthright. John B. Haggerty.
1909 { John P. Frey. B. A. Larger.		1938 { P. J. Morrin. Daniel J. Tobin.
		1939 { Felix H. Knight James Maloney

From British Trades Union Congress		
1894 { John Burns. David Holmes.	1900 { A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.	1924 { C. T. Cramp. A. B. Swales.
1895 { Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.	1910 { W. Brace. Ben Turner.	1925 { Ben Smith. A. A. Purcell.
1896 { Sam Woods. John Mallinson.	1911 { G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.	1926 { J. Bromley. G. Hicks.
1897 { Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.	1912 { J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.	1927 { Arthur Pugh. W. Sherwood.
1898 { William Inskip. William Thorne.	1913 { I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.	1928 { John Marchbank. E. Edwards.
1899 { James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	**1914	1929 { J. T. Brownlie. J. Bell.
1900 { John Weir. Pete Curran.	1915 { C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.	1930 { A. A. H. Findlay. A. Shaw.
1901 { Frank Chandler. Ben Tillet.	1916 { H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.	1931 { F. Wolstencroft. J. Beard.
1902 { M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.	1917 { John Hill. Arthur Hayday.	1932 { W. Holmes. Charles Dukes.
1903 { William Mullin. James O'Grady.	***1918 { F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield.	1933 { James Rowan. J. A. Hall.
1904 { William Abraham. James Wignall.	1919 { S. Finney. Miss Margaret Bondfield.	1934 { Alexander George Walkden. John Stokes.
1905 { William Mosses. David Gilmour.	1920 { J. W. Ogden. J. Jones.	1935 { Andrew Conley. Andrew Naeemith.
1906 { Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.	1921 { J. H. Thomas. James Walker.	1936 { William Kean. George Gibson.
1907 { David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.	1922 { E. L. Poulton. H. Smith.	1937 { William R. Townley John C. Little
1908 { John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.	1923 { R. B. Walker. W. C. Robinson.	1938 { Joseph Jones J. W. Stephenson
		1939 { Herbert Henry Elvin. †John Brown.

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates—Continued

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1912 John T. Smith.	1926 James B. Connors.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1929 John D. Haggerty.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1930 Adolph Kummer.
1903 John Coleman.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1931 Charles J. Case.
1904 John H. Richards.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1932 Frank B. Powers.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1933 James C. Quinn.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1920 W. G. Shea.	1934 Joseph P. McCurdy.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1921 John O'Hara.	1935 James Maloney.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.	1936 M. J. Gillooly.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.	1937 R. A. Henning.
1910 John J. Manning.	1924 Walter W. Britton.	1938 Joseph J. Kehoe.
1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1925 James Duncan.	1939 E. L. Wheatley.

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 David A. Carey.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1926 Richard Lynch.
1899 David A. Carey.	1913 Gus Franco.	1927 Alfred Farnilo.
1900 David A. Carey.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1928 Wm. Varley.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1929 James A. Whitebone.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1930 William E. Stephenson.
1903 James Simpson.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1931 Colin McDonald.
1904 John A. Flett.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.
1905 William V. Todd.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1933 Fred J. White.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1934 William Dunn.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	1935 J. A. P. Haydon, M. C.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1922 Ernest Robinson.	1936 George R. Brunet.
1909 F. Bancroft.	1923 James A. Sullivan.	1937 Rod Plant.
1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1924 John Colbert.	1938 W. G. Russell.
1911 Wm. Glockling.	1925 Donald Dear.	1939 D. W. Kennedy.

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino.
Roberto Haberman.	Roberto Haberman.	Jose P. Guiterres.
		Salustrio Hernandez.

*No convention.

**No delegates.

†Did not attend

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Seranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Mich.	October 4-14.
1927	Los Angeles, Calif.	October 5-14.
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28.
1929	Toronto, Ont., Can.	October 7-18.
1930	Boston, Mass.	October 6-17.
1931	Vancouver, B. C., Can.	October 5-15.
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio	Nov. 21-Dec. 2.
1933	Washington, D. C.	October 2-13.
1934	San Francisco, Calif.	October 2-12.
1935	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 7-19.
1936	Tampa, Fla.	November 16-27.
1937	Denver, Colo.	October 4-15.
1938	Houston, Texas	October 3-13.
1939	Cincinnati, Ohio	October 2-13.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1940

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit; it, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.—NAME

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to

aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. A. Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council or on request of National and International Unions representing a majority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last regular convention.

B. Special conventions shall not be called unless at least 30 days' notice of such special convention together with statement of particular subject or subjects to be considered has been given to all affiliated organizations.

C. Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

D. Special conventions shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

SEC. 3. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 4. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels;

seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 5. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 6.—All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

2 All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

3 Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

4 Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

5 All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall, immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated, be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced, and committees to which they are to be referred, and all such proposals in such allocated form shall be pre-

pared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

6 The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

SEC. 7. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 8. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 9. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 10. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 11. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 12. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual convention of the American Federation of

Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body, violating this section. No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the Convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the regular and special conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

Sec. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions, including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President with the approval of the Executive Council shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and Local and Federal Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Disciplinary action by the President shall consist of "emergency action" and "decisions," the latter being subject to the Appeal to the Executive Council hereinbefore provided. "Emergency action" shall be taken when in the opinion of the President it is necessary to preserve the rights of the American Federation of Labor, or of any affiliate mentioned in this section, or of any officers or members thereof, and for the purpose of preserving the status quo. Emer-

agency action shall be effective only for 45 days unless within such 45 days written charges are caused to be served on the affiliate involved, or on the officers or members involved if they are individually charged. If such charges are served then the Emergency Action shall stand until a trial is had before the President or a representative designated by him to hear them. Such trial shall commence within 45 days after the charges have been served. If the trial is before a representative designated by the President he shall report his findings orally or in writing to the President who shall within 15 days render a decision in the matter. Such decision shall consist of a dismissal of the charges if found untrue or that they, or part of them, are sustained, whereupon the President shall take such disciplinary action as hereinbefore authorized. Such action shall constitute the President's "decision," but shall be subject to change or modification by him before an appeal to the Executive Council is acted upon. An appeal to the Executive Council shall be in writing and mailed to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor within 15 days after the President has rendered his decision. Pending an appeal, the decision of the President shall remain in full force and effect.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the regular and special conventions, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the regular and special conventions may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest-period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates or deposit or invested in interest-bearing securities and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution and none others.

Sec. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

Sec. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee, with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

Sec. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be \$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when travelling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular or special convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

SEC. 13. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided in Article XII, sections 1 and 2, have been paid in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter by the President or the Executive Council subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, to strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the President or Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union or other Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor

shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with any International or National Union or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the Unions involved the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council the moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No

benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of

members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal

Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, department, local councils, and railway system federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the

headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each Department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers, thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the de-

partment has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the Conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

FOLLOWING ARE RULES ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

UPON RESOLUTION DULY MADE, SECONDED AND PASSED, THE FOLLOWING RULES WERE ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, PURSUANT TO THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY AS SET FORTH IN SECTION 8, OF ARTICLE 9, OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, IN SESSION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 5-20, 1936:

"1. If any national or international union, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, violates any provision of the constitution or laws of the American Federation of Labor, or any order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued under and in pursuance of the constitution or laws of the American Federation of Labor, involving a breach of the contractual obligations assumed by said union in its charter from the American Federation of Labor, and if notice or charge of said breach of obligation or of violation of any of the provisions of the constitution or laws of the American Federation of Labor or of orders of the Executive Council issued thereunder and in pursuance thereof is filed with the Executive Council by any of its affiliated national or international unions, or by the Executive Council of its own motion, the national or international union so complained of or charged with wrong doing shall be notified by the President or the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor of such charges or notice of complaint if in the judgment of the Executive Council such charges or complaints warrant further consideration and action with direction to appear at a given date before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor or a committee of its members appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor for that purpose, and then and there to submit such evidence it desires in refutation of said charges or complaint. The Executive Council or a committee of its members appointed for that purpose shall also hear evidence in support of said charges or complaint.

After said hearing—or if said union defaults in its appearance after notice and opportunity to be heard—the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall then in executive session determine what step shall be taken, if the said union is held guilty of having breached its contractual obligations in its charter from the American Federation of Labor or laws of the American Federation of Labor or of orders of its Executive Council, issued thereunder and in pursuance thereof. In the event the Executive Council finds said union guilty, the Executive Council may take any of the following steps: (a) Forgive said breach with or without conditions to be fulfilled by said union; (b) suspend said union from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying the benefits from said membership for a definite or for an indefinite time; (c) penalize said union for said breach in any other way; or (d) if the actions of said union have been so serious that all relations between it and the American Federation of Labor should be severed, revoke its charter, but only

upon instructions from or approved by a Convention of the American Federation of Labor passed by a two-thirds vote ordering or approving the revocation of said charter.

2. State Federations of Labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor shall adopt their policies—legislative, political, civic and organizational—to the policies adopted by the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and if any State Federation of Labor purposely deviates from the policies of the American Federation of Labor, or if any State Federation of Labor violates any of the laws or provisions of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor or any order of its Executive Council pursuant thereto, such State Federation of Labor shall be dealt with by the Executive Council in the manner provided for in Rule 1, above, for dealing with national and international unions.

3. The President of the American Federation of Labor, under authority vested in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby authorized to discipline any Central Labor Union or any Federal or Local Labor Union, or where the President of the American Federation of Labor in pursuance of this authority has disciplined any Central Labor Union, or Federal or Local Labor Union, and has suspended or expelled its officials, or has suspended its charter, an appeal may be taken by the aggrieved party to the Executive Council, and if the said appeal presents a *prima facie* case of error on the part of the President, the Executive Council may hear and determine the appeal.

4. The Executive Council shall investigate the affairs and audit the books of Federal and of Local Labor Unions periodically, and if said audit and investigation shows that said Federal or Local Labor Union has more members than it is paying a per capita tax on, the Executive Council shall take steps to collect in full the per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor."

Approved by 1936 Convention held in Tampa, Fla. (page 497 official proceedings).

THE FOLLOWING RULE WAS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HELD AT THE COSMOPOLITAN HOTEL, DENVER, COLORADO, OCTOBER 14, 1937:

EXPENSES INCURRED IN RECOVERING PROPERTY AND FUNDS ARE CHARGEABLE TO FUNDS OR PROPERTY RECOVERED.

"Whenever a directly chartered trade or federal labor union or state or city central body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor secedes, or its charter is suspended or revoked, and demand is made upon such organization or its officers to deliver to the President of the American Federation of Labor, or his authorized representative, the records, property and funds of such organization, and such demand is refused, then all expenses, of whatever nature, incurred by the American Federation of Labor in recovering such records, property and funds, shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved, and on recovery thereof, the American Federation of Labor shall reimburse itself from the property and funds recovered."

Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1939

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day — Monday Morning Session

October 2, 1939.
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Pursuant to law, the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in the Hall of Mirrors, Netherland Plaza Hotel, at 10:00 o'clock, John J. Hurst, President of the Cincinnati Central Labor Council, presiding.

Preceding the opening of the convention a band of union musicians, directed by Mr. John Klorr, presented a musical program.

Chairman Hurst: I will now open the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and will call upon the Rt. Rev. Marcellus Wagner, Director of Catholic Charities of Cincinnati, to deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION

**RT. REV. MSGR. R. MARCELLUS
WAGNER**

Come, Holy Ghost, fill the hearts of Thy faithful and enkindle in them the fire of Thy love. Send forth by spirit and our hearts shall be regenerated, and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth. Oh, God, Who by the light of the Holy Spirit, didst instruct the hearts of the faithful, grant us by Thy same

Holy Spirit a love and relish of what is right and just, through Christ our Lord. And may the blessings of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost descend upon you and remain with you forever and ever. Amen.

Temporary Chairman Hurst: It devolves upon me as President of the Central Labor Council of Cincinnati, to extend to you the felicitations and wholehearted welcome of the City of Cincinnati. We are very proud to have you with us. This is nothing new to many of the delegates, because this is the fourth convention held by the American Federation of Labor in this city. That in itself proves to us that we not only appreciate having you here, but apparently you appreciate being here.

I am going to leave the description of our fair city to the Mayor, who is very capable of dealing with that subject. He makes these hills look so beautiful that it would be useless for me to try to describe them for you.

We in the labor movement of Cincinnati appreciate the fact that the American Federation of Labor is an institution that is very beneficial to the traditions and policies of the United States. We know that in your deliberations you are going to have very many problems, many of them of great importance.

We know what you have done in the past of a beneficial nature to the people of this country, and we sincerely hope the same results will be forthcoming from this convention.

Problems of international affairs will concern you during your sessions, and I am sure the delegates in this body have given much serious thought to the reports of your officers and will give thought to the various resolutions on this matter.

One thing in particular that I might speak about—and this might properly come from the Union Label Trades Department—is the consistency of labor itself, in aiding itself to make better economic conditions in this country. The purchasing power of the laboring people is the most important phase of the union-made dollar, and I sincerely hope that the national and international representatives, as well as the local representatives, will cooperate with this Union Label Trades Department in seeing to it that the union-made dollar is spent as it should be. It is unfortunate that there are so many affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are union men all week and spend their union-earned money on Saturday to buy non-union made goods. If we could only educate our members to the point where they would spend that dollar consistently, it would be a matter of but a short time until our organizational work in this country would be comparatively simple and the economic conditions of our country would be vastly improved.

I know that among many of our delegates you will find inconsistencies so far as the expenditure of the union-made dollar is concerned. I hope that each and every one of you will do your part in the future to educate our members as to how to spend that dollar.

We are also confronted with the conditions that prevail because of the dual organization of the C. I. O. They are going abroad throughout the length and breadth of the country creating chaotic conditions that are not beneficial either to themselves or the people as a whole. It is going to require concerted action on the part of the American Federation of Labor to forestall any further

advancement of this particular group. They are absolutely inconsistent in their activities. They care not what chaotic conditions they create, and they are fooling the workers throughout the country. It is up to us to put our heads together cooperatively and see if we cannot clean up this situation.

I realize there is much lying propaganda on the part of this group and they are fooling many of the workers in the industrial centers. It is up to us to forestall that as much as we possibly can.

I again extend to you the wholehearted welcome of Cincinnati, on behalf of the members of the labor movement, and that includes Greater Cincinnati, northern Kentucky, and the outlying districts of Cincinnati. There are 62,000 people affiliated directly with our Central Labor Council, about 40,000 of them living in Cincinnati. We are very proud of our labor movement here. They are cooperative, they work together, and the result is that we have splendid conditions.

In the hotels here we have practically 100 per cent closed shop contracts involving fourteen international unions. We have a Joint Council of this particular group who do the negotiating work cooperatively during the life of the contract. We also have other councils or groups in various industries who do cooperate and work together in the signing of their contracts. We have very few strikes and we have very satisfactory relationships with our employers.

At the beginning of our organization campaign we had quite a few skeptics among the employers, but after the contracts had been in effect for one year they became more cooperative and were willing to sit around the table and discuss our mutual problems. The result is that we have had very little trouble in negotiating and making new contracts.

And so again I am going to extend a very wholehearted welcome to you. I hope you will enjoy yourselves and that this convention will be very successful, and I know it will.

I now take pleasure in introducing to you the Honorable John W. Bricker, Governor of the State of Ohio.

HON. JOHN W. BRICKER
Governor of Ohio

Mr. Chairman, President Green, officers, delegates, and guests of the American Federation of Labor—I am delighted with the opportunity of greeting you and welcoming you to the State of Ohio. I want to congratulate the Executive Council upon its foresight. They seem to have something of a prophetic vision. I don't know any other group that six months ago would have known that the Reds were going to win the pennant. In fact, some of us had a little bit of worry about it last week, including the Mayor of Cincinnati.

But we hope you enjoy the week you are here. We know that this is a hospitable city. Ohio is a friendly state. It is particularly friendly to the American Federation of Labor. We think of this as a really great State. We look upon Ohio, and I believe with good reason, as representing a cross-section of America. Here we have every kind and class of people. We have more cities in this State of over 100,000 population than any other state in the nation. We have more farmers owning their own farms. We have the finest type of American citizenship you can find anywhere. We have here the mountains merging into the plains, and there isn't a county in this state that does not have some industry that is distinctive to that community, and founded upon either the peculiar geographical conditions that exist or upon the qualified labor that is located in that particular community. We have here in Ohio great natural resources. We have coal and soil. There is some iron. Ohio is one of the greatest ceramic States of the Union and one of the finest of our agricultural states. The products range from the fruit in the north to the tobacco in the south. So we do welcome you, representing all of America, to this state of Ohio.

Ohio has taken part in every great movement, social, political and economic, in our country. It has afforded great leadership, but in no organization have they had a more prominent place than yours. Ohio is proud of the leadership of Mr. William Green as the head of the American Federation of Labor. We greet him. We honor him as he has honored our State. He comes oftener than some of you. We see him over around Coshocton now and then, and Ohio is always glad to have him come and bring his organization with him.

I could mention many others that Ohio has given to this organization—your Vice President Harrison and John P. Frey, and I was delighted a moment ago to talk to Mr. Weber, who lived so long in Cincinnati and who returns today as one of the Vice Presidents of this organization. So Ohio has played a part in the building of the great American Federation of Labor that has done so much to better the conditions of labor and so much to build a greater and finer America.

As Mr. Hurst said in the beginning, there are today many problems that are of vital import. I picked up last night a little booklet,

a history of the early days of Kentucky, and I read from it two excerpts which are so pertinent to conditions today. One was the announcement of the Editor of the Kentucky Gazette, when it was first founded in 1792: "The Printer of the Kentucky Gazette to the Public: Fourthly, it will carry our attention to the ancient world, and gratify our curiosity with respect to distant nations who flourish in the arts of arms or peace."

And then about ten years later there was an announcement in that same newspaper which said: "A smug dispatch of June 3, from London, published in Lexington on September 21, 1793, stated: 'In the course of this week the part that America is to take on the present (sic) of politics has been ascertained; she is, very prudently, to observe an exact neutrality.'"

That was the spirit of America in the beginning. That is the spirit of America today, that we shall today, as among the nations of the world that are quarrelling old quarrels, fighting old fights where racial and religious and sectional hatreds divide people and cause war, America shall maintain a strict neutrality. The perpetuation of representative government is dependent upon keeping those hatreds and those quarrels on foreign shores and then keeping out of the resultant wars from those hatreds.

Representative government is builded, as Mr. Hurst said a while ago, upon concord and upon understanding and not upon hatreds and viciousness. So here in America let us look to our own problems. Let us be careful that there is no unfair and illegal and unjust and unreasonable profiteering or excess profits that arise out of the necessities of the situation, that arise out of the conditions of war that exist abroad. Let America dig in and build here a great nation which shall not only preserve to those that are coming the opportunities that we have had, but shall be the hope of the world, and by its example may ultimately lead the world into the day of good will and peace among mankind.

In that great movement this organization has a profound responsibility. We know that the spirit of deep patriotism will surge through this meeting and that your consideration will be given to those problems which so vitally concern not only labor but the whole of our country. If we shall, all of us, approach those problems with the sincerity that I know this group gathers today, there is great hope for the future.

We have resting upon our shoulders today burdens that Americans have never had before. The responsibility upon public officials is to keep this land in such condition that industry can flourish and labor be employed, that people can have jobs in private industry and at good pay.

It is a serious responsibility that faces us at this hour, but let each one of us consecrate our service to the perpetuation of the institutions of America and keep America, even if it be the last land in the world where man as an individual is master of his destiny and

where his place in a community is recognized. Here alone is the voice of man, the individual, emphasized. Here alone is he considered a great pervading force in his government. America is the last bulwark of representative government. No place else in the world could we meet as we meet here today to consider our problems.

Ohio welcomes you, Ohio hopes this will be a pleasant and successful convention and we hope, President Green, you will return often to your native state and bring with you your fine organization.

Chairman Hurst: We want to thank you, Governor Bricker, for your very kind remarks, and I assure you that the American Federation of Labor will certainly work to the ends that you have suggested.

Now I have the pleasure and honor of introducing a gentleman for whom labor feels greatly responsible as being in office today. In Cincinnati we have a proportional representation form of government, where nine candidates are elected at large on what is known as the numerical ballot. Some of the smartest attorneys in Cincinnati do not thoroughly understand it, but after they get the vote there are nine elected somehow.

In the last election both political parties were equally divided, four on each side. Labor got one, so in order to elect a Mayor by City Council five votes are required. Since the inception of the present method of government the one group controlled the mayoralty position. So labor thought it was time to change, and we gave our vote to the other side, and they selected our good friend, James Garfield Stewart.

I take particular pleasure at this time in introducing to you the Mayor of Cincinnati, James Garfield Stewart.

HON. JAMES GARFIELD STEWART (Mayor of Cincinnati)

President Green, Rt. Rev. Monsignor, distinguished guests, leaders, and all the rest of us like you and me—it is surely a very great pleasure and honor to have the opportunity to say a word. First I am going to take a little water. On Mondays we drink this here, although I remember when Sam Jones, the great evangelist, was here in the old days trying to make some inroads in behalf of prohibition, and he did not have very fertile ground in Cincinnati. He made a remark that he was satisfied if the Ohio River was made of beer it would never get past Cincinnati.

Jack Hurst said they did change the political complexion of the Mayor at the City Hall. I just want to call his attention to one thing, that prior to their doing this the Reds had a hard time keeping as high as last place. Since then we have won the pennant and are going to have the World's Series. As a very great man in Washington said "Don't let anybody tell you otherwise—we planned it that way."

Cincinnati, this greatest of American cities, having the largest percentage of American-born citizens of any city of over 300,000 population in the Republic, is proud and happy to welcome here the great national gathering of a Federation which Cincinnati believes, more than any other organization, is living up to and standing fast for the American ideal of a greater spreading of the blessings of this country to the great mass of the people. You stand for tolerance, liberty and freedom and representative government, and because you stand for that we are for you. We believe in American things in Cincinnati and that is the reason we believe in you.

We have been welcoming distinguished citizens, long before we welcomed Bill Green and Bill Mahon and Frank Morrison. Bill Mahon has a larger continuous record of attendance at A. F. of L. conventions than any man in the United States since 1893, and Frank Morrison was made Secretary of the American Federation of Labor here in Cincinnati the year that William McKinley was elected President, back in 1896. Governor Bricker said Ohio knew Bill Green. Ohio knows Bill Mahon, too. He was born here. He went up to Detroit and he has to come back here right along in order to keep his feet on good old American ground. We are proud to have these men here in Cincinnati.

About the time Bill Mahon was born we welcomed General Lafayette here, back in 1825. He was then an old man. Fifty years before he had been a slender youth fighting with Washington for our independence. When he landed on American shores and got that great reception, Henry Clay gave an address of welcome on behalf of the American people. The first thing he said was that he wanted to go out into that city of the West that was named for the Society of which he was a member, because you will recall that back in 1773, when the Treaty of Paris had been signed, the officers of Washington's army, wanting to keep alive their years of sacrifice and service, formed a society. They wanted to get a name that would represent service and patriotism, so they went back 400 years and took the name of Cincinnati, and called themselves the Society of the Cincinnati.

Then along in 1790, on the 2nd of January, old Governor St. Clair came down here. We were a little village down at Front and Sycamore Streets, and we called ourselves Losantville. He had been sent here as the first Governor of the Northwest Territory which now comprises Ohio,

Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and that part of Minnesota which is east of the Mississippi. Marietta was its first capitol. Governor St. Clair came down here and after looking around he realized that two very significant things were going to happen here in the year 1939: That we were going to have the honor of the national convention of the American Federation of Labor and we were going to win the World's Series. So he said, "I am going to give this town a real name." He happened to be President of the Pennsylvania Chapter of the Cincinnatians, and so he called us Cincinnati, and we have been Cincinnati ever since.

Andrew Jackson came here in 1837, after he had served his second term as President of the United States. He had gone into the office on the promise of balancing the budget, and in those days they could do it. He came here to Cincinnati and said he was satisfied with his record as President except for two things, "I should have hanged Henry Clay and shot John Calhoun. His predecessor in office, John Quincy Adams, had been President in 1825, and came out here to Cincinnati in 1843, because he heard we were more interested in science and learning than any city in the country. We had the first telescope upon the hill. The old man came out in 1843 and gave us a dedication speech, and we named the hill after him, Mt. Adams.

Sometimes we call ourselves the Queen City of the West. The greatest poet that ever lived in America, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, used to come out here to visit the Longworths. You know wine and poetry have always gone together, and Longfellow would get very mildly stimulated with wine and poetic genius. On one of these occasions he wrote the old poem, "The Queen of the West, in her garlands dressed, on the banks of the beautiful river."

Abraham Lincoln spent his 52nd birthday here, the greatest birthday town in the West. He had left Springfield, Illinois, on February 11, 1861, on that memorable tour around the country, to be inaugurated President of the United States. On the 12th of February, 1861, he was 52 years old, and he came to Cincinnati and made that great speech. Facing his native state of Kentucky, he asked the men of the North and the South not to break up the Union and the Republic which had been created and cemented by the blood of both sections.

I have had the opportunity to welcome a lot of fine fellows here, and in later days it has been a grand job. Gene Tunney is coming here today. I have also had the pleasure of welcoming the wife of the President of the United States, a fine, intellectual, forward-looking, great woman. I am on the other side politically. I am glad we have two sides in this country, but when a majority of my fellow citizens elect a man President, then he is my President and his wife is the First Lady of the land to me.

I got a little more romantic "oomph" and thrill when I welcomed Alice Faye, Mae West and Sallie Rand. They were a great lot, too, and I believe in this welcoming business. I am a great believer in the doctrine of friendship, love and cooperation. It does not mean giving up any of your principles or ceasing to fight for them, but you must do it in a friendly, American way. I try to live up to the reputation that somebody gave me when they said I was the greatest Mayor they ever had, the "goinest, meetinest" and "greetinest" Mayor. I try to meet all busses, airplanes and railway trains. I got a marvelous greeting from Mae West. She didn't say, "Come up and see me some time," but she did say, "Come up and have dinner with me." And you bet I went.

I wish everybody in this hall could be Mayor of Cincinnati. I think it is a great job and a great opportunity to go around and meet people and try in your humble way to make every group like each other better. I would rather have it said of me when I am out of this job that I did a little something to make the people of Cincinnati like each other better than to have any other thing that could possibly be credited to me, because I am thoroughly convinced that we are never going to have an enduring, material prosperity, and certainly not an enduring spiritual prosperity, until the American people put out of their hearts hatred and malice and spite and prejudice and intolerance, and put into their hearts love and friendship, cooperation and tolerance of each other. I don't mean by that ever sacrificing a single principle for which you stand, but I do mean by that a realization that no one group can long be prosperous in America unless every group is prosperous and working together. I believe the American Federation of Labor stands for that.

We used to have all kinds of quarrels. You remember how the churches used to quarrel and scrap. The Presbyterians believed in predestination and infant damnation, and the Methodists believed in free will so much that one fellow said he would rather be a Presbyterian and know he was going to hell than to be a Methodist and not know where he was going. Monsignor and I realize that after all the churches are trying to make it better on this earth and trying to get us all to heaven. You go down there to the Union Station to go to Columbus and you can take the Pennsylvania or the B. & O., and if you stay on the track you are going to land in exactly the same place, if you get to your destination. We have to get together.

There used to be a good deal of Catholic and Protestant kind of hostility. There isn't any of that around here. I had the honor of having pinned on me in the last week the badge of the Catholic Youth Organization, and so I am now a Catholic youth. I happen to belong to the Episcopalians. One Saturday afternoon I came over here to welcome the Daughters of Isabella in their convention. I did not know who they were, but I learned they were an auxiliary of

the Knights of Columbus. So I knew they were named after good Queen Isabella, and we had a most delightful visit. We sent Columbus to America, we captured the Alhambra, and married her oldest daughter off to Henry the VIII.

I realized I have talked entirely too long, but it certainly is a great thing to have you here, boys. We want you to have stimulating, interesting, inspiring convention. We want you to go back home with a renewed faith in America and a renewed faith in the idea that you are on the right track.

The invention of machinery, according to Benjamin Franklin, was not to make life harder, it was to make life easier and better and more comfortable for everybody. Therefore, when you are on the path of taking this technical age that we have now, of taking the machinery that has been invented to displace man power and making it something in America that is to make life easier and make men's lives happier and not make it more difficult to secure a job or more difficult to live as American citizens were intended to live, you are on the right track and we are with you.

I think there is a lot of room for hope. I think in spite of the darkness abroad we have room for optimism. President Roosevelt was perfectly right on the 4th of March, 1933, when he said that our greatest enemy was this enemy of fear. I think if we keep clear our course and if we keep our feet on the ground, as I know you are going to; if you keep your objectives ever steadily in mind, your ideals ever before you, if you realize that you can't get it all in one bite, but that by going steadily forward you are going to accomplish your goal, then you are going to perform the great mission you have in life.

Let me have just one final word with you: Fight your enemies, guide your course true, but whatever you may do about fighting men, don't hate them. Don't mistake the sinner and the sin; hate sin but do not hate the sinner.

Jesus Christ said: "Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This the greatest First Commandment, and the second like unto it is this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Upon these two Commandments the whole law hangeth and the Prophets." He uttered a truth that we can never actually realize, because we are human. But, my brothers and sisters, we are sitting here in this beautiful hall today, and if in all of our contests and in all of our strivings to make life happier and better and finer, we just keep a little of that philosophy in our hearts and souls, the victory is bound to be ours. Without God and without love you can't have in America, you can't retain in America, freedom and liberty and representative government.

We do know that a virile manhood will fight for American rights, and when I talk about American rights I don't mean the rights of the few, I mean the rights of the many. With it and with a virile American manhood

and womanhood you cannot fail. So God bless the American Federation of Labor, and good luck to each and every one of you.

Chairman Hurst: Mr. Mayor, we want to thank you profusely for your address this morning. know all the delegates and visitors enjoyed hearing it very much.

At this time I take pleasure in introducing to you one who is very dear to the labor movement in Cincinnati. From my own experience I believe he is the most conscientious worker in the labor movement in this State. He has presided over the Ohio State Federation of Labor for the last three years and is highly respected by all. His advice is always accepted by those with whom he comes in contact. You will note in his speech he retains a little bit of that rich brogue, and it is just like salt and pepper in the soup.

I present to you now the President of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, our mutual friend and co-worker, Michael Lyden.

MR. MICHAEL LYDEN **(President Ohio State Federation of Labor)**

Mr. Chairman, your Excellency, the Governor of the State of Ohio, President Green, honored and distinguished guests, delegates and visitors to the Fifty-Ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor—am proud of the honor that comes to me this morning of having the privilege of extending to you one and all, in the warmest terms possible, the sincere felicitations and the good wishes of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, and a most cordial welcome to this convention. I trust this convention will go down in history as one of the most progressive and constructive conventions that has ever been held by the American Federation of Labor.

We are proud of the fact that you have chosen to come to Ohio, as Ohio has played a very important part, if you please, in the early and recent history of the American Federation of Labor. We are extremely proud of the fact that you have come to Ohio because you have recognized a considerable degree of merit in coming into the home state of the man who has been your President for the last fifteen years. His whole life work has been closely identified with the Ohio State Federation of Labor. I refer to our good President, the scholar, the statesman, and the philosopher, William Green. Under his leadership the American Federation of Labor has constituted itself a highly important factor in the development and the conduct of our country. It has rendered its influence and cooperation to every laudable movement, civic and

otherwise, in supporting the ideals and principles that govern our nation's activities in times of peace as well as in times of war.

In every one of our forty-eight States and in all of our various cities the American Federation has stood for progress, clean living, fine citizenship, and a constructive attitude in promoting human happiness and the advancement of the American people as a whole. It yields to none in its loyalty to the fundamental principles of our government and its various institutions. It has fought consistently and persistently, in season and out of season, in defense of human rights and human liberties. But, above all, the American Federation of Labor loves liberty and detests tyranny. Furthermore, it has faith in our government and confidence in our American people—confidence to the extent that out of these internal trials we have experienced within the house of labor will arise a greater American Federation of Labor, triumphant in all its glory, under the Stars and Stripes of the greatest nation on the face of the globe.

That flag, my friends, representing as it does the life and flesh of this nation, has become the visible emblem and symbol of our democracy. When we consider what it has cost to establish that flag, what it has cost to maintain it, what it means to this nation and to the peace and tranquillity of the world at large, there is no sacrifice to great to be made to defend it. It stands today, and always will stand, for love of liberty and loyalty to its life and welfare.

In conclusion, my friends, I wish you good luck and Godspeed in all your undertakings, and that out of this convention, this great parliament of labor, will come measures of inestimable value, not only to the people of our own beloved country, but having a corresponding influence upon the poor and the oppressed people of foreign lands, who, at the present moment, are struggling for their life and existence against the forces of autocracy, misrule and misrepresentation.

I thank you.

Chairman Hurst: I want to thank President Lyden for his remarks, and I am quite certain the delegates here appreciate them very much. Brother Lyden has done a fine job as President of the State Federation of Labor, and I hope he will be with us for many years to come.

Now I want to introduce a gentleman who will represent the Chamber of Commerce at this convention. Our relationship with the Chamber of Commerce in Cincinnati is very cordial. Of course, there are a few who do not get along with us, and I suppose they do not get along with themselves. But the gentleman I am about to introduce represents the Convention Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce. Don't pay much attention to him when

he tries to convince you to come back here next year, because I know you will want to go somewhere else.

I present to you Joseph Turner, Secretary of the Convention Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce.

MR. JOSEPH TURNER (Convention Bureau, Chamber of Commerce)

Chairman Hurst, President Green, Governor Bricker, ladies and gentlemen of this meeting—I ask you in all fairness, after you have been welcomed by Jack Hurst, by the Mayor, by the officials of your State organization, what in heaven's name is left for me to say! The Mayor has claimed full credit for providing the World's Series for your entertainment. In fact, I think everything has been debated in one way or another except the weather, and I suppose that is in the hands of the church.

Let me say very briefly that you are extremely welcome and I do want to say that the one person in this city who has a right from a business standpoint to say you are welcome is myself. You people are my business. In the midst of all this commotion that is going to descend upon this city throughout the week and culminate in the World's Series the latter part of the week, I want you to know that while this has been specifically provided for your entertainment, it is not the design of the city, and I speak for the Convention Bureau and the Cincinnati Hotels Association, that that shall not be permitted in any way to inconvenience you people in your meeting and in your housing here.

I ask you, please, to get in direct touch with me or through Jack Hurst if it does in any way interfere with your stay here in Cincinnati.

You people are our business and we want to be certain that for so long as your meeting lasts and for so long after that as you can stay, you have the best that Cincinnati has to offer to you. That is not a gesture of welcome. That is, if you please, an announcement, and if you have individually had any difficulties here, we are the agency to handle this for you.

I know that you have a long session ahead and I know nothing I can say will add to the welcome that you have already received and that you will receive. I know that the deliberations of your meeting are under excellent leadership and I know locally you are in fine hands, as Jack Hurst heads the local organization.

I do want to thank him for what he said about the relationship between the Chamber of Commerce, and especially between the Convention Bureau of Cincinnati and labor here. It has been fine. We know it will continue to be fine, and that is because of the type of leadership that labor has in Cincinnati.

Thank you very much. Come to me with any problems you have. I assure you I can be reached very easily and your problems, while you are here, will be my problems.

I can't tell you where to go to get tickets for the World Series, and I am not sure who is going to win.

Chairman Hurst: Thank you, Mr. Turner, for your kind remarks.

Now I want to introduce to you a gentleman who is loved by the labor movement in Cincinnati. He is a member of our judiciary here and he has been on the bench for many, many years. He is dean of the Municipal Court judges and is loved by all who know him. This judge has been blind for many, many years, totally blind, and in all probability that may have much to do with his judicial decisions. He apparently sees, the justice of things a whole lot clearer than others can see perfectly.

We have been fortunate in the type of men we have among the judges here in Cincinnati. They are decent and fair in all their decisions. It has been my pleasure for many years to know Judge Bell personally and I have found that his advice given to school children, to judges and to attorneys has been of great value.

I regard it as a distinct pleasure to introduce to you our mutual friend, Judge Samuel Bell, presiding judge of the Municipal Court of Cincinnati.

HON. SAMUEL BELL

(Presiding Judge, Municipal Court of Cincinnati)

Chairman Hurst, President Green, Governor Bricker, Very Reverend Wagner, our old jolly, popular distinguished mayor, Jim Stewart, and my fellow Americans: It is a very great pleasure and a highly distinct honor to have the privilege of appearing before the American Federation of Labor fifty-five years after I started to labor, before I was fourteen years of age. I want to congratulate you upon the splendid messages which these previous speakers have brought to you. Particularly do I want to commend this splendid body for its recognition of a supreme power and for its appeal through the Mon-signor for the guidance and protection and irection of that power in your deliberations during your stay in our city.

Two thousand years ago an angelic chorus broke upon the hearing of the world and brought the message of "Glory

to God in the highest, peace on earth and good will among men." I commend this splendid body on the fact that the first piece of completed legislation which you turn out is an appeal to the people of America particularly, and to the world in general for peace and amity among them, an appeal that our American boys shall not again become cannon fodder for foreign countries.

We of Cincinnati feel highly flattered and very much complimented by the repeated return of this distinguished body to our beloved city. We are happy, too, that you hold many of your quarterly meetings around our city.

When that distinguished initial leader of your body passed on a few years ago it pleased the majority of your representatives to come to Ohio and pick as his successor that distinguished democratic civilian and worker, William Green, who graced the halls of the legislature in Columbus as a State Senator, and who has made his power for good in your midst and in our community felt.

We are happy that you gave the job of temporary chairman to our very dear and generous friend, Jack Hurst, and his committee of local citizens. They do all things well, and I am sure your stay in Cincinnati will be made comfortable and pleasant and entertaining, and perhaps even strenuous at times.

I bring to you today a thought from a distinguished American poet, Emerson, who said, "Life is a progress and not a station." It gives me very great pleasure, as I have learned from that banner across the hall, to know that you feel that the principal solution of labor's problem is the thirty-hour week. I believe I can concur heartily in that because I worked sixty hours a week for seven years in a large manufacturing plant, seven days a week, when I was learning the machinists' trade. An accident brought my labor career to an end. My excess fervor in the interests of the Republican candidate for President in 1888, led me to shoot a cannon off and the thing went off in my face. And so my career as a laborer ended at that time.

I come from a family of working people. My paternal grandfather was a molder. My father-in-law was the Treasurer of the Iron Molders' Union about the same time. Perhaps some of you remember the Third Vice-President of the organization, George Custer, who was my brother-in-law.

I want to congratulate your organization on establishing progress in the 58 years of your existence, and in the 73 years of the existence of national labor organizations. The eight-hour day has been accomplished. Oriental labor has been eliminated. Some contract labor has been eliminated. Prison labor has not been eliminated, but its products have been restricted. You have accomplished a compensation law for working men, widows' pensions and old-age pensions.

I remember old John Graney of Youngstown, who headed the Ohio division of the Committee on Aid for the Aged, or the old age pension, as we were pleased to call it. You have brought about a declaration in the Clayton Act which makes labor not a commodity or an article of trade. And so you have progressed — proving Emerson's statement to be true.

I was delighted to hear the Mayor give you those words of wisdom from our elder brother, the Carpenter of Nazareth, when he condensed the Ten Commandments of Moses into the two commandments of this splendid generation in which we live, and I say to you another word of that Carpenter of Nazareth which the Mayor emphasized, "Love one another."

So, my friends of this magnificent body of leaders of American labor, it is a pleasure to bring to you this message and to congratulate you upon your achievements and accomplishments, to bid you Godspeed in going forward in the tasks which are before you. With your faith steadfast in the Supreme power and the observation of the two commandments which the Carpenter of Nazareth has given us, your efforts will be bound to be glorious victories.

It gives me very great pleasure to express the hope that the results of your deliberations may be constructive and far reaching for the welfare of our fellow men. You know the first national organization did not have these splendid planks you have in your Federation of Labor, which is mutual helpfulness and the strong aiding the weak. With those mottoes I am sure you can agree with me in the quotation of Emerson's line, "Life is a progress and not a station."

Chairman Hurst: I want to thank you, Judge, for your kindly remarks, and I assure you we consider it a privilege and an honor to have you with us this morning. I know when you return to your judicial responsibilities you will ever hold in mind the fact that you have had the pleasure yourself of addressing this great body of American citizens.

That ends our welcoming program, and I am quite sure that by now you realize we are proud to have you in Cincinnati. We hope you will have a very successful and progressive convention, and that when you leave our city you will carry back with you many fond thoughts of your stay here.

I take pleasure now in handing the gavel to President Green. We all love him most sincerely. We realize and appreciate his leadership is of outstanding significance in the United States and in the world today.

Everybody looks to William Green and to his Executive Council and to you delegates for the welfare of the workers of this country. Their hope lies wholly in your hands. They appreciate the fact that through these deliberations, and only through these deliberations and the activities of President Green and the Executive Council in the interim can this government progress economically and legislatively.

You have many problems of legislation that will be dealt with in this convention, and I sincerely hope you will receive the wholehearted support of all the workers of the country in the endeavors that you will put forth during this convention and until the next convention convenes.

I now extend to President Green the gavel to officially open the Fifty-Ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

PRESIDENT GREEN

President Green: Chairman Hurst, Governor Bricker, Mayor Stewart, representative of the Church, my colleagues of the Council of the American Federation of Labor, distinguished guests, delegates and visitors to this highly important annual convention of the American Federation of Labor— In your behalf and for you I extend to the Governor of the State of Ohio, the Mayor of this Queen City of that commonwealth, the representatives of business, the Central Body of Cincinnati, and the State Federation of Labor, our sincere thanks for the warm, cordial, hearty welcome extended us.

We long remember our previous experiences in this hospitable city. We have been permitted before to hold conventions of the American Federation of Labor in a city where we were conscious of the fact that we were breathing the atmosphere and air of hospitality. So we are not disappointed this morning because of the warmth and cordiality and sincerity of the welcome extended us. We know we shall carry on our work here under the most auspicious circumstances, and when it is done and we have written final to the work at this great convention we shall go back to our homes and our communities carrying with us the most happy memories of a delightful visit spent in this great city.

I am reminded this morning that we are

meeting in a wonderful city, and the people of this city, in my judgment—and I think in yours—showed wisdom when they selected such a capable Mayor to serve the people. I do not know why, but we did consult the stars and some who professed to be fortune tellers when we decided to hold a convention in this city, and they told us by all that was good and bad that the Cincinnati Reds would win the pennant. And so we decided to come. The Mayor of this city has measured up to every requirement. He has set a high standard. His excellency of service is known throughout the length and breadth of the land, and if he will only measure up to the standard which we set now, we will write him down as the greatest Mayor in America, and that standard is that we expect him to supply every baseball fan in attendance at this convention with a ticket to the World's Series.

May I remind you that we are truly meeting in the confines of one of the greatest states in the union, and I am proud to note the distinguished Governor of this Commonwealth who appeared here this morning is upholding the best traditions of this Commonwealth. Here we pioneered in social justice legislation. We wrote early in the development of that new science the best workmen's compensation law that has ever been recorded upon the statute books of any state in the union. We set the standard here in the enactment of our workmen's compensation law and we wrote into that statute the principles of an exclusive state fund. The representatives of labor in practically every state in the union have been endeavoring to secure the incorporation of the exclusive state fund feature in other workmen's compensation laws passed in the different states of the union.

I recall the days with a feeling of profound pleasure and satisfaction when we fought that great battle early for the enactment of a high standard of constructive workmen's compensation law. It is on the statute books of the State, and now the employers of labor and the representatives of the Ohio State Federation of Labor join together in appearing before the legislature in the defense and maintenance of that great statute. That is a development that has taken place in a great commonwealth. That is democracy. It shows how the people of a great state, which makes up, along with other states, the United States

of America, were able to pioneer, to set the standard, and to ask other states to measure up to it as public opinion would permit them to do so.

Now we are here, the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor, to report upon our stewardship. We submit to you in the report of the Executive Council the administrative work of the officers of the American Federation of Labor during the past year. I ask that every delegate and interested visitor in attendance at this convention read this report carefully and analytically. You will find therein that the American Federation of Labor, in spite of opposition and difficulties, made tremendous progress during the past year. We come to you reporting an organization stronger, more firmly established than ever before. We come reporting the work, not only of the organization, but of an institution that has now become a part of the institutional life of our great nation. You will find therein that we increased our membership several hundred thousand during the past year. We report to this historic convention a paid-up membership of over 4,000,000 loyal, devoted members of the American Federation of Labor.

And, supplementing our organizational work has been the work we have performed along legislative lines. We have promoted social justice legislation than, in operation, will bring into the homes and lives of millions of people the realization of a better day and a better life. This legislation represents the realization of dreams which the pioneers of our great movement dreamed in days gone by, and we are fortunate today in that we are permitted to live in the day and age when we realize that the dreams of the pioneers of this movement are coming true.

I want also to report that we have become stronger in public opinion, in the affairs of the Government, in civic and community activities. The voice of the American Federation of Labor is stronger today in the councils of the nation than it has ever been in its entire history.

And so, my friends, we can well consider the basis of all this success. Why have we succeeded in the face of most tremendous opposition that we have encountered, some of it uncalled for and unnecessary; but, nevertheless, it had to be faced, and is being faced

with the courage that knows no limitation whatsoever. But it is because we have developed an economic and political philosophy which served as one of the cornerstones upon which our great superstructure rests. No one can successfully challenge the soundness and the virtue of the economic, social and political philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. It has developed out of sixty years of strenuous experience. We have made mistakes, but, like sensible men, we have benefited by those mistakes. We have consolidated every gain we ever made; we are holding them; they will never be given up; they are a part of our lives and a part of our organizational work and our organization policy. Having consolidated these gains we are going forward and onward and upward to a realization of the higher standards of life and living here in the United States of America.

In the protection and preservation and maintenance of our economic, social and political philosophy we have refused to compromise with those who preach a strange philosophy, who endeavor, by persuasive efforts and sometimes even through a resort to force, to compel and require the American Federation of Labor to embrace and accept this imported philosophy. We refuse, we have refused, we will continue to refuse. We will never be led into the bypaths of experimentation by the siren voice of those who would seduce and destroy our movement.

We recall that there are those who have experimented in the application of this imported philosophy. Do you still remember when you noticed the headlines in the press of the country how they were seizing property, engaging in sit-down strikes, seizing and holding cities, promoting mutiny at sea—all that is part of the revolutionary program that they have asked the American Federation of Labor to accept.

And have you observed the revulsion of public opinion to that policy advocated and pursued by those who would substitute this sort of revolutionary program for the program of the American Federation of Labor?

And, after all, men and women, there is no more potent, no more powerful influential force in American life than public opinion, and no group can do violence to public opinion, because if you do the pendulum will swing, as it has swung in some of the com-

monwealths making up this great nation where we have been confronted with difficulty. Why? Because public opinion said no, to the adoption of this strange destructive political and economical philosophy. But we are standing true. We have stood by and watched the experiment. We have learned much and we are more determined than ever to follow the democratic way of living, to work out our problems in the American way, in accordance with American institutions and our own democratic form of government.

I am proud of the record, proud of the devotion and loyalty shown by the representatives and membership of our great American Federation of Labor. Like soldiers under fire, battling on the battlefield for principles and for the maintenance of the philosophy which we have developed out of sixty years of experience, they have stood immovable, the word "surrender" is not included in their vocabulary; they are soldiers who enlisted in this fight to the bitter end and until death itself if necessary.

I cannot refrain from referring to the great international tragedy which hovers over us, and as we live and move and work in the lengthening shadows of a devastating and cruel war we are determined that we shall maintain our equilibrium, that we will never be moved by war psychology, that we will exercise self-control and self-discipline. This, in my judgment, is highly necessary.

We are striving for peace here in America. We know the meaning of that word and of that term. We are a peace loving people, and that sentiment is no more pronounced in any group who make up our citizenship than it is among the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor and their families. I know that we are asking ourselves unconsciously many times, "Shall it be peace or war?" We recall how we were drawn into the European conflict of two or more decades ago and how we were inspired by high hopes, noble ideals and lofty aims. We were willing to fight to end war and for the preservation and perpetuation of democracy and democratic principles.

And lo and behold, after the sacrifice, two million or more of our young men making the trip across the ocean, many of them buried in foreign soil, we became disillusion-

ioned. We ask you in all sincerity, what great principle was settled by that war? Were any of the ideals of America realized? Did the war serve to end wars? The answer comes from Europe now. Was the world made safe for democracy? Behold the challenge that has come from dictators, autocrats and totalitarian states.

I could refer to some other factors that developed out of that war that would add to our disillusionment. Well, our answer now, here in the United States of America, is that if the bodies and the service of our young men and old men as well, are needed as a sacrifice in order to defend American sovereignty, American soil and American institutions, and to preserve our democratic form of government, every life and every man is available for that service. But there is not one single one whose blood we are willing to shed on foreign soil in a European war.

And so I am confident that when this great congress of labor expresses itself it will be in opposition to European entanglements and to any involvement in a European war, and for the preservation of our peaceful, democratic form of government in the United States of America. As we contemplate the future, we realize that, in addition to the sacrifice of life upon European battlefields, our labor movement would be risking all, for I am of the opinion that when America becomes involved, if it ever does, in another European conflict, many of the gains which labor has secured during these years of struggle and sacrifice will be wiped out over night.

Is there any of us who does not understand that, because of modern developments and the use of modern implements of war, labor will be regimented, that the economic and social gains which we have made will be wiped out, that we will be reduced to the position of a regimented force at home, compelled to serve under a war emergency program? Can we afford to risk that for the settlement of these differences which have arisen between European nations?

And then, in addition to that, what service can our government render if we become involved as a party to the conflict? Here we stand, a great nation, moved by lofty motives and influenced by high ideals, ready to serve in a mediation capacity. And some

day the wearied nations of Europe, driven to desperation by death and destruction, will be turning their faces toward some intervening government to save them from annihilation. Let us stand ready to serve in that capacity, ready to give out of the experience of our own government toward the promotion of peace and the rehabilitation of the destroyed nations of Europe. We can do it if our nation holds aloof, if it remains ready to serve, willing to serve, and anxious to serve in a mediation capacity. That is the policy I know this great American Federation of Labor will approve and will follow.

We cannot help thinking about Congress and legislation being considered by Congress relating to this European conflict, and, as the representatives of our great constituency, a great organization serving in our social and civic life, we have opinions as to the form this legislation should take. First of all, I know we will demand that Congress shall act in defense of our government and of our people. We rely upon Congress to save us. We are anxious and willing that Congress should perfect legislation and so scientifically construct it as to make it quite impossible for America to be dragged into the European conflict.

We believe what our distinguished President of the United States told us in that great historic message he delivered to Congress when he stated then that, in his opinion, if the embargo provisions of the Neutrality Act were repealed and the commonly known "cash and carry" plan substituted, it would serve more than ever to keep our nation out of the European conflict. I have considered the matter well, as no doubt you have, and we are willing to accept his word and give him support in his legislative program, with the understanding that it is passed for the purpose of keeping the United States out of the European war.

Along with you, I am deeply impressed with the tragic events which contributed to the involvement of the great branch of our membership living in the Dominion of Canada in the European war. We in the United States are fighting to keep our people out of the European conflict. Our brothers across the Canadian border are already in. The Dominion of Canada, as a part of the British Empire, has declared war. That means that

the workers of Canada, members of our Unions, thousands of them there, will be called upon to serve. Because of the close fraternal and economic and brotherhood relationship which exists between our brothers in Canada and us here in the United States, our hearts go out in sympathy to our fellow trade unionists there. We hope for the best. We know they will do their duty as loyal citizens of the Dominion of Canada. They will serve as we would serve if we were in, but we regret more than words can express that the logic of events has made it necessary that these men be called to serve in this European conflict.

In conclusion may I refer, as I must, to the conflict which rages within the ranks of labor. It is not as much of a conflict now as it was some two years ago. But all of us have endeavored to find language that would adequately express our sincere sorrow and regret because of the division which occurred within the ranks of labor. When we contemplate it all we are made conscious of the fact we are in no way responsible for the division which has occurred within the house of labor. Our movement was united for more than half a century, thoroughly united. Solidarity and unity were its chief assets, and it was upon that foundation that we erected this super-structure that now challenges the admiration of all its members and its devoted friends. But since 1935 we have not been fighting so much against the action of those who led the dual movement as we have been fighting for the preservation of democracy and democratic principles. We maintain that conventions of the American Federation of Labor are sovereign bodies, democratic institutions, where we formulate our administrative and organizational policies in a democratic way and in accordance with democratic procedure, and when the debate is over and the last word has been spoken and the vote has been taken, we are solemnly obligated to abide by the will of the majority, recorded in the sovereign conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

And so we look back to 1935, when that procedure was followed, and we see by the record that a minority who fairly lost in that convention by a vote of two to one, decided to attempt to force the majority in the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor to surrender to force and not to reason. And since 1935 that movement has been attempting to impose its will by force alone. Well, my friends, when we surrender to a minority, when we yield to the demands of those who lose a fight fairly and in accordance with fair rules of sportsmanship, then we surrender the very fundamentals upon which our movement rests. We have been endeavoring to uphold the law of reason, of judgment, and of orderly procedure, and in my judgment this fight will never be concluded until the minority force realizes and accepts the law of reason and democratic procedure.

Now may I report that during the present year we have endeavored to compose differences. In response to an appeal by the President of the United States we appointed a committee to meet with a committee representing a rival dual movement. These committees met. Our committee made decided concessions in the interest of peace. These concessions were rejected, and finally the committee was notified that the meetings were ended, and that when the representatives of the other side were ready to meet they would let us know. That happened last April. Our committee has been standing by, waiting for information as to when it would be convenient for the representatives of the other side to meet, and all has been silent.

Some in our movement have asked why we didn't settle our differences, why does this continue, why don't you settle? Well, the same question has been asked Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Daladier, representing the democratic nations of England and France—why don't you settle with Mr. Hitler? I can't answer that question. I don't know why they have not settled.

We are still ready to meet and settle and bring about an honest, fair adjustment of difficulties, and I anticipate that in due course of time the President of the United States will send to this convention a message asking us again to meet and confer, and, in the interests of public welfare, endeavor to promote a settlement. I think we can answer that appeal, that message and any other that may come by quoting the last paragraph in the report of the Executive Council dealing with negotiations with the C. I. O. I will read it:

"Our committee still stands, clothed with authority to function, ready to resume negotiations when it is accorded an opportunity to do so. We have opened the door of the American Federation of Labor wide and completely. We have invited those who left the American Federation of Labor to return. We have urged them to come back home and settle differences within the family of labor in a sensible, honest and fair way. In doing thus we have been inspired by a genuine desire to establish here in America a solid, united labor movement through which the economic, social and industrial interests of the workers of the nation can be fully and completely served."

There is the quotation from the report of the Executive Council to this convention. It is placed upon a high, impregnable plane. It cannot be assailed. It answers the question. We are ready, we are willing; come on, let's settle. What more can we do, and what more would you ask us to do!

Now I have covered these points because it seemed quite appropriate and fitting for me to do so. I bring this address to a close, and in doing so may I point out that in this great convention we will again examine and re-examine the policies we pursue, the positions we have heretofore assumed, and then in marching out, taking higher ground and more advanced positions, we will make new declarations and renew our obligations and our vows to the principles and the policies of the American Federation of Labor. We will sound a note of hope and inspiration to the toiling masses of the people. We want the world to know that the American Federation of Labor is both sound and militant. The veterans of our movement, sitting in this convention, will determine in accordance with their conscience and their judgment the best policy which in the future we should pursue. We are united. Let us remain united—I mean so far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned—and let us drink anew from the cup of inspiration here. Let us rededicate our lives to a cause that means more than religion itself. Let us be willing to bare our breasts to the common foe in the defense of our great principles, and let us go out

from this convention united, marching as one man in the great battle for human freedom, for the preservation of liberty and democracy in the United States of America.

I thank you.

And now, officers, delegates and visitors, I have the honor of declaring the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor as convened in regular session for the transaction of business.

It is 12:30 o'clock and it seems unwise and inadvisable to attempt at the luncheon hour to take up the report of the Committee on Credentials. It is the opinion of the Chair that we might well leave that report until 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

MEETING OF LABOR PRESS

Delegate Woodmansee: The annual meeting of the Labor Press will be held in Parlors E and F tonight at 7:30. We want all the labor editors and those who publish labor papers to be present. We have some important matters to take up and we want it distinctly understood where we stand.

President Green: The Chair calls on Dr. Victor Reichert to pronounce the benediction this morning.

BENEDICTION

Dr. Victor Reichert

Almighty God and Father, we call upon Thy blessings, we implore Thy guidance upon the deliberations of the American Federation of Labor as they gather here in convention in our fair city of Cincinnati. Mindful of the confusion in the world today, of the havoc, of the terrible destruction of life and property and labor that now terrify the world across the seas, may there be deepened within us here a new sense of fraternal obligation, a new vision of America, the beautiful, that this land of ours remain forever the land of the free and the home of the brave. May Thy spirit of council and light, of wisdom and understanding rest upon the distinguished leader of your great organization, on the officers and delegates and the members who have gathered here. May there be no word spoken with malice, but with charity for all.

May the work here achieved be for the blessing of all and the hurt of none.

So may the graciousness of the Lord, our God, be upon us. Establish Thou also upon us the work of our hands, yea, the work of our hands, establish Thou it. Amen.

At 12:35 o'clock, p. m., the convention recessed to 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

First Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: The report of the Credentials Committee is now in order. Chairman Close, of the Committee, will submit the report.

Delegate Close, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Cincinnati, Ohio.

October 2, 1939.

To President Green, Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report:

We have examined the credentials of 512 delegates, representing 88 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 38 State Branches, 106 Central Bodies, 79 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and 4 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

National and International Unions

Actors and Artists of America, Associated—Florence Marston, 201 votes.

Air Line Pilots' Association—David L. Behncke, 10 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, C. W. Sickles, 40 votes.

Automobile Workers of America, International Union, United — Homer Martin, George Kiebler, 42 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Joseph Schmidt, Peter Beisel, Jacob Goldstone, 730 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—William C. Birthright, Chas. T. Crane, Anthony Merlino, Patrick H. Reagan, John B. Robinson, 475 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Leo Abernathy, 18 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, Harry Bayes, 50 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, William E. Walter, Harry Nacey, 200 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Mary G. Morley, 177 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, 308 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergfell, Albert J. Kugler, Joseph J. Hauser, 420 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, William J. Moran, Thomas H. O'Donnell, John J. Mulligan, 650 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United — Frank Kasten, William Tracy, Thomas Hutson, 100 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, J. H. Lyons, J. T. Fitzpatrick, J. J. Dempsey, D. M. Gayton, 395 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—George Sealise, Wm. L. McPetridge, Thomas J. Burke, Wm. Mohlman, Jess Fletcher, Charles C. Levey, 700 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Felix H. Knight, Joseph Trumbly, Irvin Barney, J. J. Fitzgerald, 650 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Maurice A. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, H. G. Cozzens, Ralph Bagley, J. C. Barrett, Walter E. Gebelstein, John Stevenson, 3,000 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—R. E. Van Horn, 70 votes.

Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of—W. S. Gross, H. E. Greenwald, M. Minaden, John Zitello, 164 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, William I. Horner, Albert G. Hunt, Albert J. White, Elroy C. Hallbeck, 400 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—George M. Harrison, Phil E. Ziegler, Robert Morgan, 910 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—W. G. Desepthe, C. C. Coulter, 653 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—J. J. Glenn, 14 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 19 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—D. W. Tracy, G. M. Bugniet, Chas. M. Paulsen, W. J. Kenefick, Edward Hayde, George Renz, 2,003 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—John C. MacDonald, Frank B. Comfort, John J. McAuliff, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—John Posschl, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Joseph J. Delaney, Bert Swain, A. L. Mugnier, 708 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 104 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, John P. Redmond, 307 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John F. McNamara, John Clinton, James L. Kelley, Frank Shanley, 268 votes.

Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of—H. D. Dannenberg, 35 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, A. Adamski, J. P. McCurdy, George C. Slater, W. R. Brooks, 400 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, William W. Campbell, George S. Bennett, Charles B. Wolfe, 200 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—M. J. Gillooly, 178 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Thomas Durian, 9 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, 226 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Laurence Foley, 50 votes.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United—Max Zaritsky, I. H. Goldberg, William Harding, Jr., Lucy Oppenheim, 300 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, M. D. Cox, James Bove, J. B. Etchison, Michael Carrozzo, 1,544 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Chris Lane, Nat Mossing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, 1,848 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, Harry J. Hagen, Charles J. Case, 81 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—William Donovan, Lawrence Palacios, 292 votes.

Leather Workers, International Union, United—Bernard G. Quinn, 25 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gainer, M. T. Finnan, Luther E. Swartz, Charles D. Duffy, William J. Gorman, 600 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural—Frank W. Meyer, 6 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Andrew J. Kennedy, Robert Bruck, Fred W. Rose, 123 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, Fred B. Gerrard, 663 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—H. W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, D. M. Burrows, W. F. Robinson, Harley F. Nickerson, William C. Ripberger, 1,900 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood of—F. H. Fljodal, E. E. Milliman, L. E. Keller, J. J. Farnan, W. V. Turnbull, 576 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—William McCarthy, John J. Conway, 55 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—John J. Scully, 30 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, M. S. Maxwell, Earl W. Jimeron, John J. Walsh, 629 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—Robert Byron, James J. Ryan, James W. Close, James T. Moriarty, 200 votes.

Mine Workers of America, International Union Progressive—Joe Ozanic, 350 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Harry Stevenson, Al. Armbrust, William Leishman, William Rapier, 233 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, C. L. Bagley, Chauncey A. Weaver, Edward Canavan, Jack B. Tenney, A. Rex Riccardi, 1,000 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—L. P. Lindelof, Jos. F. Kelley, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, John Oliver, Arthur W. Wallace, 1,002 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Matthew J. Burns, Arthur Huggins, Frank P. Barry, 206 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—George Q. Lynch, 70 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Michael J. Collieran, John H. Donlin, M. J. McDonough, John E. Rooney, 194 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, George Masterton, Charles M. Ran, William Quirk, 400 votes.

Pocketbook and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies' Handbag—Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, 100 votes.

Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers, International Union, Metal—W. W. Britton, Ray Kelsay, 70 votes.

Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car—Asa Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, 60 votes.

Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, National Association of—Willis A. Bohall, 15 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, E. L. Wheatley, John O'Malley, 130 votes.

Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—Eppa Honey, 9 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Walter C. Moeller, Joe A. Wilson, John Woods, Henry Kruse, 396 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, Elmer P. Meinz, Matt Slater, James S. Killen, 322 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—Edward McMorro, Joseph J. Kehoe, Louis Bengel, Othmer Mische, W. M. Rea, Jerry P. Coughlin, 797 votes.

Railway Mail Association—J. F. Bennett, Henry W. Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, 217 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition—George W. Jones, J. M. Gavlak, 40 votes.

Seafarers' International Union of North America—Harry Lundeberg, Matthew Dushane, 110 votes.

Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of—George L. Warfel, 9 votes.

Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—George E. Browne, Thomas V. Green, E. J. Brock, 420 votes.

State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of—Arnold S. Zander, C. B. Noxon, W. T. Burnett, Frank C. Snyder, 257 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Leo J. Buckley, Chas. A. Sumner, Chas. E. Sinnegan, 83 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Paul A. Givens, P. J. Cullen, 41 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Edw. J. Winter, A. E. Johnson, 42 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Thomas C. Cashen, John Lundergan, 78 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Mary Foley Grossman, 256 votes.

Teamsters, Chaudfours, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, F. W. Brewster, John O'Rourke, George Wilson, 3,500 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—V. O. Gardner, D. J. Mahoney, 350 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial—Frank B. Powers, 35 votes.

Tobacco Workers, International Union—Charles E. Winesburg, Raymond E. Rodgers, 147 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred Rota, 110 votes.

Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United—Rudolph Heini, 31 votes.

Departments

Building and Construction Trades Department—John P. Coyne, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—John P. Frey, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes' Department—Bert M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—I. M. Ornburn, 1 vote.

State Branches

Alabama State Federation of Labor—Hugh W. Brown, 1 vote.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—C. L. Patterson, 1 vote.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor—H. M. Thackrey, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Burt B. Currihan, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—John E. Gross, 1 vote.

Connecticut State Federation of Labor—John J. Egan, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—Walter Hoyt, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—Charles B. Gramling, 1 vote.

Idaho State Federation of Labor—Aug. Rosqvist, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—Reuben G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Adolph J. Fritz, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—A. A. Couch, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—Edw. H. Weyler, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—E. H. Williams, 1 vote.

Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—Frank J. Coleman, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Kenneth I. Taylor, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—John Reid, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—R. A. Olson, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Emmet Sullivan, 1 vote.

Nebraska State Federation of Labor—Roy M. Brewer, 1 vote.

Nevada State Federation of Labor—Tom Jolly, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Louis P. Marcante, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—George Meany, 1 vote.

North Carolina State Federation of Labor—C. A. Fink, 1 vote.

North Dakota State Federation of Labor—W. W. Murrey, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Donnelly, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—D. E. Nickerson, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—James L. McDevitt, 1 vote.

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—Elizabeth M. Cahir, 1 vote.

South Carolina State Federation of Labor—J. W. Harrison, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Maynard Baird, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Acreman, 1 vote.

Utah State Federation of Labor—Paul M. Peterson, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—O. C. Moore, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—James A. Taylor, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Tom Cairns, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Henry Ohl, Jr., 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Martin Cahill, 1 vote.

City Central Bodies

Akron, O., Summit County Trades and Labor Assembly—Chet Smead, 1 vote.

Allentown, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council—Harry B. Parks, 1 vote.

Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council—Redmond M. Burr, 1 vote.

Arkansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—Charlie H. Gresty, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Dewey L. Johnson, 1 vote.

Battle Creek, Mich., Federation of Labor, Calhoun County—Clarence J. Beaudoin, 1 vote.

Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—W. O. Hare, 1 vote.

Blackford and Jay Counties, Ind., Central Labor Council—Ralph Anders, 1 vote.

Bloomington, Ind., Federation of Labor—Dioan Summers, 1 vote.

Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union—Thomas J. O'Brien, 1 vote.

Boise, Ida., Trades and Labor Council—Willard D. Bell, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—John J. Kearney, 1 vote.

Brazil, Ind., Central Labor Union—Oral Bell, 1 vote.

Charlotte, N. C., Central Labor Union—H. L. Kiser, 1 vote.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union—R. M. Cooke, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—F. A. Ackerman, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Union—John J. Hurst, 1 vote.

Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor—Thomas A. Lenahan, 1 vote.

Columbus, O., Federation of Labor—John C. Getreu, 1 vote.

Council Bluffs, Ia., Central Labor Union—Gordon E. Beck, 1 vote.

Daytona Beach, Fla., Central Labor Union—John Latour, 1 vote.

Dearborn County, Ind., Central Labor Union—Delver Shuman, 1 vote.

Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—J. M. Osborn, 1 vote.

Des Moines, Ia., Trades and Labor Assembly—Jas. W. Soutter, 1 vote.

Detroit, Mich., Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor—Frank X. Martel, 1 vote.

Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Stewart A. Seifert, 1 vote.

East St. Louis, Ill., Trades and Labor Union—A. L. Wegener, 1 vote.

Edwardsville, Ill., Trades and Labor Council—Theodore Nischwitz, 1 vote.

Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Trades Council—George P. Cushing, 1 vote.

Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly—A. L. Bailey, 1 vote.

Green Bay, Wis., Trades Council—Luis Butterfield, Sr., 1 vote.

Hamilton, O., Trades and Labor Council—Milton Doll, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—John F. Cauley, 1 vote.

Houston, Tex., Labor Council—O. R. Denman, 1 vote.

Huntington, West Va., Central Labor Union—Paul K. Woods, 1 vote.

Huron, S. D., Central Labor Union—George Tobin, 1 vote.

Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—Charles Lutz, 1 vote.

Jackson, Mich., Trades Council—W. E. Basore, 1 vote.

Jacksonville, Fla., Central Labor Union—E. C. Valentine, 1 vote.

Jamestown, N. Y., Central Labor Council—Joseph Melcher, 1 vote.

Jasper, Ala., Central Labor Union—W. B. Killingsworth, 1 vote.

- Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—R. R. Graham, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council—Hugh S. O'Neill, 1 vote.
- Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Leonard Mattson, 1 vote.
- Lafayette, Ind., Central Labor Union—T. J. Cavanaugh, 1 vote.
- Lake County, Ill., Central Labor Council—Ben H. McMahon, 1 vote.
- Lake Geneva, Wis., Central Labor Union—Claude Downes, 1 vote.
- Lancaster, O., Central Labor Union, Fairfield County—Thomas W. Meyer, 1 vote.
- Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union—John F. Wade, 1 vote.
- Lexington, Ky., Central Labor Union—E. T. Baxter, 1 vote.
- Los Angeles County, Calif., Central Labor Council—J. W. Buzzell, 1 vote.
- Louisville, Ky., Central Labor Union—Alexander Jeffrey, 1 vote.
- Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union—Sidney E. Le Bow, 1 vote.
- Marion, O., Central Labor Union—Clifford B. Welch, 1 vote.
- McComb, Miss., Central Labor Union—V. F. O'Flinn, 1 vote.
- McKeesport, Pa., Central Labor Union—Charles Harris, 1 vote.
- Meridian, Miss., Central Labor Union—J. W. Cameron, 1 vote.
- Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union—Charles E. Johnson, 1 vote.
- Middletown, O., Trades and Labor Council—W. J. O'Brien, 1 vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—Herman Seide, 1 vote.
- Minneapolis, Minn., Central Labor Union—George E. Murk, 1 vote.
- Moberly, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Alden P. Baker, 1 vote.
- Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council—Ida Lee Merchant, 1 vote.
- Muskegon, Mich., Trades and Labor Council, Greater Muskegon—Earl Smith, 1 vote.
- Nampa, Ida., Trades and Labor Council—H. I. Hansen, 1 vote.
- Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Jacob C. Baer, 1 vote.
- Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—William J. Egan, 1 vote.
- Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union—E. J. Shave, 1 vote.
- New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Edward W. Burns, 1 vote.
- New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.
- Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union—H. W. Furlow, 1 vote.
- Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Leonard Dickerson, 1 vote.
- Olympia, Wash., Trades Council—J. B. Jackson, 1 vote.
- Omaha, Neb., Central Labor Union—Mace M. Brown, 1 vote.
- Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union—Marion D. Lambert, 1 vote.
- Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—James W. Gentry, 1 vote.
- Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Frank Burch, 1 vote.
- Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council—John McCaig, 1 vote.
- Portland, Me., Central Labor Union—Horace E. Howe, 1 vote.
- Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council, Portland and Vicinity—Gust Anderson, 1 vote.
- Portsmouth, O., Central Labor Council—Ed. Switalski, 1 vote.
- Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union—Earnest S. Smith, 1 vote.
- Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union—Joseph Powers, 1 vote.
- Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.
- Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—W. D. Anderson, 1 vote.
- St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council—Warren S. Welsh, 1 vote.
- St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union—Mary E. Ryder, 1 vote.
- San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—John A. O'Connell, 1 vote.
- Santa Barbara, Calif., Central Labor Union—Bee Tumber, 1 vote.
- Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council, Seattle and Vicinity—Claude O'Reilly, 1 vote.
- Seymour, Ind., Jackson County Central Labor Union—Elmer O. Briner, 1 vote.
- Sheridan, Wyo., Central Labor Union, Sheridan County—A. Roy Young, 1 vote.
- South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.
- Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—Robert E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.
- Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union—J. R. Andrews, 1 vote.
- Springfield, O., Trades and Labor Assembly—Edward E. Forrer, 1 vote.
- Toledo, O., Central Labor Union—John M. Froehlich, 1 vote.
- Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—John Locher, 1 vote.
- Wichita Falls, Tex., Trades and Labor Council—W. W. Wilkinson, 1 vote.
- Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—James T. Houghton, 1 vote.
- Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Union—J. G. Gordon, 1 vote.

Local Unions

Advertising Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.—Maury E. Rubin, 1 vote.

Aluminum Workers' Union No. 18780, East St. Louis, Ill.—Eddie R. Stahl, 9 votes.

Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union, United, No. 19388, Louisville, Ky.—Edward Donhoff, 1 vote.

Baggage and Mail Handlers' Union, Terminal Brotherhood of, No. 21019, Cincinnati, Ohio—Arthur Williams, 1 vote.

Bowling Alley Pin Setters, Federal Labor Union No. 20413, Chicago, Ill.—Richard D. Foss, 11 votes.

Cane Craftsmen's Union No. 20687, Cincinnati, O.—Edward F. Bernd, 1 vote.

Cannery Workers' Union, San Pedro, Wilmington and Terminal Island, No. 20147, San Pedro, Calif.—James Waugh, 11 votes.

Cantors' Association, Jewish Ministers, No. 21585, Montreal, Que., Can.—Nathan Remnik, 1 vote.

Cereal Workers and Allied Industries Union No. 20977, Battle Creek, Mich.—Alfred Chandler, Jr., 1 vote.

Coal Yard Employees' Union No. 19782, Milwaukee, Wis.—Joseph Driscoll, 4 votes.

Cotton Workers' Union, Southern Chemical, No. 21061, Chattanooga, Tenn.—F. M. O'Rear, 1 vote.

Dairy Products Employees' Union No. 21888, New York, N. Y.—Daniel Joseph Angley, 1 vote.

Dental Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 21651, Philadelphia, Pa.—Bertram P. Heron, 1 vote.

Dextene Workers' Union No. 20705, New Haven, Conn.—Nicholas Bertier, 1 vote.

Distillery Workers' Union No. 21449, Lawrenceburg, Ind.—Robert Auttersson, 5 votes.

Envelope Makers' Union No. 20311, Dayton, O.—George W. Winget, 5 votes.

Express Agency Employees' Union, Railway, No. 20159, Jacksonville, Fla.—Albert Harris, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wis.—Charles Heymanns, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, O.—Tom Finnegan, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—William Ketner, 19 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19152, Minneapolis, Minn.—W. A. Younker, 15 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19635, Muskegon, Mich.—Arthur M. Pierce, 5 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20183, Barberton, O.—Jack Cikity, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, O.—Walter J. Mason, 10 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20388, Battle Creek, Mich.—Russell M. Hickey, 11 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20573, Seattle, Wash.—E. H. Huntington, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 20713, Lancaster, O.—Robert Glick, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20910, Battle Creek, Mich.—Alfred L. Leonard, 5 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 21212, Cincinnati, O.—Mary Roberts, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 21900, Meridian, Miss.—Allie C. Cameron, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.—George Barnes, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 19924, Knoxville, Tenn.—Chester Dansby, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 20178, Portsmouth, Va.—Robert J. Brown, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union, L. and N., No. 21808, Birmingham, Ala.—J. W. McCall, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union, L. and N., No. 21899, New Orleans, La.—John P. Kelly, 1 vote.

Fruit and Vegetable Workers' Union, Monterey County, No. 21655, Salinas, Calif.—Andrew S. Bordges, 1 vote.

Fur Workers' Unions, Nos. 21479, 21480, 21481, Toronto, Ont., Can.—Max Federman, 3 votes.

Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.—Patrick Gallagher, 11 votes.

Grocery Employees' Union, United, No. 20541, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Phillip Whitehead, 2 votes.

Grocery Handlers, Porters and Warehousemen's Union No. 19897, Jersey City, N. J.—George Kane, 4 votes.

Grocery Supplies Union, Wholesale, No. 20658, Chicago, Ill.—Harold F. Nelsen, 4 votes.

Hardware Dealer Employees' Union, Wholesale, No. 20549, Chicago, Ill.—John W. Jordan, 1 vote.

Ladies' Apparel Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 21105, Shelbyville, Ind.—Violet Klare, 1 vote.

Merchandise Workers, Wholesale, No. 20475, Chicago, Ill.—M. E. Stowe, 2 votes.

Miners' Union, Red Ore, No. 21971, Bessemer, Ala.—J. W. Wood, 1 vote.

News Vendors' Union No. 20769, San Francisco, Calif.—G. William Maguire, 7 votes.

Newspaper Workers' Union No. 21877, Chicago, Ill.—Charles F. Willis, 1 vote.

News Writers' Union No. 19982, Jackson, Miss.—Fred W. Patton, 1 vote.

News Writers' Union No. 21892, Salisbury, N. C.—J. D. (Dave) Brown, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 19980, Oklahoma City, Okla.—Harriette Peterson, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 20732, Chicago, Ill.—Mollie Levitas, 2 votes.

Office Workers' Union No. 21427, Columbus, O.—Don Loudon, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 22027, Cincinnati, O.—Joseph G. Gusweiler, 1 vote.

Office Workers' Union No. 22071, Tulsa, Okla.—Paul Stauffer, 1 vote.

Oil Workers' Union, Edible, No. 21569, Vernon and Vic., Calif.—Lester M. Eldred, 1 vote.

Oystermen's Union, United, No. 19600, Bivalve, N. J.—Virgil Phillips, 3 votes.

Porters, Railroad Depots, Bus Terminals, Airports, Red Caps, Attendants' Union No. 20342, Chicago, Ill.—Frank A. Sayre, 1 vote.

Quarry Workers' Union No. 21469, Bloomington, Ind.—Merle Cline, 3 votes.

Rectifiers of Spirits, Wine and Wholesale Liquor Workers' Union No. 20496, Chicago, Ill.—James Dever, 7 votes.

Salt Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 19042, Akron, O.—John Cook, 2 votes.

Smelter Workers' Union No. 21538, Blackwell, Okla.—Earl Myers, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16812, Detroit, Mich.—Ethel Hurst, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.—L. E. Groner, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20380, Miami, Fla.—M. E. Roberts, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20798, Los Angeles, Calif.—Mrs. Elma A. Goodwin, 1 vote.

Storage Warehouse Employees' Union No. 18571, Philadelphia, Pa.—Edw. J. Hartsough, 32 votes.

Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.—Louis Lufano, 2 votes.

Theatrical Agents and Managers' Union, Association of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y.—Joseph Grossman, 8 votes.

Warehouse Employees' Union No. 20558, Richmond, Va.—Samuel H. Kelly, 1 vote.

Warehouse Employees' Union No. 21102, Baltimore, Md.—Charles Di Guardo, 4 votes.

Warehouse Employees' Union No. 21104, Washington, D. C.—Edward C. Nagel, 3 votes.

Warehousemen's Union No. 20542, Cincinnati, O.—Dewey Beck, 1 vote.

Warehouse and Storehouse Employees and Janitors' Union, Station, No. 20290, Kansas City, Mo.—John Barnes, 1 vote.

Weighers, Dispatchers, Supervisors and Assistants' Union, Licensed, No. 20571, New York, N. Y.—Arthur J. Sharkey, 2 votes.

Fraternal Delegates

British Trades Union Congress—Herbert Henry Elvin, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—D. W. Kennedy, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League—Mary Cramer.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES W. CLOSE, Chairman.

FRANK KASTEN,

C. B. NOXON, Secretary.

Chairman Close: I move that the preliminary report of the Committee on Credentials be received and the delegates whose names are contained therein seated.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Kasten and unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Committee on Credentials will be continued and will bring in supplemental reports from time to time.

The Chair now desires to announce the appointment of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Rules and Order of Business

A. J. Kugler, W. R. Brooks, J. T. Fitzpatrick, Chas. E. Winesburg, John B. Robinson, John C. MacDonald, William Harding, Jr., J. J. Glenn, H. W. Sullivan, N. P. Alifas, George W. Jones, Thomas J. Burke, Jack B. Tenney, Charles P. Gramling, Edward J. Winter, H. E. Greenwald, John P. Redmond, John F. Rooney, Jerry P. Coughlin.

Convention Assistants

President Green announced the appointment of the following convention assistants:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF CONVENTION—John M. Dugan, member, Typographical Union No. 3.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS—John Birmingham, Business Representative of Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Local Union No. 245.

MESSENGER—Otto Zoeklein, Secretary, Central Labor Council, Business Representative, Stationary Firemen and Oilers Local Union No. 49.

ASSISTANT MESSENGER—Paul Ornburn, Office Workers, Washington.

President Green: Delegates who attended the Houston convention of the American Federation of Labor will recall that Brother John Coefield and Brother Felix H. Knight were elected to represent the American Federation of Labor as Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress, which met in London, England, early in September. Brother Coefield was unable to go, consequently Brother James Maloney, President of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association was appointed instead. Brother Maloney returned on the steamship Manhattan about Labor Day, but Brother Knight, President of the Carmen's Union and a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, was delayed. He has not yet returned. I received this cablegram from him today. It occurred to me it would be interesting to you. I am therefore going to read it to you. It is a radiogram, addressed to the President of the American Federation of Labor, and it reads:

"Boarded ship Saturday now anchored Bay of Biscay shallow water waiting for the tide to take us in hope to see you before close of convention.

FELIX H. KNIGHT."

I hope the water is high enough so that it will float him in here before the adjournment of the convention.

In conformity with the rules and order of business, and with the religious custom which we have followed, I now call upon our distinguished friend, the First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, to read a summary of the report of the Executive Council. I present to you First Vice-President Frank Duffy, who will read the summary of the report of the Executive Council.

Vice-President Duffy read the following:

Summary of Report of the Executive Council

In the introduction to our annual report your Executive Council directs attention to the fact that while there has been an increase in union growth during the past year, there has also been increased hostility to the labor movement. This has taken form in repressive labor legislation and amendments having for their purpose the restriction and limitation of already existing laws. We call attention to the need for planning for the coming year to insure maintenance

of the gains which have been made in the recent years. We urge union-forward campaigns by every state and city federation of labor for the territory over which each organization is responsible.

Report of Secretary-Treasurer

The Secretary-Treasurer's report for the year ending August 31, 1939 shows a balance on hand of \$546,504.36 of which \$501,963.54 is in the defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, and the balance of \$44,540.82 is in the general fund.

A summary of finances for the year shows the total receipts from all sources to be \$1,800,249.70 with total expenses \$1,697,376.53. The amount of receipts over expenses was \$102,873.17. The American Federation of Labor expended \$889,549.66 for organizing expenses during the past fiscal year.

Membership

The total paid membership of the American Federation of Labor for the month ending August 31, 1939, was 4,006,354. There were 105 national and international unions comprising 33,744 local unions and 1,563 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. In addition our report shows a total of four departments with 942 local department councils, 49 state federations of labor, and 806 city central bodies.

During the year just closed charters were issued to one new international union, 23 central labor unions, 322 directly affiliated local trade unions, and 62 to federal labor unions—a total of 408.

Union Labels

The Secretary-Treasurer reports that there are now 45 labels and 11 cards which have been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. A list of the organizations using the labels and those using cards, buttons and emblems, is given.

Gompers Memorial Fund

A detailed accounting is given of the present status of the Gompers Memorial Fund. There was a balance on hand on August 31, 1939, of \$14,125.25.

Report of the Trustees of the A. F. of L. Building

The trustees of the A. F. of L. Building present an itemized financial statement of receipts and expenses for the year and show a balance on hand of \$20,749.44.

United Cement, Lime, and Gypsum Workers International Union

Under this title your Executive Council presents a brief history of the organization of cement, lime and gypsum workers, which culminated in the issuance of an international charter on September 12, 1939. This action was in conformity with the instructions of the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. This new international union was launched under very favorable circumstances. It is composed of 96 local unions with dues paying membership of almost 14,000, practically all of whom are covered by agreements already negotiated with employers.

Seafarer's International Union of North America

Your Executive Council reports on the formation of the Seafarer's International Union of North America. Following conferences between all parties at interest an agreement was reached by which it was possible to form a new international union of seamen. This international union has been functioning with substantial progress during the past year and is steadily increasing its membership.

United Textile Workers of America

During the past year a substantial group of textile workers who were a part of the United Textile Workers organization which participated in the formation of the C. I. O. indicated their desire to return to the American Federation of Labor. This precipitated a court battle with the C. I. O. over the funds which had accumulated in the treasury of certain textile workers unions in Rhode Island which was decided in favor of the local unions. Application for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor was made and after due consideration by your Executive Council the charter of the

United Textile Workers was reinstated. The officers of the A. F. of L. are cooperating in furthering the growth and influence of the textile workers unions.

International Union United Automobile Workers of America

On April 17, 1939, the United Automobile Workers represented by Homer Martin made application for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The entire situation in the United Automobile Workers Union was carefully considered by your Executive Council and the President of the A. F. of L. was authorized to return the charter to the United Automobile Workers of America with the understanding that whatever differences may exist or come up would be straightened out after it is in the American Federation of Labor. As a result of negotiations an understanding was reached, the matter of reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor was submitted for referendum vote of the membership of the United Automobile Workers of America as a result of which formal application was made for a charter of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. This charter was issued on June 6, 1939, and a full measure of cooperation is being extended to rebuild and reestablish the International Union United Automobile Workers of America as recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Printing Trades — Lithographers

Despite diligent efforts on the part of your Executive Council to bring about an adjustment of the controversy existing between the printing trades organizations and the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada, we are compelled to report that no agreement has been reached. We recommend a continuation of efforts to bring about this desired adjustment through conferences and agreement.

International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees

In view of mechanical changes which have taken place in the foundry and molding

industry your Executive Council believes that the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees should be merged with the International Molders Union of North America. The officers and members of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees rejected a plan of amalgamation which had previously been worked out. Complications and further jurisdictional disputes arose as a result of this controversy. Two conferences looking toward the solution of this difficulty were held during the past year. Due to the fact that the officers of the Foundry Employees have stubbornly refused to participate in any plan of amalgamation of these two organizations your Executive Council recommends that the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor revoke the charter of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees and direct its membership to become affiliated with the International Molders Union of North America.

Teamsters — Brewery Workers

Your Executive Council presents for your very serious consideration a history of the jurisdictional controversy between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the International Union United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America and subsequent events which have transpired in connection therewith.

The Executive Council has exerted every means at its command to bring about compliance with the decision of the supreme authority within the American Federation of Labor. Because the officers of the Brewery Workers International Union have challenged the authority of the American Federation of Labor itself by resorting to court action in an effort to restrain the American Federation of Labor from exercising its legal and moral rights to settle jurisdictional controversies, your Executive Council feels compelled to recommend the suspension of the International Union United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America until such time as this international union complies with the decisions of the Washington and San Fran-

cisco conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Organization Work

We are able to present a very encouraging report of organizing work during the past year. While our organizing activities have extended into all fields we make special reports on organizing activities among office workers, in the sugar, cement, aluminum, fabricated metal, textile, agricultural, canneries and citrus industries.

In view of the success of our efforts in organizing the unorganized your Executive Council recommends a continuance of the one cent per member per month assessment to enable us to carry on sustained work in the field of organization and advancing and protecting the interests of our members.

Research and Information Service

Your Executive Council reports at some length on the functions of the Research and Information Service of the American Federation of Labor including assistance rendered to local unions in gathering data for use in the negotiation of wage scales and working agreements and in the promotion of the best interests of the workers in the field of social security.

The regular monthly reports on unemployment in trade unions and the monthly estimate of unemployment generally in the United States has been continued.

Trade Union Benefits

In the section titled Trade Union Benefits we submit a detailed report showing that \$25,586,288.58 was paid by those national and international unions reporting on the subject, and various other benefit provisions provided for their membership. This report shows that 1,442,610 members of those unions reporting are working the 5-day week; 624,515 enjoy vacations with pay.

Your Executive Council heartily endorses the efforts being made to secure the 5-day week and vacations with pay.

Chartering of Central Bodies Within the Jurisdiction of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada

Report is made on the action taken by your Executive Council on Resolutions 101 and 102 of the Houston 1938 Convention of the American Federation of Labor dealing with the issuance of charters by the A. F. of L. to central bodies in the Dominion of Canada. After carefully considering the matter it is the opinion of the Executive Council that Section 4 of the report of the Special Committee on Relation of Organizations in Canada and the United States adopted by the 1910 convention of the A. F. of L. should be stricken out. This resolution reads as follows:

"4. That Canadian provincial or central bodies holding charters from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress may at their discretion also hold charters from the American Federation of Labor."

This action seems necessary to eliminate misunderstanding which has arisen within the Dominion of Canada through the exercise of dual authority. If this section is stricken out, sole authority to charter central bodies within the Dominion of Canada will rest with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. We recommend that this course be followed.

C. I. O. and Peace Negotiations

In this section of our report, your Executive Council submits a full statement of developments within the past year concerning the C. I. O. We have included an official statement by the leaders of the C. I. O. declaring their purpose to invade the building industry and raid the already existing unions within that field, thus giving additional evidence of the disruptive purposes and tactics of the leaders of the C. I. O. to carry on actual warfare entirely unrelated to their originally declared purpose of "carrying on campaigns of education among the organized and unorganized workers and to organize the unorganized employed in the mass production industries."

Your Executive Council disavows any responsibility whatever for the war which is being carried on within the organized labor movement and for the division, discord, and hatred which prevail within the ranks of La-

bor. Despite all the opposition which the American Federation of Labor has encountered from irreconcilable employers and the C. I. O. we are making steady and substantial progress.

Your officers have evidenced their desire to find a satisfactory basis of settlement of this lamentable schism. We promptly responded to an invitation extended by the President of the United States to appoint a committee to meet with a similar committee of the C. I. O. for the purpose of opening peace negotiations. A representative committee of the A. F. of L. was appointed and served.

The Chairman of the C. I. O. announced a similar committee with himself as chairman. The proposal of the C. I. O. chairman which was presented at the close of the White House conference on March 7 is included as a part of the report of the Executive Council, together with the reply made by the committee representing the American Federation of Labor to the proposal.

The respective committees entered into a series of conferences in Washington, D. C. and New York. A detailed report of these meetings is given. No formal termination of these conferences ever took place. On April 5 the chairman of the C. I. O. called Vice-President Woll, a member of the A. F. of L. Committee, and advised him it would be impossible for the C. I. O. committee to meet within the time set for a resumption of their meetings. No further word has ever been received from the chairman of the C. I. O. committee.

The A. F. of L. committee still stands ready to resume negotiations.

Building and Construction Trades Department

The Building and Construction Trades Department reports increased organization activity by the national and international unions affiliated with this department. Efforts of the C. I. O. to invade the jurisdiction of the organizations within this Department have been offset. The Department reports that all of the national and international unions affiliated therewith are in good standing and eligible to representation at the 1939 convention of the Department.

Metal Trades Department

The report of the Metal Trades Department for the past year also relates successful efforts to offset disruptive tactics of the C. I. O. Practically all unions in the Metal Trades group are conducting extensive organizing campaigns and report encouraging results.

Railroad Employees Department

The report of the activities of the Railroad Employees Department for the past year is presented for your consideration. An extensive organizing campaign has been carried on, resulting in the establishment of contractual relations with many additional railroads throughout the country. The wage reduction effort of the carriers inaugurated last year was successfully resisted. Important transportation legislation has been enacted. This report is very comprehensive and instructive.

Union Label Trades Department

A most encouraging report is submitted by the Union Label Trades Department. The educational work being carried on by this Department through the press, radio, union label leagues, and the cooperation of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor, has been most productive.

Announcement is made of the publication of the 1939 Union Label Catalog Directory containing an up-to-date list of manufacturers of union label and union made products. This directory is commended to consumers as a guide for the purchase of union made goods.

National Legislation

As is our usual custom a very detailed presentation is made of the activities of the American Federation of Labor in the field of national legislation. We have included in our report pending as well as already enacted or defeated legislation of special interest to Labor.

Department of Labor

Because of the importance of the subject a brief history is presented of the events

leading up to the creation of the U. S. Department of Labor and recent action of the President transferring the U. S. Employment Service to the new Federal Security Agency. This action was unexpected and unwarranted.

Your Executive Council recommends that everything possible be done to secure a reversal of the decision dismembering the Department of Labor and that we insist that the functions and services of the Department of Labor be increased and expanded by adequate appropriation and the necessary authorizing legislation enacted to the end that the Department of Labor shall really be able to promote the welfare of all those dependent on work for incomes.

National Labor Relations Act

Amendments to the National Labor Relations Act were drawn to carry out the action of the Houston Convention on this subject. We present for your very serious consideration a detailed statement of efforts made to secure the enactment of our proposed amendments, the difficulties we have encountered, and histories of several vitally important court cases.

The American Federation of Labor sponsored the original National Labor Relations Act and will continue its vigilance over the Act and its administration so that the fundamental rights of Labor guaranteed by the Act shall not be perverted or destroyed.

State Labor Legislation

The report on state labor legislation is not pleasing. However, despite opposition to progressive legislation we are pleased to report the creation of state departments of labor in Alabama, and the Territory of Hawaii. Two state labor commissioners (in Indiana and New Hampshire) were given power to take wage claim assignments for collection, bringing the number of state departments that can effectively assist wage earners in collecting their back wages to 15. Four additional states adopted apprenticeship laws, making 12 in all that empower the state departments of labor to promote and supervise sound programs of apprentice training in cooperation with local labor and employer organizations.

Report is made of the extension of workmen's compensation and occupational disease legislation, and other important measures.

Wages and Hours

We have always been keenly conscious of the very vital influence which wages and hours exert upon the lives of all who work. Control of hours is one of the keys to control of unemployment cycles and paralleling increases in wages maintain the standards of living which have been established.

A very interesting and instructive presentation is given under this title. We point out the trends in wage and hour levels over the past decade. From facts gathered we find that the only tangible gain to workers in the present decade has been an increase in leisure with adjustment in wage rates which pave the way for higher living standards when industry expands. Our immediate problem is to restore industry to full productive activity so that the adjustments of this decade may take effect in higher living standards and increased incomes for all.

Employment and the Shorter Work Week

One of the most effective means available for combating rising unemployment in the past has been to progressively and continually shorten the work week. Your Executive Council presents an instructive and comprehensive survey on this subject. As a result of our studies we re-emphasize the need of continually striving toward the shorter work week on the part of all unions with the 30-hour week as our goal.

While pressing for a shorter work week, however, we feel that the major effort should be to lift industry out of its stagnation and restore it to a rate of expansion which will progressively raise living standards and provide employment for all.

Future employment trends may be expected to involve major shifts of workers from producing industry to service industries, from one type of service to another, from one kind of work to another. Such changes are essential in a growing economy and are bound to affect thousands of workers. It is essential, therefore, that the proper agencies be

at hand to give workers the training they need to learn new skills for new jobs, that this training be adequate and easily available, and that they be helped to locate the employment for which they are trained.

Work Relief

Work relief on W. P. A. projects has constituted the largest single instrumentality of public assistance inaugurated in an effort to overcome unemployment and to provide relief. We point out that 70 per cent of this activity was devoted to construction which, under the designation of "work relief" has actually represented one of the largest known programs of public works ever to be undertaken by any nation. It is our belief that such public works program should not be dealt with as work relief but should be embodied within prescribed limits into a planned permanent public works program.

The Prevailing Wage Problem

Despite the nation-wide opposition of organized labor and its friends, Section 15(a) of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1939 was approved on June 30, 1939, abrogating the requirement that no less than the prevailing hourly wages be paid to workers employed on W. P. A. projects. A statement explaining the meaning of this section of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act and its subsequent implications is presented for your information. No data available on the cost of living heretofore assembled can justify the enactment of Section 15(a) of this Emergency Appropriation Act with its destructive effect upon the structure of prevailing wages in all communities.

Labor Standards Under Government Contracts

The administration of the Walsh-Healey Act and procedures which have been established under the Act are explained in the section of the report of your Executive Council under this heading. Between the time of the effective date of the Act (September 28, 1936) and July 1, 1939, 14,700 government contracts valued at \$1,001,134,142 have been made subject to the Walsh-Healey Act. Of these, 6,396 government contracts valued at

\$528,392,756 have been awarded under the Act in the last fiscal year ending July 1, 1939.

Experience under the administration of this Act during the past year emphasizes the need for more expeditious and more aggressive enforcement policy if the standards of the Public Contracts Act are to become fully effective.

Wage and Hour Administration

Minimum wage and maximum hour standards set by this Act became effective on October 24, 1938. The administration of this Act is vested in the Department of Labor. A history of experience under this Act is given for your information. The initial year of the operation of this law was notable for the extent of voluntary compliance with these standards by employers. However, we believe that with the application of the 30-cent minimum wage and 42-hour work week which will become effective October 24, 1939, there must be more vigilant policing of the wage and hour standards than has been the case heretofore. This need will be further enhanced as minimum wages for additional individual industries are promulgated by the administrator under the industry committee procedure established under the Act. There is pressing need for more active labor participation in the enforcement and administration of this Act.

Social Security

Under this subject your Executive Council presents a very comprehensive report covering the field of social security. As pointed out in the sub-section titled "Committee on Social Security" under this general heading, "Social Security Is Peculiarly Labor's Program." Your officers are keeping continually abreast of developments under the several provisions of the Social Security Act to protect the interests of wage earners by not only maintaining those advantages which have already been gained but to continually broaden the scope and provisions of the Act. Administration of social security lies with the state and federal governments. For this reason in both national and state legislatures the American Federation of Labor must defend the rights of workers against rising anti-

labor standards manifested in proposals designed to hamper unions and reduce the security already won.

This detailed report on social security is especially commended to your most careful and thoughtful consideration.

Consumer Cooperatives

Your Executive Council takes cognizance of the growth of consumers cooperatives throughout the United States. These cooperatives serve union members and have their employees organized in unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Practically all union cooperatives and the services which they render are described.

The relation between credit unions and consumer cooperatives is pointed out.

We regard it as important for Labor to take its place in the American cooperative movement.

Jobs for All In Private Industry

The report of your Executive Council under this title marks the problem of getting the unemployed back to work in private industry as our first concern. We are forced to this conclusion when we realize that despite all efforts which have been made through spending programs and other recovery measures there are still ten million without work in private industry. The solution to this problem lies in a method whereby we can lift production in the shortest possible time to levels which will furnish stable profits and put the unemployed to work, and the maintenance of production at a sufficiently high level to provide a steady flow of goods once the necessary volume has been attained. There must be consumers for goods produced. The failure of consumer buying power today is due chiefly to unemployment. This problem will require much study and research before a solution is found. Your Executive Council urges that Congress set up an Advisory Council charged with the responsibility for developing measures by which private industry can expand production and maintain balanced prosperity. The suggestions of this advisory group should be submitted to Congress for action and made available to the general public. We point out, however, that a group

which undertakes such a task should provide representation for Labor, farmers and consumers so that their interests will not be neglected. Industrial engineers and persons familiar with the problems of management and business administration are also essential for theirs is the particular knowledge of experience needed.

Education

Labor is vitally concerned in all educational problems. In fact, there is no single field which is more important to organized labor than education. We are proud of our activity and constructive influence in connection with educational policies and institutions. Equal educational opportunities freely available to all are essential in a democratic way of living and the extension of the franchise to all citizens requires that all be prepared for the responsibilities of citizenship.

We are especially interested in two major educational proposals which are now before Congress—providing federal grants to states in support of local education, and revision of legislation for vocational education. For your information we include in our report a statement covering these two legislative measures and our position with regard thereto.

We call attention to the publication of a pamphlet, "Labor and Education," which is a compilation of the policies and recommendations of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. This publication should be of great value to all trade unionists.

Under the sub-heading "Local Educational Responsibility" we point out that every central labor union should have an active committee on education charged with the responsibility of watching educational policies and practices. This committee should have the cooperation of committees appointed by local unions to deal with vocational education in its specific jurisdiction.

Youth

Special consideration was given by the Committee on Education of the A. F. of L. to the problem of youth organizations. We call attention to the very vital importance of this subject.

A report on the activities of the National Youth Administration is presented for your serious consideration. The American Federation of Labor feels a sense of responsibility for the young and will seek to provide for their material well being as well as opportunity for physical, intellectual, and spiritual development. We, as an organization, however, can be responsible only for assuring opportunities and the right to benefit by them, but the development of personality and spiritual capacity in our young lies outside the reach of our organization and devolves upon the home, the church, and those teachers whose own personalities give them power to help the young grow in insight and wisdom. In order to conserve influences that are necessary to discipline and ideals in living, the American Federation of Labor declares for freedom of religious training as the most fundamental contribution we can make to the children of the future.

Publicity and the Labor Press

As a result of the educational campaign conducted through the daily press, magazines and the radio, the American public today has a better understanding of the democratic principles, structure and procedure of the American Federation of Labor than ever before. The labor press has been invaluable in countering the efforts of the C. I. O. to undermine the loyalty of American Federation of Labor members. This was demonstrated very forcibly in the subversive propaganda which was resorted to by the C. I. O. in an effort to create the impression that the membership of the A. F. of L. had split on important policies such as need for amending the National Labor Relations Act. This deceptive propaganda has been offset in large measure by publication of the truth in the labor press.

Your Executive Council expresses its deep appreciation of the loyal support of the labor press and pledges in return the full backing of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor and all of its constituent organizations.

World Congress on Education and Democracy

A brief report is made of the cooperation

of the American Federation of Labor with the Congress for Labor and Democracy in connection with the World Congress on Education and Labor which was held August 15-17, 1939.

Workers Education Bureau of America

A report is submitted covering the activities of the Workers Education Bureau of America during the past year. This report is presented for your information.

International Labor Organization

The American Federation of Labor continued active participation in the International Labor Organization during the past year and was represented at the 25th Annual International Labor Conference at Geneva. A report of these meetings is included as a part of the report of the Executive Council.

International Federation of Trade Unions

For your information a report is made of the deliberations of the Eighth International Trades Union Congress which was held in July, 1939, at Zurich, Switzerland. The American Federation of Labor was represented at this conference, at which were delegates from 23 nations in attendance.

At the time of the preparation of the report of your Executive Council it was expected that the Executives of the I. F. T. U. would meet in the United States during October. Recent developments in international relations, however, forced an abandonment of this plan.

Pan-American Federation of Labor

As recommended by the Houston Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the President of the A. F. of L. called a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor last May. This committee held two sessions looking toward the reorganization of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The conference recommended that a careful survey

should be made throughout the most important labor centers of the 20 South American republics to ascertain their actual standing on the principles and activities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The President of the A. F. of L. is empowered to make decisions regarding the proper time and best way to carry out the recommendations adopted.

Japanese War on China

Your Executive Council deploras the tragic events connected with the ruthless invasion of China by the Japanese. We are convinced that the blame is squarely on the shoulders of the Japanese nation and the rulers of the Japanese people. We reaffirm and reiterate our position in favor of the application of the boycott against Japanese goods and services and urge that this convention declare itself in favor of the continuation of the boycott so long as Japan persists in the prosecution of a war against China and the Chinese people.

German Boycott

Your Executive Council renews its recommendation that the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its declarations previously made in favor of a boycott against German goods and services until Hitler and his totalitarian government ceases the persecution of the Jewish people because of racial hatred and because of their minority position, and of the Catholics and Protestants who seek to exercise freedom to worship in accordance with the dictates of conscience.

Conflict Between European Nations

Your Executive Council shares with all the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor their apprehension over the European war which menaces the peace of the world. After surveying the situation today we repeat what we said in our report a year ago on this subject. We are of the opinion that war preparations and war grow out of substitution of dictatorial and autocratic control of government for democracy and democratic procedure in the administration of governmental affairs. We are confident that

if the people who reside in totalitarian nations were in control of their government, war and the threat of war would no longer disturb the peace of the world.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently and repeatedly declared itself against Nazism, Facism, and Communism. Dictators who control under these autocratic forms of government shape the destinies of the nations they control and of the people who are subject to their will.

The President of the United States has issued two proclamations—one establishing our neutrality under international law, and the other putting into effect the arms embargo made mandatory by the Neutrality Law.

Since the preparation of the report of your Executive Council the President of the United States has convened Congress in extraordinary session to consider a repeal of the arms embargo.

We are unalterably opposed to our own nation becoming involved in European conflicts. We favor the exercise of neighborly and mediatorial influence by our government

in all efforts to promote peace and to compose differences between nations. But, in doing this, we insist that our government shall pursue a judicious policy, exercising care and caution and a firm determination to avoid involvement in European conflicts or in European wars.

Conclusion

In reviewing the report of the Executive Council the outstanding need seems to lie in education. This problem of workers education is one of the main responsibilities of national and international unions and the American Federation of Labor. Periods of rapid growth make educational work proportionately urgent.

President Green: I will express to Vice-President Duffy my personal and official thanks and the thanks of the convention for the fine way in which he submitted this summary of the report of the Executive Council. The summary will appear in the printed proceedings of today's convention.

Report of Executive Council

CINCINNATI, OHIO, OCTOBER 2, 1939.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor,
Greetings:*

INTRODUCTION

The increase in union growth during the past year has been accompanied by increased hostility to the labor movement. While industrial managements generally are accepting the principle of collective bargaining and are turning their attention toward getting constructive results through this medium, a new group of employers has taken the initiative in repressive labor legislation and for amendments restricting and limiting existing labor laws. The results of this reactionary swing are obvious in repressive labor laws in states and dismemberment of state departments of labor, in the disfavor shown the United States Department of Labor and in the failure of Congress to enact needed labor legislation.

Such reactionary proposals are both out of keeping with our present institutions and current thinking and can but restrict national recovery and progress. We need to plan for the strengthening of our outposts during the coming year and to insure maintenance of the great gains made in the recent years. Unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor have made substantial gains in membership and in the development of collective bargaining during the past year and these gains are indicative of the strength of our movement. The responsibility of this

convention and all union representatives is to overcome invasions of state departments of labor and to secure the repeal of anti-union laws. We must dedicate our increased economic power to the advancement of the welfare of the workers and mobilize our strength and resources to secure recognition of our rights and advancement of our interests.

The coming year will be politically important, nationally and locally, and Labor must be in a position to have influence in shaping policies and events. There can be no departure from national policies in the interests of all the people, but there may be such revision of procedures and reorganization of governmental agencies as to practically nullify social purposes.

It is of utmost importance to Labor that the coming year should be one of activity in organizing workers and in educating them in the principles of trade unionism that they may be able to protect themselves and advance their interests socially, politically, and economically. We urge union-forward campaigns for every state and city by every state federation of labor and city central body for the territory over which each organization is jointly and separately responsible.

Let us make the coming year one of great progress.

SECRETARY-TREASURER MORRISON'S REPORT

*To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the
American Federation of Labor.*

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1938, and ending August 31, 1939.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$546,504.36. Of this total \$501,963.54 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and the balance, \$44,540.82, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$1,800,249.70, the total expenses, \$1,697,376.53. Amount of receipts over expenses, \$102,873.17.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1939:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1938.....	\$ 443,631.19
Per Capita Tax.....	\$583,972.13
American Federationist	385,732.68
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	256,958.58
Initiation fees	63,442.98
Reinstatement fees	7,726.00
Supplies	20,194.84
Interest	11,531.25
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A.F.of L.	20,756.82
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts...	8,371.13
Assessments	441,563.29
 Total receipts	 1,800,249.70
Grand total	\$2,243,880.89

EXPENSES

General	\$1,437,311.71
American Federationist	200,864.44
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions..	41,770.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	17,430.38
 Total expenses	 1,697,376.53
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1939.....	\$ 546,504.36

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund	\$ 44,540.82
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	501,963.54
Balance on hand, August 31, 1939.....	\$ 546,504.36

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1939:

Rent	\$ 15,984.00
Refund, Charter and Outfit, Initiation Fees, and Supplies.....	698.52
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions	17,420.38
Secretary Treasurer's Bond	187.50
Insurance, Workmen's Compensation, etc.	4,395.30
Social Security Tax:	
Old Age Benefits	\$ 5,089.62
Unemployment Insurance	13,773.19
Federal Excise	8,978.52
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	27,841.33
Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of legislative committeemen	1,417.60
Postage stamps	14,097.64
Newspapers, Magazines and Books (Library)	18,401.63
Printing Bound Proceedings of Houston convention.....	5,139.79
Supplies and Printing.....	3,244.48
Supplies for Resale.....	40,321.24
Miscellaneous expenses	14,719.76
Paper supply and envelopes (Mailing Department).....	8,851.85
Mailing Equipment	5,096.47
Office furniture and fixtures	1,922.82
Official stenographers, Houston convention.....	2,156.05
Telegrams and telephones.....	2,072.33
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada..	16,473.20
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1,013.22
Houston Convention:	
Messenger, sergeant-at-arms, assistant secretary and roll-call clerk...	1,133.05
Printing roll-call	560.00
Printing Daily Proceedings	120.25
Stenographers	4,474.04
Rental of office furniture	6,243.26
Printing and supplies.....	153.50
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, sending out Daily Proceedings, public address system, and musicians' services.....	718.66
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	1,425.56
Salaries:	600.00
President	12,000.00
Secretary Treasurer	10,000.00
Office employees	184,678.58
Executive Council meetings, telegrams, typewriter rental, baggage, stenog- raphers, etc.	31,134.25
President traveling	7,985.25
Secretary-Treasurer traveling	1,874.77
Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits.....	41,770.00
Affiliation Fee, International Federation of Trades Unions.....	5,464.15
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department.....	623.79
Union Label Trades Department.....	46.09
Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	78.71
*Organizers' salaries and organizing expenses.....	889,549.66
Printing and publishing American Federationist.....	200,864.44
Printing and publishing A.F. of L. Weekly News Service.....	16,224.58
Publicity	22,087.28
Delegates, guests, committee and officers badges, Houston convention.....	566.02
Expenses, special committees and conferences.....	7,800.35
Legal services	47,785.18
Total	\$1,697,376.53

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

* During the twelve (12) months ending August 31, 1939, the American Federation of Labor expended in organizing activities \$889,549.66. Of this amount, \$376,441.82 was spent in organizing and services for directly affiliated Trade and Federal Labor Unions; the balance, \$513,107.84, was incurred in the formation and assistance of newly formed local unions of National and International Unions and in activities in behalf of State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies.

Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1938 and ending August 31, 1939. During the year \$150,000.00 was transferred from the Defense Fund to the General Fund as a charge against Federal Labor Unions for additional expense of servicing and special organizing campaign.

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund. . . . \$256,958.58

EXPENSES

Number	Name	Location	No. of weeks	Aver. Mem.	
14659	Brass Bobbin Winders,	Philadelphia, Pa.	4	140	\$ 3,920.00
16303	Brush Makers,	New York, N. Y.	1	23	161.00
18274	Federal Labor Union,	Belleville, Ill.	6	1	42.00
18660	Federal Labor Union,	Philadelphia, Pa.	6	78 +	3,297.00
18820	Optical Workers,	Pittsburgh, Pa.	4	27	756.00
18952	Salt Workers,	Grand Saline, Texas.	6	191 +	8,050.00
19403	Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers & Assistants,	Birmingham, Ala.	4	12	336.00
19822	Grocery Warehousemen's,	New York, N. Y.	1	27	189.00
20120	Federal Labor Union,	Minneapolis, Minn.	4	52	1,456.00
20553	Bed and Couch Spring Makers,	Louisville, Ky.	2	39	546.00
20617	Rubber and Woolen Workers,	Wausau, Wis.	3	103	2,163.00
20675	Federal Labor Union,	McComb, Miss.	6	91	3,822.00
20779	Federal Labor Union,	Girard, Pa.	4	10	280.00
20783	Federal Labor Union,	Algonac, Mich.	3	325	6,825.00
21358	Marking Device Workers,	Greater New York, N. Y.	6	6	252.00

Amount disbursed for assistance to members of striking unions:

Number	Name	Location	
12993	Furniture Handlers,	San Francisco, Calif.	300.00
18820	Optical Workers,	Pittsburgh, Pa.	200.00
20328	Fish Cannery Workers,	Pittsburg, Calif.	150.00
20688	Agricultural Laborers,	Orange Co., Calif.	200.00
20927	U. Match Workers,	F.L.U., St. Louis, Mo.	25.00
21164	Federal Labor Union,	Copperhill, Tenn.	500.00
21560	Federal Labor Union,	Millville, N. J.	800.00
	Workers Education Bureau		7,500.00
	Total expenses		\$41,770.00

RECAPITULATION

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, Aug. 31, 1938	\$436,774.96
Transfer from Defense Fund to General Fund as a charge against local trade and Federal Labor Unions for additional expense of servicing and special organizing campaign	150,000.00
Balance Defense Fund	286,774.96
Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1939	256,958.58
Total	543,733.54
Strike benefits	\$32,095.00
Assistance to members of striking unions	2,175.00
Affiliation Fee (Workers Education Bureau)	7,500.00
Total	41,770.00
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, Aug. 31, 1939	\$501,963.54

STATEMENT OF MONTHLY RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER; ALSO STATEMENT OF HOW BALANCE ON HAND IS DEPOSITED AND INVESTED.

INCOME		EXPENSES	
1938		Warrants Paid:	
September 30.....	\$ 132,375.26	1938	
October 31.....	123,715.01	September 30.....	\$ 133,243.96
November 30.....	159,711.41	October 31.....	130,964.21
December 31.....	148,280.69	November 30.....	145,578.45
1939		December 31.....	145,695.77
January 31.....	143,410.71	1939	
February 28.....	137,387.69	January 31.....	140,607.61
March 31.....	157,201.80	February 28.....	124,690.96
April 30.....	135,312.50	March 31.....	134,675.86
May 31.....	155,707.39	April 30.....	133,178.87
June 30.....	168,260.53	May 31.....	140,016.80
July 31.....	152,198.00	June 30.....	165,655.54
August 31.....	186,688.71	July 31.....	135,878.89
Total income for 12 months..	\$1,800,249.70	August 31.....	169,189.61
Balance in hands of Secretary-Treasurer August 31, 1938.	443,631.19	Total expenses 12 months..	\$1,697,376.53
Grand total	<u>\$2,243,880.89</u>		

RECAPITULATION

Total balance and income.....	\$2,243,880.89
Total expenses	1,697,376.53

Balance on hand, August 31, 1939..... \$ 546,504.36

Secretary-Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%).....	\$225,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%).....	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Bonds (3¼%) (\$50,000.00) @ 98 18/32..	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds (2¾%).....	100,000.00
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2¾%).....	1,531.25

Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	\$ 377,882.82
Riggs National Bank (Subject to check).....	124,225.54
City Bank (Subject to check).....	2,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (Subject to check).....	2,000.00
300 Shares Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock).....	15,000.00
396 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock.....	396.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (collateral deposit).....	25,000.00

Secretary-Treasurer's balance August 31, 1939..... \$ 546,504.36

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1939

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1939, there have been issued 408 charters to International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions. Of this number one was issued to the following International Union:

Seafarers International Union of North America.

Central Bodies as follows:

Idaho	Michigan	Ohio
Twin Falls	Manistique	Bowling Green
Illinois	Montana	Oklahoma
Wabash County	Powell County	Blackwell
Indiana	Nebraska	Texas
Dearborn County	North Platte Valley	Corpus Christi
Iowa	Hastings	Virginia
Fort Madison	Fairbury	Portsmouth
Iowa City	New Mexico	Wisconsin
Louisiana	Clovis	Kaukauna
Bastrop	New York	Fort Atkinson and Vicinity
Winnfield	Cortland and Vicinity	
Massachusetts	Hornell	
Milford and Vicinity	North Carolina	
	Hwassee Dam	

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year:

	1938-1939
Internationals	1
Central Labor Unions.....	23
Local Trade Unions.....	322
Federal Labor Unions.....	62
Total	408

Directly Chartered Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

On August 31, 1939, we had 1,563 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 171,208, and a defense fund of \$501,963.54.

The Federation has 1,902 general and district organizers, as well as 150 paid organizers and the officers of the 806 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$256,958.58, initiation fees, \$63,442.98, and reinstatement fees, \$7,726.00.

Charters Revoked, Cancelled, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 1; reinstated, 13.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 25; suspended, 197; joined national and international organizations, 47; revoked, 3; cancelled, 1; reinstated, 4.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 12; suspended, 73; joined national and international organizations, 21; revoked, 1; cancelled, 2; reinstated, 4.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS REINSTATED: United Automobile Workers of America International Union, United Textile Workers of America.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS, TITLE CHANGED: International Seamans Union of America, changed to Seafarers International Union of North America.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

The total paid membership of the affiliated National and International organizations and the directly chartered trade and federal labor unions for the month of August, 1939, was 4,006,354. This represents a gain of 1,566,299 members since the ten International Unions were suspended.

National and International Unions and local trade and federal labor unions are required to pay per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership and, therefore, the membership does not include the members who were unemployed during the fiscal year.

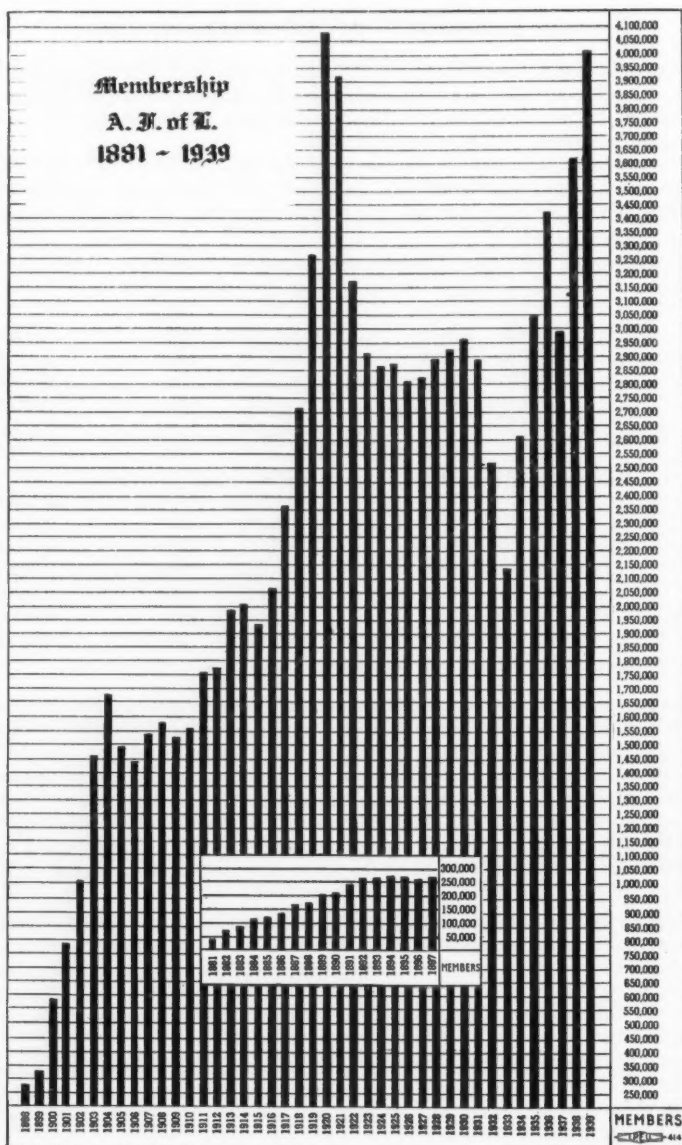
The following is the yearly membership in the past forty-three years:

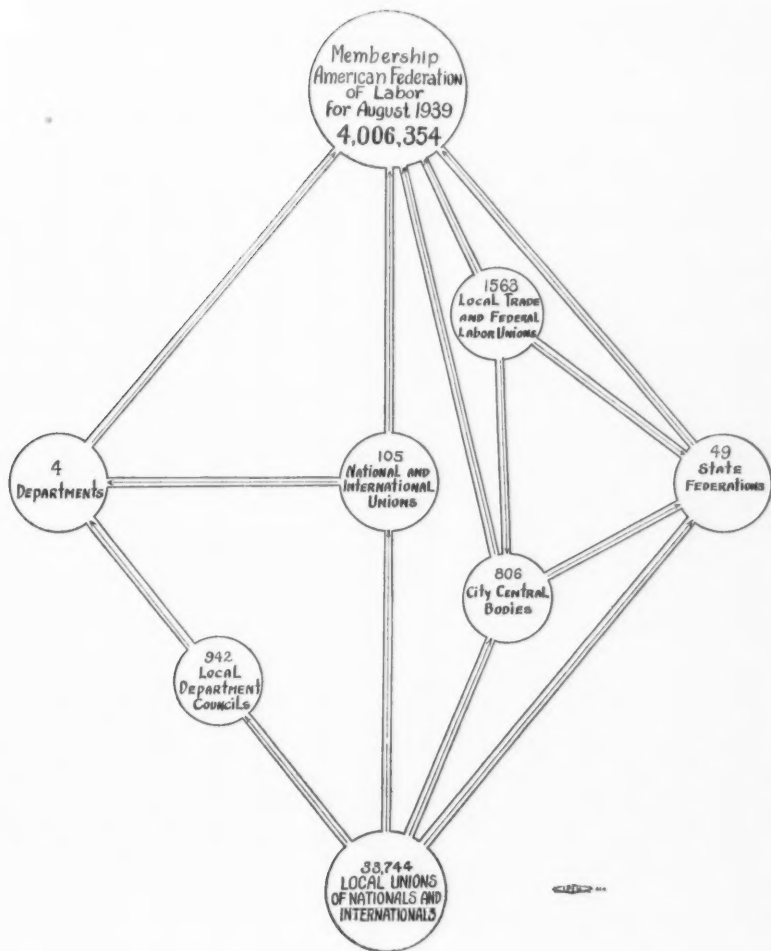
Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897	264,825	1912	1,770,145	1926	2,803,966
1898	278,016	1913	1,996,004	1927	2,812,526
1899	349,422	1914	2,020,671	1928	2,896,063
1900	548,321	1915	1,946,347	1929	2,933,545
1901	787,537	1916	2,072,702	1930	2,961,096
1902	1,024,399	1917	2,371,434	1931	2,889,550
1903	1,465,800	1918	2,726,478	1932	2,532,261
1904	1,676,200	1919	3,260,068	1933	2,126,796
1905	1,494,300	1920	4,078,740	1934	2,608,011
1906	1,454,200	1921	3,906,528	1935	3,045,347
1907	1,538,970	1922	3,195,635	1936	3,422,398
1908	1,586,885	1923	2,926,468	1937	2,860,933
1909	1,482,872	1924	2,865,799	1938	3,623,087
1910	1,562,112	1925	2,877,297	1939	4,006,354
1911	1,761,835				

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881 up to and including 1939—59 years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized commencing with the local unions of the national and international organizations and the local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement.

Local unions of national and international organizations, and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 33,744 local unions in 105 national and international unions, and 1,563 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, a grand total of 35,307 local unions.

The August 1939 paid membership of the National and International Unions is 3,802,985 and the paid membership of the directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions of the American Federation of Labor is 203,369. Total membership, 4,006,354.





VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1931 up to and including 1939. This table is based upon the average membership paid upon to the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year.

ORGANIZATIONS	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.	88	45	33	31	43	44	55	176	201
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Ass. of Heat and Frost Insulators	41	20	20	25	25	25	25	35	40
*Automobile Workers of A. Intl. Union United	201	179	159	181	218	261	325	621	730
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs., I. U. of A.	461	399	320	393	323	323	408	465	475
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	16	16	16	14	14	14	14	16	18
Bill Posters	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	170	150	142	143	153	155	180	280	290
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	275	170	134	192	259	270	293	308	308
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	187	119	107	119	117	116	131	174	177
Brewery Workmen, International Union	160	160	160	255	417	420	420	420	420
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	33	20	1	14	16	10	55	50	100
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.	900	567	458	458	650	650	650	650	650
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Ass.	175	120	100	160	160	160	227	413	395
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	4	3	2	1	2	2	2	3	3
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union	180	180	180	192	275	350	420	658	700
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	3,020	2,900	2,058	2,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Carmen of A., Bro. Railway	800	800	592	550	550	583	650	650	650
Carvers' Union, International Wood	11	9	8	8	6	4	4	4	4
Cigarmakers' International Union	155	155	98	70	70	70	70	70	70
Cleaning & Dye House Wkrs.							48	159	164
Clerks, Bro. of Railway	753	608	600	600	725	875	892	910	910
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail	100	87	50	58	72	103	185	467	653
Clothing Workers of A., Amalgamated				833	1,000	1,200	1	1	1
Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union	58	46	61	d	d	d	d	d	d
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car	23	21	20	20	20	20	19	14	14
Coopers' International Union	7	6	7	25	29	25	26	36	41
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	4	3	3	2	2	4	3	3	3
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.	17	10	7	10	12	12	14	18	19
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	1,420	1,399	941	1,135	1,300	1,700	1,712	1,750	2,003
Elevator Constructors	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating	340	344	350	350	350	350	420	420	708
Engravers, Friendly Society of A.			1	4	e	e	2	2	3
Engravers, Intl. Union, Metal	5	5	5	3	3	2	2	2	3
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.	90	89	87	86	87	88	91	102	104
Federal Employees, National Fed. of	381	e	c	197	e	e	c	c	c
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of	180	180	180	197	235	255	291	300	307
Firemen and Oilers, Intl. Bro. of	91	93	92	101	149	207	236	254	268
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of	10	7	5	20	32	37	35	35	35
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.	80	38	40	20	30	150	e	e	4
Garment Workers of America, United	463	456	395	370	371	406	395	400	400
Glass Cutters League of A., Window	10	9	6	10	12	12	13	12	12
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	60	60	60	60	60	62	108	200	200
Glass Workers of A., Fed. of Flat				8	100	116	1	1	1
Glass Workers, American Flint	46	39	36	61	61	48	53	179	178
Glove Workers	5	3	5	34	35	22	17	7	9
Government Employees, Am. Fed. of			40	83	139	222	214	212	226
Granite Cutters' Intl. Ass. of A., Tho.	53	62	52	50	50	50	50	50	50
Hatters of North America, United	93	85	85	d	d	d	d	d	d
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Wkrs. Int. Union, United				198	214	221	239	225	300
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	1,150	900	521	442	523	654	996	1,477	1,544
Horsehoers of United States and Canada	4	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	387	283	227	378	570	738	1,071	1,759	1,848
Iron, Steel and Ship Workers' Amal. Ass.	58	50	46	55	86	92	1	1	1
Jewelry Workers' International	8	8	8	49	55	53	60	45	40
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	475	400	250	1,500	1,600	1,967	1	1	1
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal	165	165	81	81	81	81	81	81	81
Laundry Workers, International Union	55	55	50	53	60	60	70	194	292
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United	50	10	8	30	27	25	25	25	25
Letter Carriers, National Ass. of	550	550	550	517	500	500	525	600	600
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural	8	11	12	12	12	6	5	6	6
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Ass.	57	8	52	46	67	109	72	112	123
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	299	270	234	343	400	406	614	624	663
Machinists, International Association of	776	707	650	820	925	1,137	1,380	1,901	1,900
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of	408	371	278	312	335	357	418	523	576

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Marble Polishers, etc., Intl. Asso. of.....	77	77	62	55	55	55	55	55	55
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....	30	30	26	20	22	25	29	30	30
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, Natl. Asso. of.....			1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Messengers, Special Delivery Natl. Assn.....								11	9
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	113	114	111	195	198	194	300	521	629
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet.....	250	250	175	160	160	160	162	198	200
Mine Workers of America, United.....	4,000	3,083	3,000	3,000	4,000	4,000	↑	↑	↑
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of.....	40	21	13	116	146	150	↑	↑	↑
Mine Workers of A. Intl. Progressive.....								350	350
Molders Union of North America, Intl.....	132	95	60	88	118	159	222	277	233
Musicians, American Federation of.....	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Newspaper Guild, American.....						5	c	c	c
Oil Field, etc., Workers.....	9	4	3	125	428	405	↑	↑	↑
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	964	796	593	578	656	665	801	994	1,002
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	40	40	23	115	90	66	116	163	206
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	70	70	70	70	25	26	42	68	70
Favers & Rammertmen, Intl. Union of.....	20	20	20	20	20	31	a	a	a
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.....	24	22	22	22	21	20	20	c	c
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.....	4	3	3	2	2	↑	8	↑	↑
Pilots Assn., Air Line, (Intl.).....	1	5	6	7	7	↑	9	10	10
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C., Oper.....	377	353	226	180	180	180	184	191	194
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	450	450	450	450	340	330	330	377	400
Polishers, Intl. Union of Metal.....	58	23	14	35	40	46	56	70	70
Porters, Bro. Sleeping Car.....						12	55	60	60
Pocketbook & Novelty Wkrs.....							5	100	100
Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, Nat'l Assn.....								12	15
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of.....	360	360	360	333	320	320	360	380	400
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.....	54	52	45	79	100	104	110	120	130
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
Printing Pressmen, International.....	400	400	353	320	320	320	337	372	396
Printers', Die Stampers' & Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Plai' Wkrs.....	12	11	10	12	14	13	10	9	9
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.....	50	50	50	69	85	91	157	300	322
Quarry Workers, International.....	30	26	21	20	20	20	20	c	c
Railway Employees' Amal. Asso., S. & E.....	914	817	712	700	734	757	767	790	797
Railway Mail Association.....	198	207	200	192	191	193	210	217	217
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn. United State, Tile and Composition.....	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
Rubber Workers of Amer., United.....	150	97	60	60	125	200	↑	↑	↑
B-Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....							42	22	110
Sheep Shearers Union of N. A.....			6	8	11	9	8	8	7
Siderographers, Intl. Assn. of.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
State County & Municipal Emp.....							114	200	257
Spinners Union Intl.....								5	5
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.....	240	240	240	240	240	240	242	278	420
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.....	82	81	82	80	79	81	83	87	83
Stonecutters Association, Journeymen.....	58	57	56	56	57	52	50	42	41
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	8	7	6	15	20	23	30	36	42
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	82	72	63	73	80	85	89	83	78
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	58	28	17	26	45	59	↑	↑	↑
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....	63	70	70	85	120	127	154	221	256
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	920	820	713	955	1,370	1,610	2,109	3,092	3,500
Telegraphers, Commercial.....	38	35	22	20	20	20	20	29	35
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	410	370	350	350	350	350	350	350	350
**Textile Workers of America, United.....	300	275	150	387	792	1,000	↑	↑	↑
Tobacco Workers Intl. Union of America.....	24	25	26	83	104	85	110	143	147
Typographical Union, International.....	775	761	738	731	734	733	755	794	792
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	101	65	65	65	65	85	102	110	110
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.....	6	5	5	6	6	5	9	30	31
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Centrals.....	728	619	618	686	730	734	735	792	806
State Branches.....	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local trade and Federal labor unions.....	376	339	711	2,184	1,750	1,246	1,925	2,314	2,465
Total vote of Unions.....	29,906	26,092	22,554	28,105	31,866	35,420	29,943	36,656	39,267

† Suspended. a Merged with Hod Carriers and Common Laborers. c Withdrew affiliation. d Amalgamated and title changed to United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Intl. Union.

* Reinstated June 6, 1939. B-Title changed to Seafarers International Union of North America.

** Reinstated May 10, 1939.

UNION LABELS

There are now 45 labels and 11 cards issued and used by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

American Federation of Labor	Garment Workers, United	Papermakers
Bakers and Confectioners	Glass Bottle Blowers	*Photo-Engravers
Bill Posters and Billers	Glove Workers	Plate Printers
Bolermakers	Hatters and Millinery Wkrs.	Potters
Blacksmiths	Horseshoers	Powder Workers
*Bookbinders	Jewelry Workers	*Pressmen, Printing
Boot and Shoe Workers	Lathers	Sheep Shearers
Brewery Workmen	Laundry Workers	*Stereotypers and
Brick and Clay Workers	Leather Workers	Electrotypers
Broommakers	Machinists	Stove Mounters
Carpenters and Joiners	Marble Workers	Teamsters
Brotherhood	Metal Polishers	Tobacco Workers
Carvers, Wood	Metal Workers, Sheet	*Typographical
Cigarmakers	Metal Engravers	Upholsterers
Coopers	Molders	United Wall Paper Crafts
Electrical Workers	Painters	Weavers.

* These five unions own and control jointly what is known as the Allied Printing Trades Label.

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS, BUTTONS, EMBLEMS

Actors	Engineers, Operating	Meat Cutters and Butcher
Barbers	Firemen, Stationary	Workmen
Clerks, Retail	Hotel and Restaurant	Musicians
Draftsmen, Technical Engi-	Employees	Stage employees, Theatrical
neers, Architects		Teamsters

The label of the American Federation of Labor is used by directly affiliated local unions on products manufactured under union agreements where the work does not come under the jurisdiction of any affiliated national or international union.

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26th, 1923, for the collection of funds for the erection of a Memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1939.....\$118,073.23
Interest on fund investments.....15,510.89

Total receipts\$133,584.12
Expenses, January 12, 1929 to and including August 31, 1939.....119,458.87

Balance on hand August 31, 1939.....\$14,125.25

Funds deposited as follows:

1266 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. Stock.....\$ 1,266.00
Riggs National Bank checking account.....5,359.25
United States Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000.00).....7,500.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1939.....\$14,125.25

CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation of the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and of all our affiliated bodies and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank Morrison

Secretary-Treasurer American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor;

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1939.

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1938.....		\$20,448.13
Rents	\$31,345.00	
Refund of overcharge on water rent.....	37.59	
Sale of waste paper.....	24.62	
Reimbursement on Fire Loss.....	5.77	
Redeposit of outstanding checks to Building Fund.....	19.34	
Total receipts		31,430.32
Receipts and balance.....		51,878.45

EXPENSES*Maintenance:*

Pay roll (building employees).....	\$17,478.10
Taxes	3,219.36
Electricity	1,789.46
Fuel (coal)	933.76
Supplies	1,341.55
Upkeep and repairs.....	1,703.52
Plastering and painting.....	2,079.60
Cleaning windows	385.00
Insurance (liability)	376.84
Water rent	181.23
Hauling ashes and trash.....	149.00
Upkeep of rest room (laundry, etc.).....	11.76
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	768.10
Social Security Tax:	
Unemployment Insurance	522.62
Old Age Benefits	178.53
Rent of Safe Deposit Box.....	3.30
Fire replacement	7.28
Total expenses	31,129.01

RECAPITULATION

Receipts and balance	\$51,878.45
Expenses	31,129.01
Balance on hand August 31, 1939.....	\$20,749.44
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation (1218 shares).....	\$ 1,218.00
Riggs National Bank	12,031.44
U. S. Savings Bonds (Maturity Value \$10,000.00).....	7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1939.....	\$20,749.44

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JOHN P. FREY,

Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

UNITED CEMENT, LIME AND GYPSUM WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

The San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held during October, 1934, directed the officers of the American Federation of Labor to institute an organizing campaign among cement workers employed in the manufacture and production of cement. The instructions of the convention referred to read as follows:

"The Executive Council is directed to issue charters for National or International Unions in the automotive, cement, aluminum and such other mass production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary to meet the situation."

The Executive Council has consistently and energetically carried out the instructions of the San Francisco Convention. A campaign of organization among cement workers was launched and American Federation of Labor organizers were assigned to inaugurate and carry forward organization work among those employed in the cement manufacturing industry.

As a result of the campaign, ninety-six local unions have been organized. The dues-paying membership included in these local unions, as shown by the books of the Secretary-Treasurer, is about fourteen thousand. Practically every cement manufacturing plant in the country has been organized, and wage agreements providing for increases in wages, improved conditions of employment and vacations with pay have been secured. Contractual relationships have been worked out between these organized cement workers and the management of cement manufacturing plants.

A National Council of United Cement Workers was formed and through such organization the economic strength and efforts of the cement workers were united and coordinated. As a result, fairly uniform working conditions and wages have been established through collective bargaining.

At the second annual conference of the National Council of United Cement Workers which was held at Birmingham, Alabama, August 15, 1938, a resolution was adopted calling for the establishment of an international union of cement, lime, gypsum and allied industries of the United States and Canada. This resolution, together with an application for a charter as ordered by this conference, was considered by the Executive Council at a meeting held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, beginning August 22nd, 1938. The Council deferred action upon the application until the next regular meeting of the Council, in order that a thorough investigation of the numerical strength of the cement workers organization could be made.

The delegates who attended the Building and Construction Trades Department Convention which was held in Houston, Texas, prior to the meeting of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, introduced a resolution to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, protesting the issuance of an international charter to those employed in the cement manufacturing and production plants. The convention referred this resolution to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The Executive Council again considered the application of the cement workers for an international charter at a meeting held in Miami, Florida, beginning January 30, 1939. Because of the protest filed against the issuance of the charter by the Building and Construction Trades Department and the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America particularly, action on the application was again deferred. Consequently the matter went over to the next meeting.

At the meeting of the Executive Council held at headquarters of the American Federation of Labor beginning May 10, 1939, further consideration was given to the application of the cement workers for an international charter. After considering all the facts and information available, the Executive Council decided that pursuant to the definite instructions of the San Francisco Convention, an international charter for those employed in cement manufacture and production plants would be granted. The jurisdiction of this organization was set forth by the Executive Council as follows:

"That the charter be granted to cover the workers engaged in the manufacture, production and processing of cement, lime and gypsum."

In conformity with this decision of the Executive Council, a convention of the representatives of federal labor unions of cement, lime and gypsum workers was held in the city of St. Louis, Missouri, beginning Monday, September 11, 1939, and a charter of affiliation was granted to the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union.

Thus the instructions of the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor to the Executive Council were carried out. This new international union chartered by the American Federation of Labor was launched under the most favorable and auspicious circumstances. It is made up of 96 federal labor unions with a dues-paying membership of almost 14,000. Practically all of them are covered by agreements negotiated with employers, providing for the payment of wages, regulation of hours and conditions of employment, and a formula for the settlement of grievances and differences which may arise between employers and employees.

The Executive Council welcomes this new international union into the American Federation of Labor. We will extend to it full support in all of its organizing work and in all the efforts it puts forth to lift the wages of those employed in the cement manufacturing and production industry to a higher level and to promote the social and economic welfare of all the membership.

SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA

On July 11th, 1938, Brother Harry Lundeborg and his associates representing the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, made formal application to the American Federation of Labor for a charter of affiliation.

When this application was filed the American Federation of Labor was engaged in organizing seamen on the Atlantic Coast, Great Lakes and Gulf districts into federal labor unions. This policy was authorized by the Executive Council following the collapse of the International Seamen's Union during the year 1937. When all these facts were presented to the Houston Convention of the American

Federation of Labor in a supplemental report of the Executive Council, the convention officially revoked the charter of the International Seamen's Union and recommended the establishment of an international union of seamen as a successor to said International Seamen's Union, as proposed and outlined by the Executive Council.

Committees representing the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, Federal Labor Union No. 21420 (which had been organized by the American Federation of Labor and which exercised jurisdiction over seamen on the Atlantic and Gulf ports) the three District Unions of the Great Lakes, and the affiliated fishermen's unions, conferred in Houston, Texas, for the purpose of uniting the membership of these several organizations into one international union. Finally, after extended negotiations, an agreement was reached and the report of said agreement was submitted to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The Executive Council, at a meeting held in Houston following the adjournment of the American Federation of Labor Convention, authorized and instructed the President of the American Federation of Labor to issue a charter to the newly formed organization of seamen. This charter was issued on October 14, 1938, and the name of the new international union was set forth as the Seafarers International Union of North America.

This International Union has been functioning during the past year. It has made substantial progress. It has steadily increased its membership until it has reached a paid-up membership of 15,000.

The Seamen are turning to it as the constructive American Federation of Labor Seamen's organization. We are confident that in due course of time the seamen employed on the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Great Lakes and the Gulf will be united into one strong Seafarers International Union of North America.

UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA

A substantial group of textile workers who were a part of the United Textile Workers organization which participated in the formation of the C. I. O., became disillusioned and disappointed over the actions taken by the C. I. O. and by the policies which it pursued. They expressed a desire to return to the American Federation of Labor. These unions of textile workers were located in New England, in Southern states and in other places. A substantial number were textile workers organized into Textile Workers Unions at Providence, Rhode Island. An attempt was made by certain representatives of the C. I. O. to gain possession of funds which had been accumulated in the treasury of certain textile workers unions in Rhode Island. These unions resisted this attempt on the part of the C. I. O. to take over their treasuries. A suit was instituted in court at Providence. The Court decided in favor of the local unions. The C. I. O., as represented through the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, was prevented from taking over the funds and property of these local unions. This action on the part of the Court was interpreted as a decided victory for the textile workers in their fight against the C. I. O.

The representatives of the United Textile Workers organization who withdrew from affiliation with the C. I. O. made application for a charter of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council at its meeting held in Miami, Florida, beginning January 30, 1939, ordered that

"a certification of affiliation shall be issued to the United Textile Workers of America in accordance with the constitution, rules and laws of the American Federation of Labor.

"In granting this certificate of affiliation, it is the intention of the Executive Council to re-invest the said United Textile Workers of America with its former certificate of affiliation with its former jurisdiction rights and obligations."

Following this action of the Executive Council, the United Textile Workers charter which had been cancelled when the United Textile Workers became part of the C. I. O., was returned. A convention of textile workers was called and met in the city of Washington on May 8, 1939. The charter of the United Textile Workers of America was formally returned to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention on May 10, 1939.

During the interim while the United Textile Workers were a part of the C. I. O., the American Federation of Labor organized 27 federal labor unions composed of textile workers. These federal labor unions are directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This means that many thousands of textile workers are now organized into unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

A hearty welcome was extended to the officers and members of the United Textile Workers back into affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. They have renewed their pledge of devotion and loyalty to our great movement. We have assisted them in the re-establishment of the United Textile Workers organization and in the extension of organizing work among textile workers everywhere. It is our purpose to carry on this organizing campaign in New England, the South, and in other sections of country where textile workers are employed, in a most aggressive and determined way. We firmly believe that the majority of the textile workers of the country believe in the principles, policies and philosophy of the American Federation of Labor and that ultimately the textile workers of the nation will be organized into the United Textile Workers organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

INTERNATIONAL UNION UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA

On April 17th, 1939, the United Automobile Workers as represented by President Homer Martin and his associates, made application to the American Federation of Labor for reaffiliation. This action grew out of the division which occurred among those employed in the automobile manufacturing industry.

This entire situation which existed in the United Automobile Workers Union was given consideration at a meeting of the Executive Council which was held beginning January 30th, 1939. All facts and information available relating to the movement among groups of automobile workers to again become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor were considered by the Executive Council. As a result of such consideration the Council directed

"that the President be authorized by the Executive Council to inquire into the situation fully and to extend such support to the Martin group as he may feel circumstances may permit, exercising sound discretion and his good judgment in so doing."

At a previous meeting, the Executive Council after considering reports made upon the internal situation within the United Automobile Workers of America, directed

"that the President be authorized to return the charter to the United Automobile Workers of America with the understanding that whatever differences may exist or come up would be straightened out after it is in the American Federation of Labor."

In the meantime, conferences were held with President Martin of the United Automobile Workers of America and his associates at which the question of reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor was discussed. Mr. Martin and his group made it clear that a genuine desire existed in the minds of thousands of automobile workers to return to the American Federation of Labor. On March 4th, 1939, a convention of the United Automobile Workers Union represented by President Martin was held in Detroit, Michigan. The report of the convention showed that 373 delegates were in attendance. The convention directed that the matter of affiliation be first taken up by the Executive Board of the International Union United Automobile Workers of America and that the board then submit the matter of affiliation to a referendum vote of the membership of the automobile workers unions together with such recommendation as the Board might make.

Following adjournment of the convention a conference was held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor with President Martin and his associates, on April 17th. The conditions of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor were discussed and made clear. A perfect understanding was reached and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor participating in the conference were advised by President Martin that he would submit the matter of re-affiliation with the American Federation of Labor to a vote of the membership of the United Automobile Workers of America. This referendum vote was completed on June 3rd. The following report of the vote was submitted to the President of the American Federation of Labor by President Homer Martin and Secretary-Treasurer Jerry Aldred of the United Automobile Workers Union:

Total number of ballots cast.....	70,354
Yes	66,768
No	3,370
Blank	178
Void	38

As a result of this vote, President Martin and his associates made formal application for a charter of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The application was granted, and the charter was restored on June 6, 1939. A formal statement was issued at the time the charter was granted, which read as follows:

June 6, 1939.

The United Automobile Workers' Union, as represented by President Homer Martin and his associates, voted to come back home to the American

Federation of Labor. The vote was most decisive, as well as significant. In conformity with the decision of the United Automobile Workers' Union, the original charter of affiliation was returned and that means the United Automobile Workers, as represented by Mr. Homer Martin and his associates, have again become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

With the return of this American Federation of Labor charter to the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, goes a full and complete grant of absolute autonomy in the administration and control of the organization. Thus, self-government and self-determination on the part of the officers and members of the United Automobile Workers will be substituted for dictatorship and domination from outside sources.

This restored United Automobile Workers' Union will be a self-governing body. This rule will be applied in the formulation and execution of its administrative policies. There are strong indications that thousands of automobile workers, who resent being used in the furtherance of a revolutionary subversive program, will become identified with this rebuilt American Federation of Labor Automobile Workers' Union. They wish to become identified with a movement which emphasizes the virtue and value of collective bargaining, the religious observance of contracts negotiated through collective bargaining, and the substitution of stability for chaos and uncertainty in industrial relationships.

The American Federation of Labor regards contracts entered into between employers and employees as sacred and binding, calling for the observance of every provision of the contract entered into. We are unalterably opposed to a policy of deception wherein workers are called upon to violate contracts honorably entered into in order to further the cause of some peculiarly destructive, political and economic philosophy.

All automobile workers who wish to come home to the House of Labor and become a part of the American Federation of Labor, will be accorded a warm and hearty welcome.

Thus the United Automobile Workers of America, as represented by President Homer Martin and his associates, withdrew from the C.I.O. and returned to the American Federation of Labor. This was in conformity with the repeated declarations made by the American Federation of Labor that unions which had withdrawn from the American Federation of Labor would be accorded a welcome back home, so that unity and solidarity could be established within the organized labor movement. We are cooperating fully with President Martin and his associates in the efforts they are putting forth to rebuild and reestablish the International Union United Automobile Workers of America as recognized by the American Federation of Labor. We will continue to do so, and will extend to the officers and members of this organization all assistance and help possible.

PRINTING TRADES—LITHOGRAPHERS

The Executive Council diligently endeavored to bring about an adjustment of the controversy existing between the printing trades organizations and the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada. We regret that no agreement was reached. We recommend, however, that the Executive Council stand instructed to continue its efforts to bring about an adjustment through conferences and agreement.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF FOUNDRY EMPLOYEES

Because of mechanical changes which have taken place in the foundry and molding industry, it has long been the opinion of the Executive Council that the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees should be merged with the International Molders Union of North America. The facts justify the conclusion that the membership of these two organizations should be blended into the International Molders Union of North America.

The International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees was chartered in 1904. At that time the circumstances and facts connected with the industry in which foundry employees and molders were employed, justified the creation of this additional union. Since then conditions have changed and as a result a constant fight has been carried on for extension of jurisdiction on the part of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

As a result of this mechanical development, the Executive Council in the year 1935 directed that a conference be held between the representatives of the International Molders Union and the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees for the purpose of bringing about an amalgamation of the membership of the two international organizations. James Wilson, who was formerly a member of the Executive Council, participated in the conference and drafted a plan that was accepted and approved by the Executive Council, and the Council recommended its acceptance by the representatives of the International Molders Union and the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees. The representatives of the International Molders Union of North America accepted the recommendation. It was rejected by the officers and members of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees. The plan for amalgamation drafted by former Vice-President James Wilson read as follows:

Agreement entered into April 16, 1935, between the International Molders Union of North America and the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

1. The representatives of the two organizations mentioned in the title of this agreement, agree that, in the interest of those employed within the jurisdiction of both organizations, that the interests of all the workers will be best served by an amalgamation of the two organizations. In bringing about the amalgamation of the two organizations we agree:

2. That all present membership of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees shall become members of the International Molders Union of North America.

It shall be the purpose of the International Molders Union of North America to continue the work of organizing under the present jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees granted by the American Federation of Labor.

3. It is understood, when a vacancy occurs on the Executive Board of the International Molders Union of North America, that the vacancy shall be filled by a nonjourneyman member from the group of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, now a part of this amalgamation.

4. The President of the International Molders Union of North America shall appoint not less than two organizers from the nonjourneyman members from the group of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, now part of this amalgamation, for the purpose of carrying out the organizing provision of paragraph 2 of this agreement.

5. The details as to the date of amalgamation, the combining of the membership, and the assets of the two organizations shall be decided by the officers of the two organizations, but the date shall in no case be later than July 1, 1935.

6. The American Federation of Labor will appoint a representative to see that the provisions of this agreement are carried out to the full extent, and he shall decide any difference that may arise.

7. The signers of this agreement for the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees are recommending this agreement to their membership for their approval.

International Molders Union of North America:

By (S) Lawrence O'Keefe, President,
A. J. Prendergast, First Vice-President,
Henry F. Sternan, Fourth Vice-President,
N. D. Smith, Secretary.

International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees:

By (S) John F. Green, General President,
Jerry Mahoney, Vice-President,
Silas C. Nuernberger, Executive Board Member,
Leonard Anhatt, Executive Board Member,
Harold H. Hiley, Executive Board Member,
H. D. Dannenberg, Secretary.

For the American Federation of Labor:

(S) James A. Wilson.

As previously pointed out, this plan was rejected by the membership of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees. Since it was rejected in this way the conflict has gone on. Other organizations, such as the Stove Mounters, became involved. Jurisdictional conflicts arose in a number of places. As a result another conference was called by the President of the American Federation of Labor of representatives of all organizations affected. This conference was held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on December 1, 1938. The President of the American Federation of Labor appealed to all present to agree to a plan of amalgamation which would blend into one strong, united, effective organization, the membership of the International Molders Union of North America and the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees. This conference adjourned, to meet at a later date.

A second conference took place on March 21, 1939. Again an effort was put forth to bring about unity, solidarity and the amalgamation of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees with the International Molders Union of North America. The representatives of all the organizations participating in the conference responded to the appeal made and agreed that the amalgamation should take place, except the representatives of the Foundry Employees. They stubbornly refused. When it became apparent that no agreement could be reached the conference adjourned.

A report of this conference was made to the Executive Council at its meeting held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor beginning May 10, 1939. The Executive Council directed that further efforts toward amalgamation be put forth. In conformity with this decision of the Executive Council the

President of the American Federation of Labor called upon the officers of the International Molders Union of North America and the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees again to confer and endeavor to agree upon a plan of amalgamation. The officers of the International Molders Union responded favorably and advised that they would issue an invitation to the officers of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees to confer with them on or about July 7th. The officers of the Foundry Employees refused; they officially stated that no representative of the Foundry Employees organization would attend the proposed conference.

A recital of these facts makes it plain that all our efforts to bring about the amalgamation of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees and the International Molders Union of North America through conferences have failed. The Executive Council at the meeting held in May 1939 directed further, referring to the efforts which were put forth to bring about amalgamation of the Foundry Employees and the Molders organizations through voluntary agreement,

"that if the amalgamation is not effected by the time the Council prepares the report to the Convention, the Council will recommend to the Convention the revocation of the charter of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees."

In view of all the facts which have been presented and considered and in line with the decision of the Executive Council made at its meeting held beginning May 10, 1939, the Executive Council recommends that the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor revoke the charter of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees and direct its membership to become affiliated with the International Molders Union of North America.

TEAMSTERS—BREWERY WORKERS

The Fifty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held in Washington, D. C., beginning October 2, 1933, adopted the following decision in the jurisdictional dispute which arose between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the International Union United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America:

"In the case of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America vs. the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, the Executive Council is of the opinion and decides that teamsters and chauffeurs in the brewery industry properly belong to and come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs."

Later on, at the Fifty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in San Francisco, California, beginning October 1, 1934, the officers of the American Federation of Labor were directed to continue their efforts to bring about a condition under which the decision of the Washington Convention would be observed and complied with.

The Executive Council has diligently endeavored to persuade and prevail upon the officers of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America to comply with the decision of the Washington Convention and the instructions of the San Francisco Convention herein referred to. All efforts possible have been put forth to bring about full compliance with the decisions and instructions of these conventions.

The representatives of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America have assumed an unyielding position; they have not complied with these convention decisions. Instead the officers of the Brewery Workers union have resorted to court action. The Executive Council reported to the Fifty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held in Denver, Colorado, beginning October 4, 1937, upon the institution of an application for an injunction in the Federal Court of the District of Columbia by the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America. This application for an injunction was reported upon quite fully to the Denver Convention under the heading, "Fundamental Structure of the American Federation of Labor Attacked." Justice Bailey, to whom the application for this injunction was presented, dismissed the case.

When this decision was rendered the Executive Council assumed that no further attempts would be made by the officers of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America to transfer the controversy which arose within the family of labor to the Equity Courts of the nation for settlement. Subsequent events proved that this assumption was in no way well founded, for on March 4, 1938, an amended petition was filed asking for an injunction restraining the officers of the American Federation of Labor and of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, from carrying into effect the decisions of the Washington and San Francisco Conventions. The hearing on this application for an injunction has continued over quite a long period of time. The case is being heard by Judge Goldsborough of the Federal District Court of the District of Columbia.

The officers and members of the American Federation of Labor have always recognized the authority of tribunals set up within the structure of the American Federation of Labor to compose differences and to settle said differences within the family of labor. We cannot successfully follow any other line of procedure. If the stamp of approval were placed upon resort to Equity Courts and to the use of the writ of injunction in the settlement of jurisdictional controversies which arise between organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor, chaos, confusion and rebellion would follow. Jurisdictional controversies must be settled through mediation, conferences and decisions within the family of organized labor. That is fundamental to the success of our great voluntary movement.

We have fought against the use of injunctions in labor disputes between employers and employees during all the years of our existence. Our bitter opposition to the use of the writ of injunction in labor disputes inspired conventions of the American Federation of Labor to demand the enactment of legislation

which would prohibit employers from resorting to the use of the injunctive process in labor disputes. Our efforts in this direction met with a large measure of success when we succeeded in prevailing upon Congress to pass the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act.

If we cannot tolerate and approve the use of the writ of injunction by employers in labor disputes, how can we consistently endorse and approve resort to the same line of procedure by organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in jurisdictional controversies. If, as we contend, a resort to the Equity Courts and the use of the writ of injunction by employers is wrong, it must be increasingly wrong for the same procedure to be followed by an international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The gist of this conclusion is well set forth in the brief filed by Attorney Charlton Ogburn in the case of the Brewery Workers against the American Federation of Labor and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters now pending in the court of Judge Goldsborough. I quote from the brief referred to, as follows:

"If the courts begin to try to overthrow the vote of Conventions of the American Federation of Labor on questions of jurisdiction, and if the courts begin to try to determine respective jurisdiction of labor unions themselves, and if we have the great variation in decisions of the various United States Courts of Appeal as the plaintiffs point out, then we will have nothing but chaos among organized labor in the United States, leading to confusion, squabbling and strikes. It is in the interest of public policy that the law which lets labor organizations determine these matters of jurisdiction for themselves be not altered at this late date."

Six years have elapsed since the decision of the Washington Convention of the American Federation of Labor herein referred to was rendered. Surely sufficient time has elapsed for passions to cool and feelings to be subordinated. Calm judgment ought to assert itself so that in accord with the principles and procedure of democracy all concerned would bow and yield to the will of the majority. But instead, opposition to the expressed will of the majority has continued during all these years and has become more intensified. The amount of money which has been spent in an effort to prevent the majority decision of conventions of the American Federation of Labor from being carried into effect, has been enormous. The fight has been carried on in a most relentless and cruel way. There is no indication at this time that the officers of the Brewery Workers International organization will comply with the decision of the Washington and San Francisco Conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Instead, it seems that having lost in the tribunals of labor, these officers have now indicated a determination to endeavor to defeat the American Federation of Labor itself and to utilize the power of the Equity Courts in order to accomplish that purpose.

Because the Executive Council has exerted every means at its command to bring about compliance with the decision of the supreme authority within the American Federation of Labor, and because the officers of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America have challenged the authority of the American Federation of Labor itself by seeking an injunction to restrain it from exercising its legal and moral rights to settle jurisdictional controversies, the Executive Council recommends that

the charter of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America be suspended and that it remain suspended until the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America complies with the decisions of the Washington and San Francisco Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

ORGANIZATION WORK

Earnest, aggressive and continuous efforts have been put forth in the organizing campaign which has been carried on by the American Federation of Labor during the past year. Along with national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor a most successful campaign has been waged among the unorganized workers of the nation. The success of this campaign is reflected in the increase of the membership of the American Federation of Labor. Hundreds of thousands of new members have been added and agreements have been negotiated between newly organized workers and their employers. In many instances these agreements represented the first contracts which had been negotiated between employers and employees through collective bargaining. Through this procedure wages have been increased, living standards have been lifted to a higher level, and thousands of workers have enjoyed for the first time the exercise of their right to be economically free and to negotiate agreements with employers in accordance with democratic procedure and in conformity with the principles of collective bargaining.

As reported to the convention held in Houston, Texas, during the month of October 1938, an Organization Department was created and a Director of Organization placed in charge. This administrative procedure has proved to be quite successful. When Lewis G. Hines, who was appointed as the first Director of Organization, resigned in January, 1939, to accept appointment as Secretary of Labor and Industry in Pennsylvania, Francis P. Fenton, who had served as an organizer for the American Federation of Labor in Massachusetts, was appointed to succeed him and is now serving as Director of Organization for the American Federation of Labor.

Organizing work has been carried on in every field. We have first organized workers who do not come under the jurisdiction of national and international unions into local trade and federal labor unions. When a sufficient number of local trade and federal labor unions have been formed, national councils are set up. Through such a process organizing work has been coordinated, uniformity in the establishment of wage scales and working conditions has been facilitated and the economic interests of thousands of workers have been promoted through collective action.

Over four hundred new local trade and federal labor union charters have been issued during the past year. These unions have been established among cement, beet sugar, aluminum, fabricated metal, textile, agricultural, cannery and citrus, chemical, distillery, and miscellaneous industries as well as office and white collar workers.

Office and White Collar Workers. We have been carrying on an active campaign among office and white collar workers, including insurance agents, under

the direction of the Office Employees International Council which was formed at the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor. We have added to the present membership in the last year 39 new charters. We have negotiated many satisfactory agreements, providing for better wages, and improved working conditions. We earnestly request the whole-hearted support of the state federations of labor and city central labor unions in bringing these workers under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Beet Sugar Workers. In September, 1937, the American Federation of Labor inaugurated a campaign among the employees in this industry and established local unions in the States of Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, Montana, Utah, Wyoming and Washington. Since our last convention we have established new locals in Wyoming and Colorado. Much more effective work could be done in these fields if it were not for the fact that these industries are spread all over the Middle West and Western States which makes the cost of organizing and servicing very high. However, in spite of this we are making splendid progress and have negotiated many agreements with sugar companies, providing for the union shop, 40-hour week, one and two weeks vacation for hourly and year around workers, and have established seniority rules in the industry. We feel that substantial progress has been made, in the light of the fact that this is a comparatively new industry.

Cement Workers. The Fifty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was held in San Francisco, California, in October, 1934, directed the Executive Council to launch and carry forward a special organizing campaign among the employees in the cement manufacturing plants. The records show that the organizers attached to the American Federation of Labor carried out the orders of the Executive Council. This has resulted in the affiliation of over 100 local unions with the National Council. It is significant to note that over 25 new local unions were organized from July 5, 1938, up to and including July 26, 1939. All of these unions function through the National Council of Cement Workers, which council held its constitutional convention September 11, 1939, for the purpose of receiving an international charter from the American Federation of Labor. Contracts have been negotiated between these federal labor unions of cement workers and their employers in practically every plant that has been organized throughout the country. These workers have been able to renew a number of their contracts calling for better conditions. It is significant to note also that these conditions were brought about without resort to strike.

Aluminum Workers. We are carrying on an active campaign in this industry. However, we are confronted with many handicaps due to the active raiding policy of the C. I. O. which keeps our organizers busy offsetting their propaganda. Even with all of this we have 21 local unions affiliated with this international council. A number of splendid agreements have been negotiated in this industry and these workers are determined to carry on a definite and continuous campaign to organize all workers employed in the aluminum industry.

Fabricated Metal Workers. These workers have made a substantial gain of 15 new local unions over last year. This council is acting as a coordinating

agency to disseminate information to its local unions throughout the country. This is a growing and highly competitive industry which requires our organizers to not only serve the locals that we have but to carry on an active campaign among the unorganized in this industry.

Textile Workers. Since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor organized a National Council of Textile Workers, with a very substantial membership. Subsequently, we organized about 10 local unions of Woolen and Worsted workers, former members of the U. T. W. A. These workers were organized while a suit in court was pending to the effect that some textile workers unions in Rhode Island never agreed to join the C. I. O. and that they were taking advantage of the constitution of the U. T. W. A.; that they represented nine or more dissenting local unions and thereby they had a right under their constitution to all the property rights of the U. T. W. A. as it affected them. This case was tried in the Superior Court of Rhode Island and the court sustained these local unions and found that they never waived their rights to their membership in the U. T. W. A., and that they had a right to re-establish their national union. This case is now pending before the Superior Court of Rhode Island on an appeal by the T. W. O. C. In all the law suits involved in this case, the courts have sustained the position of the U. T. W. A. and their constitution. These courts held that the transfer of those local unions to the C. I. O. was not in accordance with the constitution passed and approved by the convention of the U. T. W. A. and decreed that such transfer was illegal and without the consent of a convention of Textile Workers.

Subsequently, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor re-invested this international union with its charter, and since then the U. T. W. A. held their convention and elected new officers. They have established, under the constitution of the U. T. W. A., a Cotton Textile Federation in the South, a Woolen and Worsted Federation in the North; both of these federations are doing splendid work in organizing the workers throughout the country. We have increased our membership through the addition of 52 local unions in this field during the period since July 5, 1938, up to and including July 26, 1939. While constructive gains have been made it will be necessary for the American Federation of Labor to keep organizers in this field for the balance of this year at least, until this international union is self-sustaining. We earnestly feel that with the vigorous campaign now being carried on in the textile industry that we can report by the next convention that we have established on a solid and firm basis the U. T. W. A., and that this will be another strong, self-sustaining organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Agricultural, Cannery and Citrus Workers. The progress made in this field is still continuing in a very effective way. We have added to the roll 13 new local unions since July 5, 1938. Much opposition was encountered because of the attitude of the National Labor Relations Board which lent assistance to the C. I. O. by accepting fictitious petitions which caused delay in the holding of elections where workers had signified an interest in joining the American Federation of Labor. We have met all of these attacks with promptness and dispatch, and as the report indicates we are not losing any of our membership, but as a

matter of fact, are gaining members. We intend to coordinate our organization activities in the canneries in order to make our organization drive even more effective. This is still a large field with many thousands of unorganized workers, which will call for a vigorous and active campaign of organization.

Chemical Workers. The increase in membership among those employed in the chemical industry has been most gratifying. More than fifty local unions have been established in this field. We hope to coordinate these local unions into a cooperating collective unit within the near future. We have negotiated a number of very fine contracts governed by the Wage and Hours Division, and we look for great progress in this direction when we find it possible to establish stability and cooperation.

Distillery Workers. Organization activities in this field are carried on by organizers who work directly through the National Council which was organized some time ago. These organizers have negotiated agreements covering practically all of the workers in the industry. We are happy to report that we have made good progress in this field.

Commercial Telegraphers. The American Federation of Labor has been assisting the Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America in the organization of communication workers. We assigned organizers to assist this international union in organizing work in Washington, D. C., New York, and Chicago. We are pleased to report that we won a very important National Labor Relations Board election in Washington, D. C., which has given impetus to the workers employed by the Western Union Telegraph Company to organize throughout the country. We are now in the process of negotiating an agreement with the Western Union Telegraph Company for the District of Columbia. In spite of great difficulties and the manifest hostility of the National Labor Relations Board toward this organization in a number of instances, substantial gains are being made and organization activities carried on in the marine and aviation division of communication. With the assistance of the entire trade union movement we are sure that the present vigorous campaign that is being carried on in this field will produce good results.

Miscellaneous. We have made remarkable progress in organizing the workers in the miscellaneous groups. We have chartered over 166 locals from July 5, 1938 to July 26, 1939, organizing approximately 8,000 workers in the miscellaneous field, that is, brush workers, salt workers, gypsum mill workers, organ makers, refrigerator workers, warehousemen, optical workers, drug company employees, bag makers, sugar refinery workers, green house workers, fishery employees, newspaper employees, (varied) fertilizer workers, colored freight handlers, and others too varied to be mentioned at this time. The growth of organization in this field is certain to bear fruit during the coming year because many of these miscellaneous groups have a large potential membership among the unorganized. In many of these industries there are a large number of unorganized workers. The American Federation of Labor organizing staff has given a great deal of assistance to international unions in cases before mediation, conciliation, arbitration boards in various states and in National Labor Relations Board cases, in

most instances assisting international unions in conferences with employers as well as during strikes. The international unions to which special assistance has been extended are the following:

The Laundry Workers International Union,
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees,
United Leather Workers International Union,
International Glove Workers' Union of America,
International Metal Engravers' Union,
International Ladies Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union,
United Brick and Clay Workers,
The Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America,
Seafarers' International Union of North America,
United Textile Workers of America.
International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America.

The officers and members of national and international unions, state federations of labor and city central labor unions have rendered most valuable assistance in all of this organizing work. In addition, the organizers of the American Federation of Labor have endeavored in every way possible to see that the affiliated unions were protected in their jurisdictional rights under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

This report of organizing activities and of service rendered as a result of the success which has attended our efforts makes it clear that the financial income of the American Federation of Labor should be maintained at least at its present level. Success in organizing work means the assumption of obligations to render service. This we have been and are doing through the organizing staff, the legal department, the research department, the legislative department, the Workers Education Bureau, and through the financial support as well as organizational support which the American Federation of Labor is giving to struggling national and international unions.

All of this organizing work and organization activity call for the expenditure of substantial sums of money. The American Federation of Labor is using all funds available in rendering service to the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor in carrying on organizing work among the unorganized. It is the firm opinion of the Executive Council that a more vigorous and active campaign, if such is possible, should be carried on among the unorganized during the coming year. We are planning to do this. It is our firm determination to organize the unorganized in every field and in all lines of industry into unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Based upon the facts, the wide experience of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and its intimate knowledge of the facts and realities of organizing work which must be met, the Executive Council recommends that the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize and direct the continuance of the one cent per member per month assessment which was first legally and officially levied by the Fifty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and which has continued in effect ever since. The continuation of the income of the American Federation of Labor, at its present amount at least, will enable us to consolidate and hold the gains we have made, to protect the legal rights of the workers

through service rendered by our legal department, to adequately and properly present the cases of subordinate unions which are presented to the National Labor Relations Board, and to continue to render the high and exalted service which the American Federation of Labor has always given to the workers of the nation.

RESEARCH AND INFORMATION SERVICE

As an economy measure, to protect the investment put into organizing locals, unions should have the services that will aid growth and development.

Managing a union requires information and experience. The new local needs the counsel of some one experienced in the union movement—an organizer or a nearby union official able to give time and aid. When the new union has to meet the problem of negotiating a contract with the employer, counsel in tactics is needed as well as information on the financial standing of the firm and trends in the industry as well as prevailing standards of work and pay in competing firms and industries. The American Federation of Labor, so far as is possible, delegates organizers to counsel unions and supplies the union with needed information.

Wage Negotiations—One function of our Research and Information Service in the last two years has been to provide interpretation of published company reports and to furnish union executives and negotiating committees with the facts they need on conditions in their industries. The demand for these reports has been increasing steadily. Frequently it has reached such proportions that our staff is hard pressed to meet all requests promptly. In the first 8 months of 1939 we have received as many requests as in the full year of 1938.

In the period from January 1, 1938 to August 18, 1939 we have furnished 1,560 reports of this nature to local unions and organizers, and sometimes to city central bodies who are assisting local unions in negotiating their agreements. We are told by those using the reports that this information has been the means of securing wage increases and improvements in working conditions which would not otherwise have been secured.

An important part of this service is concerned with providing information on wage scales in effect in the plants competing with organized firms. A union negotiating an agreement needs to know what wage scales are being paid by the company's competitors or by the company's branch plants. Frequently the competitor's scale is higher than that being received by union members and this information in the hands of the negotiating committee enables them to secure substantial wage gains. Reports from those using our wage scale service tell us of increases ranging up to 40 per cent secured through the use of this information.

In order to supply the demand for wage scale information we have collected and now have on file at American Federation of Labor headquarters the wage scales and agreements now in effect in more than 500 local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This information is constantly being requested and sent out to our local unions. We are also building up information on scales being paid by unorganized firms since this information is also

important to our locals when competing companies are not organized. The splendid cooperation of American Federation of Labor organizers in securing this information is responsible for the records now available for local use.

The value of our file of agreements, including complete copies of more than 500 agreements now in effect in local unions, deserves special mention. Local unions are continually asking us what provisions are in effect by agreement in their industries to cover seniority rights, vacations with pay, arbitration procedure and other provisions to be included in the agreement they are about to negotiate. Immediate availability of this information has made it possible greatly to strengthen the agreements in force in our local unions.

Information on industrial outlook and company operating results has been furnished to a large number of locals of international unions. This service has saved international unions unnecessary expense of duplicating information resources now available at American Federation of Labor headquarters.

Of the 1,560 reports furnished by our Information Service, 670 have been furnished to directly affiliated local unions, 474 to local unions affiliated with Internationals, 328 to organizers and 88 to National Councils, and Central Labor Unions.

We endorse the policy of securing the best possible information for wage negotiations. We believe that employees of a company have as much right to know the company's financial condition as do its stockholders. A business which employs workers and sells products or services is bound to affect the life of the community in which it is situated, both by the wage scales, hours of work and other conditions it establishes and by its other policies. The public, its wage earners and its stockholders have a direct interest and a right to know those facts which show how the company is carrying out its responsibilities toward them. We believe that groups negotiating an agreement should have a full understanding of the problems affecting the company's business and commend the action of those companies who submit annual reports to their employees with a clear and accurate interpretation of operating results. These companies should open their books as a basis for wage negotiations.

We believe that progress for workers in America is based on increasing wage incomes established through collective bargaining. If wage negotiations are based on fact and if companies are frankly willing to raise wages as rapidly as possible, we shall be able to establish in this country a partnership relation between organized workers and management in which workers may co-operate fully to improve efficiency, knowing that they will share justly in the results of the joint enterprise.

Collective bargaining, based on these principles, is the best safeguard against communism or fascism or any other un-American system. It provides the normal and natural way to keep wages advancing in proportion with industry's increasing power to produce.

Social Security—Since the Social Security Act was signed in 1935 a new and very technical angle has been added to what wage earners and union officials need to know. Both employers and employees are under that act paying contributions

into the Old Age Insurance fund for the accumulation of incomes to be paid the workers after they reach 65 years of age. Every wage earner needs to know how to check up on his payments which the employer withholds from his pay envelope and after adding an equal amount from the firm's funds pays into the Federal Government. No worker can afford to take a chance on everything being all right and run the chance of poverty or dependency because he didn't clock in time. Every union executive should be ready to tell workers what to do, whom to see or to whom to write. American Federation of Labor headquarters will help executives to get started on this responsibility.

Every worker ought to be able to anticipate what his monthly insurance will be if he reaches 65, what his wife and dependents might expect should he die, and should share this information with his family. The family should know what to do in case of the wage-earner's death. Such information is readily available and is uniform throughout the country, for the law is Federal in scope.

Every worker needs to know whether he is eligible for unemployment compensation if he loses his job. Unemployment compensation laws are state laws and differ widely. Every worker should know whether he is eligible for compensation and what his rights would be—what benefits should be and for how long. He should know in advance what conditions might disqualify him for benefits so as to avoid any loss if possible and at least be advised in advance.

Union executives can readily prepare to serve their members in the security field. All they need is to learn the facts—legal knowledge is quite unnecessary.

A somewhat more difficult field is appeal from administrative decisions denying benefits. Here again legal training is not necessary and there is no need for the union or its members to incur the expense of hiring a lawyer for presentation of appeals. A simple presentation of the facts is all that is necessary. The Federation will be glad to assist unions when advice on principle or procedure is needed.

More complicated and technical are the problems involved in proposed amendments to state unemployment compensation laws. Persons and groups interested in reducing the outlay by employers for social security are diligent in devising such "economy" formulae and proposals. Not infrequently they undertake to line up union representatives and present convincing arguments which only painstaking study and technical analysis can refute. For the protection of labor locally against this propaganda which is organized nationally, we urge that decision upon unemployment compensation amendments be deferred until after consultation with American Federation of Labor headquarters.

Other Information Services—Our Research and Information Service has continued its regular monthly reports on unemployment in trade unions and its monthly estimate of unemployment of all persons in the United States. These reports are continually useful and are consulted by schools, libraries, business firms and research organizations as well as by our member unions. We also have furnished information on credit unions and cooperatives to a large number of

local unions and central bodies interested in such activities. Educational information is also given in special reports on matters of labor interest to trade unions and others requesting it.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

Again we submit a detailed report showing that \$25,586,288.58 was paid by National and International labor organizations to their members in out-of-work, disability, pension, death, sick, and miscellaneous benefits. This vast sum of benefits paid, however, does not cover the total amount paid by all National and International organizations and local unions during the past year. It represents the amount paid by National and International organizations and other organized units which reported to the American Federation of Labor. Many local unions chartered by organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and federal labor unions, chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor, have established funds out of which benefits were paid locally. Thus there should be added to the total amount set forth in this report of benefits paid to members of organized labor, many millions of dollars more paid by organizations not reporting and by local unions chartered by National and International organizations which have established local benefit funds for the protection of their membership.

This report also shows 1,442,610 members working a five-day week. In addition the compilation discloses 624,515 members enjoying vacations with pay. We heartily endorse the efforts of A. F. of L. organizations in their campaign to secure a five-day week and vacations with pay for their members and urge them to include these provisions in their agreements wherever possible.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1938

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Work Week	Vacations with Pay 1939	Vacation Period
Actors and Artists of America, Associated	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID						1,036	2 wks. to 1 mo.
Air Line Pilots Association													
Asbestos Workers, International Association of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID		1.37 1/2	7 hours	35 hrs., 5 days	4,000		
Bakers, International Union of													
Automobile Workers of America, International Union United													
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America	43,222.20	183,397.29				4,830.00	231,959.40					35,000	1 to 2 wks.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen	44,346.00	121,150.00					165,496.00			57 hrs., 6 days			
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International													
Alliance of	8,800.00						8,800.00	.90 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	2,800	732	1 to 3 wks.
Blackmail Drop Forfeiture, International Brotherhood of	1 341,968.09	1,225.00				594.20	343,487.29						
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	72,100.00	4 5,627.95	4 22,877.51		4 610.80	4 803.97	102,020.23	1.00 per hr. Men .50 per hr. Women	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	17,893		
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	24,400.00						24,400.00		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	30,853	2,000	1 week
Brewers' Flour, Cereal and Grain Workers' Union of America, International Union of the United	8,425.00	6,895.00	1,850.00			74,287.00	91,457.00	37.50 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	42,000	27,465	1 week
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America	228,370.08			586,642.47			815,012.55	1.25 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	65,000		
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United	2,000.00						2,000.00		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	10,000	600	1 day to 1 week
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association	32,814.50			107,371.20			140,185.70					1,600	

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1938—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1939	Vacation Period
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International Building Service Employers' International Union	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID		5.50 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	250		
Carpenters of America, Brotherhood of	168,800.00				7,600.00		174,400.00	Mechanics 78 to 93 per hr.	8 hours			5,000	1 week
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	487,927.68			606,585.00	12,700.00		1,107,212.68	1.25	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	270,000		
Carvers' Association of North America, International Wood Carvers' Union of America	2,400.00						2,400.00						
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID		16.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	7,000		
Clerks, Brotherhood of	50,500.00	18,431.20			5,000.00		73,931.20	2,100.00 per annum	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	45,000	45,000	
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	328,532.00						328,532.00	Women 22.50 per week Men 30.00 per week	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days		70,000	1 to 2 wks.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail	5,850.00					31,605.76	37,545.76		8 hours			Most new non-union clerks provide vacations	1 to 2 wks.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID		300.00 per mo.	8 hours	56 hrs., 7 days			
Coppers' International Union of North America	4,500.00						4,500.00	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hours	2,000	325	1 week
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America													
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Mechanical Engineers, Architects and	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID		2,500.00 per year	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	2,500	2,000	2 weeks
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of	526,665.62			394,304.60			920,970.22	1,208 hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	162,000	45,000	1 to 2 wks.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1933—(Continued)

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1933	Vacation Period
Elevator Constructors, International Union of Engineers, International Union of Operating	NO 67,000.00	INTER NATIONAL	NATIONAL	BENE FITS		PAID 4,768.00	71,768.00	Stationary at 12½¢ per hr. Hoisting 1.50 per hr. 1.15 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	\$2,960		
Engravers' Union, International Metal Engravers' Union of North America, International Union of Photo Engravers, International Association of Fire Fighters, International Association of Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Engravers	NO 197,542.13	INTER NATIONAL 41,832.19	INTER NATIONAL 41,154,950.08	BENE FITS	3,184.94	PAID 45,358.50	1,442,867.81	70.00 week	7½ hours	36¼ hrs., 5 days	170 9,500	175 400	1 to 2 wks. 2 weeks
Food and Allied Workers' Union, International Brotherhood of Poultry Employees, International Brotherhood of Poultry Workers	28,670.07						28,670.07	2,100.00 per annum 1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	16,380	30,000 16,380	15 days 10 days
Garment Workers of America, United Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada, United Glass Cutters' League of America, Window Glass Workers' Union, American Flint Glove Workers' Union of America, International	18,650.00 45,350.00						18,650.00 45,350.00	6.75 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	40,000		
Glass Workers' Union, American Federation of Government Employees, American Federation of Granite Cutters' International Association of Hat Makers, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United	24,000.00 NO 56,825.00 10,726.00	INTER NATIONAL INTER NATIONAL	NATIONAL NATIONAL	BENE FITS BENE FITS	750.00	14,881.50 PAID PAID	39,481.50 57,375.00 45,047.46	34.83 per wk. Men, 25.00 Women, 15.00 per week 720.00 to 5,000.00 per year 1.12½¢ per hr. 50-5.75 hr.	8 hours 8 hours 7 hours 8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days 40 hrs., 5 days 39 hrs., 5½ days 40 hrs., 5 days	5,335 6,000 3,000 35,000	21 1/16 days per month	

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1938—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1939	Vacation Period
Food Carriers, Building and Construction Workers Union of America, International	53,800.00						53,800.00	.55 hr.		30.44 hrs., 3½ days		969	
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union	NO	INTERNATIONAL		BENE	FITS	PAID		10.00 per day	7 hours	35 hrs., 5 days		10	2 weeks
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America	3147,203.59	58,075.57				361,146.59	566,427.75		8½-9 hrs.			Most contracts provide for same	1 week
Jewelry Workers' Union, International								.50-1.50 hr.	7-8 hrs.	35-40 hrs.	4,907	2,400	
Laundry Workers' International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	26,009.37						26,009.37	1.40 hr.	7.74 hrs.	38.7 hrs., 5 days	8,100		
Laundry Workers' International Union													
Leather Workers' International Union	NO	INTERNATIONAL		BENE	FITS	PAID		24.50 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	2,125	525	1 week
Letter Carriers' National Association of	195,317.33	156,012.02					351,329.35	2,081.16 per year	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	56,700	56,700	15 days
Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural													
Lithographers' International Protective and Benefit Association of the United States and Canada	61,200.00	13,000.00	100,000.00	6,000.00		7,000.00	187,200.00	42.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	11,000	4,000	1 week
Longshoremen's Association, International													
Machinists, International	282,874.56	18,400.00	285,000.00	1,500.00	5,000.00	149,000.00	751,874.56	.93 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	92,000	36,000	1 week to 26 days
Association of Wagon Drivers, International	282,677.00						282,677.00	.41-90 hr.	8 hours	48 hours		977	
Marble, Stone and Stonemasons' Association of America			25.00			10.00	3,743.00	6.50 day	8 hours	5 days	5,500		
Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association	3,668.00	100.00											

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1933—(Continued)

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1933	Vacation Period
Peters, National Brotherhood of Operative Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, United Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate	25,335.00 NO NO	5,604.96 INTER INTER	NATIONAL NATIONAL	BENE BENE	FITS FITS	PAID PAID	30,939.96	.62½ hr. 40.00 week	8 hours 40 hours	48 hrs., 6 days 40 hours	800	478	
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International	\$ 285,593.06	\$ 57,643.37	\$ 129,651.27	\$ 198,526.85	\$ 40,475.25	5,029.00	716,918.80	Book, magazine & job; 8 hrs. Pressmen, 49.40 week. Asst., 38.12 week. Newspaper Pressmen, Day, 45.97 Night, 50.50	Book, magazine & job, 8 hrs. Newspaper, Day, 8 hrs. Night, 7½ hrs.	37½-40 hrs., 5 days	40,000		
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, International						7,200.00	7,200.00	6-8 hrs.	40-48 hrs.	40-48 hrs.	30,000	3,000	1 week
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Men, International	\$ 793,854.07	77,902.89		\$ 238,105.25	3,187.50	30,100.00	1,141,149.71					69,319	1 week to 3 weeks
Railway Mail Association	44,100.00				144,444.50		188,544.50	2,443.00 per year	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	22,000	22,000	15 days
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United	17,000.00						17,000.00	1.50 per hr.	8 hours	40 hours	1,000		
Seafarers' International Union of North America	\$ 10,888.00	\$ 4,290.00				\$ 3,400.00	18,438.00	125 mo. with board and room	8 hours	52 hours	800	2,000	2 weeks
Shoey Sheavers Union of North America	1,147.29			2,400.00		415.00	3,962.29	3.00 per day	8 hours	32 hrs., 4 days			
Siderographers, International Association of													
Special Association of Theatrical Artists, National Association of													
Spinners Union, International	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID		1,500.00 per year	8 hours	60 hrs., 7 days			

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1938—(Continued)

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unem- ployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscel- laneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1939	Vacation Period
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Artists' Union of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of Teachers, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, International Brotherhood of Telegraphers, Order of Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Central Postal Directory, United Textile Workers of America, Tobacco Workers' International Union, Typographical Union, In-	1,135,160.00	115,060.97	323,660.31	8,900.00		1,178.00	433,859.28					28,000	
	12,200.00						12,200.00	1.12½ per hr.	8 hours	40 hours		7,996	
	9,875.00					17,931.50	27,806.50	North— Piece rate, .93 per hr. Day rate, .77 per hr. Common labor (North and South), 33½ to 36 per hr. South— Piece rate, .90½ per hr. Day rate, .56 per hr. English— Workers— .60½ per hr. 7.06 per day			2,500	645	1 week
Switchmen's Union of North America	149,325.00				14,875.00	9,775.00	173,975.00		8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days			
Teachers, American Federation of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS			PAID		300.00 to 4,500.00 yr.	8 to 9 hours	40 to 45 hrs., 5 days	30,000		
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stevedores and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of						3,519.00	221,012.65	.74 hour.	8 hours	45 hrs., 6 days		6,539	12 to 18 days
Telegraphers, Order of	217,493.65						2,100.00					3,000	2 weeks
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Central Postal Directory, United Textile Workers of America, Tobacco Workers' International Union, Typographical Union, In-	1,600.00	33,254.00					34,854.00	40-.80 per hr.	8 hours		16,115	14,503	1-2 weeks
	691,555.33	68,604.76	271,884.64	2,718,819.00		81,580.06	3,827,743.81	46.71 week	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	59,000		

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BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1938—(Continued)

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1939	Vacation Period
Upholsterers' International Union of North America	1,656.00	6,955.00				21,844.71	30,465.71	1.00 hr.	8 hours	40 hours	10,000	2,447	
Western Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United	3,500.00						3,500.00	Craftsmen—50.00 per wk. Unskilled Workers, 25.00 per wk. 35.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	3,100	3,000	3 days to 1 week
Weavers' Protective Association—American	1,600.00	1,000.00				30,000.00	32,600.00		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	352		
Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers	1,434,225.39				84,829.07	156,460.55	1,675,515.01						
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen	1,264,540.20			436,564.12	622,502.46	182,519.56	2,506,126.34						2 weeks
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen	2,026,981.99	129,121.60	4,515.79	9,788.05	538,776.91	113,809.48	2,823,293.82	Road service—per day. Yard service—5.51 to 7.54 per day.	Pass and freight service—per day. Yard service, 8 hours.			145	2 weeks
Order of Railway Conductors of America	799,172.70				150,129.45	\$3,954.47	1,033,256.67	Pass—East & South, 7.64 West Miam., 7.58 day Freight—East & South, 7.06 day West Miam., 7.00 day Local freight—East & South, 7.02 day West Miam., 7.35 day					
Total	13,125,833.38	1,306,767.79	2,582,542.87	5,334,206.54	1,641,090.88	1,593,827.12	25,566,288.58				1,442,610	624,515	

Recapitulation:

Death Benefits	13,125,833.38
Sick Benefits	1,306,767.79
Unemployment Benefits	2,582,542.87
Old Age Benefits	5,334,206.54
Disability Benefits	1,641,090.88
Miscellaneous	1,593,827.12
Total	\$25,566,288.58

- ¹ Includes disability benefits.
- ² Includes local union benefits.
- ³ Includes local union benefits.
- ⁴ Paid by local unions.
- ⁵ Includes sick benefits.
- ⁶ Includes unemployment benefits.

CHARTERING OF CENTRAL BODIES WITHIN JURISDICTION OF THE TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS OF CANADA

Resolutions No. 101 and No. 102, dealing with the issuance of charters to central labor unions in the Dominion of Canada, were referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor which met in Houston, Texas, in October 1938. The Executive Council has had the matter under consideration at each meeting which has been held since the adjournment of the Houston Convention. A number of conferences have been held with the officers of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. The question of issuing charters to central bodies in the Dominion of Canada was considered at each of these conferences.

At its last meeting, which was held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, beginning August 7, 1939, consideration was given to an agreement which had been entered into between the officers of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and which was approved by the St. Louis, 1910, Convention of the American Federation of Labor. That agreement read as follows:

"Report of Special Committee on Relation of Organizations in Canada and the United States

Your Special Committee on the Relations of Organizations in Canada and the United States beg leave to report as follows:

1. That the Trades and Labor Congress of the Dominion of Canada have the sole right to speak and act for organized labor in all political and legislative matters in the Dominion and all of its provinces.

2. That the autonomy of international unions in trade matters be maintained as heretofore.

3. That the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress shall have the sole right to issue charters (certificates of affiliation) to provincial or local central bodies in Canada.

4. That Canadian provincial or central bodies holding charters from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress may at their discretion also hold charters from the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee desires to express its cordial endorsement of the expressions from the annual report of President Gompers under the subhead Canada, and we warmly congratulate our Canadian brethren on the unremitting activity they have shown in pushing forward the cause of organized labor and the success that has accompanied their efforts to date.

T. W. McCullough, Chairman
W. D. Mahon,
J. F. Dunachie,
Ben Teagarden,
Frank Paquin,
Frank M. Ryan,
Samuel Kelly,

Norval White,
Robert Clockling,
Alex Kelso,
E. L. Smyth,
Joseph Evans,
Charles H. Joyner,
John F. Tobin, Secretary.

The Council decided, after most careful thought and consideration, to recommend to the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that Section 4 of this agreement be stricken out. The elimination of this section seems necessary in order to terminate misunderstanding which has arisen within the Dominion of Canada through the exercise of dual authority in the

establishment of central trades and labor councils. It will be noted by the section which the Council recommends be stricken out, that both the Trades and Labor Congress and the American Federation of Labor may issue charters to the same central body. A careful study of this procedure led the Executive Council to the definite conclusion that no good purpose could be served through the pursuit of such a policy. The Council believes that only one organization should charter city central bodies; the American Federation of Labor in the United States, and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada within the Dominion of Canada. The Council has been advised that this action will be quite agreeable and acceptable to the officers of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

If Section 4 is stricken out, authority will be then conferred upon the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to charter city central bodies in the cities and towns throughout the Dominion of Canada.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the highest and best interests of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, as well as of the American Federation of Labor will be served through the adoption of this recommendation and the taking of this action.

C.I.O. AND PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

The Executive Council submitted to the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held in Houston, Texas, beginning October 3, 1938, a detailed report of developments which had taken place in the conflict which arose within the ranks of labor as the result of the formation of the dual, rebel C.I.O. movement. The Council supplements that report through the submission herewith of the experiences through which the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor have passed in their dealings and relationships with the C.I.O. and its administrative policies.

True to its original purpose when the C.I.O. was formed in 1935 by organizations originally affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the C.I.O. has continued to raid established American Federation of Labor unions and to oppose the legislative, organizational and economic policies of the American Federation of Labor.

During the past year, since the adjournment of the Houston Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the officers and members of some organizations affiliated with the C.I.O. became disillusioned and disappointed over the peculiar economic and political philosophy which the leaders of the C.I.O. had applied in their organization and administrative policies. They discovered that the dual, rebel C.I.O. movement was autocratically controlled, that many of its declarations were insincere and pretentious. They could not harmonize the dictatorial control of the C.I.O., its declared purpose to raid bona fide free, democratic unions and to eliminate the slightest semblance of democratic procedure and democratic control in the affairs of the C.I.O. with their conception of democracy and democratic control and the exercise of trade union autonomy.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, numbering about 250,000

withdrew from affiliation with the C.I.O. in November 1938. In the declaration of withdrawal made by the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union it was pointed out that the dual C.I.O. movement had departed from its original declared purpose, in that it had been made clear that it intended to function as a rival movement to the American Federation of Labor.

Within a short time following this action taken by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the officers of the United Textile Workers of America announced their withdrawal from the C.I.O. along with the members of the organization whom they had the honor to represent.

Then, later on, dissatisfaction arose within the United Automobile Workers Union. The membership of that union represented by President Homer Martin withdrew from affiliation with the C.I.O.

This represented three international unions which had originally participated in the formation of the C.I.O.

During all these experiences, the Executive Council and the officers and members affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have aggressively carried on an organizing campaign among the unorganized workers of the nation. In doing this we have been forced to meet the opposition not only of hostile employers who still resort to all means and methods available to thwart the efforts and desires of their employees to become organized into unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but in addition, the opposition of the C.I.O. in practically every field of organizational endeavor. As evidence of the determination of the leaders of the C.I.O. to invade and raid old, established American Federation of Labor unions, the Executive Council includes in this report the following official statement made by the leaders of the C.I.O. on July 26, 1939:

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

President John L. Lewis of the Congress of Industrial Organizations today announced the formation of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee for the purpose of organizing the workers in the construction industry.

The Chairman of the new C.I.O. committee is A. D. Lewis, Assistant to the President of the United Mine Workers of America. The other members include Philip Murray, Chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and Vice President of the United Mine Workers; James B. Carey, President of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers and Secretary of the C.I.O.; R. J. Thomas, President of the United Automobile Workers of America; and Sherman H. Dalrymple, President of the United Rubber Workers of America.

Headquarters will be opened August 1 in Washington, D. C., on the fifth floor of the United Mine Workers Building.

In announcing the formation of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, President Lewis declared:

"There are some three million workers employed in the construction industry, of whom less than one-third are organized.

"Since the C.I.O. was formed, we have received thousands of requests from individuals and groups of construction workers throughout the country asking for organization and affiliation with the C.I.O.

"These requests have come to us because the construction workers

desire a modern form of organization which will bring the benefits of collective bargaining to all the workers, will eliminate jurisdictional disputes and will improve their wages and working conditions.

"Acting under the constitution of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which calls for the effective organization of the working men and women of America into labor unions for their mutual aid and protection, the executive officers of the C.I.O. have therefore decided to establish the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee.

"The work of this Committee will be directed by Chairman A. D. Lewis, who will be authorized to issue charters to construction workers who desire to become affiliated with a modern industrial union in their industry.

"A large number of Local Industrial Unions have already been chartered by the C.I.O. in this industry and they will be transferred to the UCWOC at once, to compose its initial membership.

"The United Construction Workers Organizing Committee will be organized on an industrial basis. Dues will be \$1.50 per month for all members in all classifications of employment in the construction industry. No initiation fees are being charged.

"The aim of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee will be to organize all construction workers into a powerful industrial union which will abolish the many evils and abuses that have beset the industry in the past and improve wages and working conditions of all those employed in it.

"Special provisions will be made by the Committee for the elimination of unauthorized strikes, jurisdictional disputes and lockouts, and for the peaceful adjudication of labor disputes.

"A system of transfer cards will be arranged for the benefit of union members, and arrangements will be made under the union agreements for training skilled mechanics so that workers may not have to learn their trades on non-union jobs.

"The declared objects of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee are as follows:

"(1) To unite into one organization, regardless of creed, color, nationality or classification of employment, all workers in and around construction work.

"(2) To increase wages and improve the conditions of employment of the members of the organization and to secure through proper negotiations joint agreements covering wages, hours and working conditions of its members.

"(3) To stabilize the construction industry through the elimination of unauthorized strikes, jurisdictional disputes and lockouts, and to provide for adjudication of disputes arising between employers and employees in the industry.

"(4) To provide for the education and better living conditions of our members and their families and to obtain a greater participation in the economic and political affairs of our country."

Here the chieftain of the rebel C.I.O. movement has made his position and the position of said rebel organization clear, explicit and definite. The mask of pretension that the rebel C.I.O. was formed for the purpose of carrying on a campaign of education among organized and unorganized workers and to organize the unorganized employed in the mass production industries, was cast aside. Surely the most unsuspecting of the membership of the American Federation of Labor can see and understand that it was the purpose of the C.I.O. to carry on a relentless industrial warfare within the ranks of labor, to raid established American Federation of Labor unions and to organize those who

have been associated with old, long-established unions into rebel, fighting, warring camps. Could anyone who believes in solidarity within the ranks of labor and who truly holds the interests of the workers above all other considerations either embark upon or pursue such a policy of division, rebellion and destruction within the ranks of organized labor? Those who place the social, economic and industrial interests of workers above and beyond personal consideration and ambition, those who hold the common welfare of the masses of the people as paramount, will endeavor to create solidarity, unity, harmony and accord within the ranks of labor. Such action represents the correct interpretation of the age-long aims and purposes of the men and women of labor.

The people of the nation have presented to them an object lesson: On the one hand, the American Federation of Labor endeavoring to establish one solid brotherhood of labor in the United States and Canada, a movement whose strength lies in unity, an organization made invulnerable and indestructible because it was knit together by a common, united, solid bond of brotherhood and fraternity; on the other hand we behold the formation of the C.I.O., in a field where the organized labor movement as developed by the best thought, judgment and experience of the members of said labor movement, was already functioning; formed for the avowed purpose of destroying solidarity and unity, of substituting force for voluntary action, and the control of the labor movement through autocratic and dictatorial methods as a substitute for democratic control and democratic procedure. The men and women of labor as well as all their friends may judge from the record made and from the policies which have been pursued.

The Executive Council disavows any responsibility whatever for the war which is being carried on within the organized labor movement and for the division, discord and hatred which prevail within the ranks of labor. To the contrary we charge that the rebel C.I.O. was originated and formed by one man and his limited associates who were moved by a consuming ambition to control and dominate the labor and political movement of our country through the exercise of force and domination. The responsibility rests with those who formed and launched the C.I.O. out of organizations created by the American Federation of Labor and affiliated with it.

In spite of all the opposition which the American Federation of Labor has encountered both from irreconcilable employers and the C.I.O., we have gone forward, increasing the membership of the American Federation of Labor and the wages of millions of working men and women. We have organized thousands of unorganized, established new international unions, created solidarity, unity and harmony within the ranks of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor, and pushed forward a legislative program which has been of great benefit to the membership of organized labor and those dependent upon them. We increased our paid-up membership from 3,623,087, as reported to the Houston Convention in October 1938, to 4,006,354, as reported to this convention. There are 105 National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, a State Federation of Labor in each and every one of the 48 states of the nation and in Puerto Rico. There are

806 central bodies functioning in the cities and towns of the nation. There are 1563 directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions established and functioning in industries over which national and international unions do not exercise jurisdiction and control.

The value of the service rendered by the American Federation of Labor to labor and to the Nation can not be adequately appraised. As we have carried on our organizing work and our organizing campaign during the past year we shall continue to press it more vigorously and aggressively during the coming year.

At the Houston Convention the Executive Council reported upon peace negotiations which had been carried on between committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. That report, which stands uncontradicted, showed that an agreement had been reached between committees representing the two organizations. It was a bona fide agreement, honorably entered into. It was cancelled, nullified and set aside by Chairman John L. Lewis, the supreme ruler of the C.I.O. It seems inconceivable that one man could possess the power to prevent the final consummation of peace negotiations designed to re-establish harmony and unity within the ranks of labor. Yet the facts and the record show this to be true. Notwithstanding this definite rejection of a well considered and practical agreement providing for a settlement of the division which had been created within the ranks of labor, the Executive Council has steadfastly sought to bring about a settlement and to promote peace negotiations. This fact is made clear through the invitations which have been repeatedly extended to the organizations which were chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor but which became a part of the C.I.O. We have made it clear that they would be welcome back into the American Federation of Labor and accorded all the rights and privileges of affiliated unions.

In addition, we promptly responded to an invitation extended by the President of the United States on February 23, 1939 to appoint a committee to meet with a committee representing the C.I.O. for the purpose of opening up peace negotiations. The invitation referred to was transmitted by the President of the United States to the President of the American Federation of Labor on February 23, 1939. It read as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington

February 23, 1939

Mr. William Green
President
American Federation of Labor
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Green:

In the development of this great nation the continued results of good will, cooperation and mutual helpfulness among the people have been demonstrated continuously. The need of the exercise of these qualities is as urgent now as at any time in American history, particularly as they apply to the welfare of men and women who work. Labor faces a challenge in finding itself divided into opposing camps, but I am sure that labor can and will meet this challenge with understanding and good will.

The American people sincerely hope that a constructive negotiated peace with honor may come about between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations within the early months of the new year. The Secretary of Labor tells me that after careful investigation and prolonged conversations with responsible leaders in both groups, there appear to be no insurmountable obstacles to peace and that in fact there is a real and honorable desire for unification of the labor movement among all parties concerned. The desire of the general membership of both organizations for peace and cooperation with each other is demonstrated by the mass of messages which have come to me, to the Secretary and to Daniel Tobin as the result of simple public statements in favor of peace.

The opportunities for a united and vital labor movement to make a contribution to American life of help to the present and future generations were never better. The National Manufacturers Association recently has made a statement expressive of a better understanding of the problems of labor relationships and of their willingness to work with labor in a realistic effort to improve their mutual relations and to better general working conditions. The complicated economic and social problems of today require the cooperation of responsible groups of citizens of all walks of life and the effectiveness of labor in this type of council can only be realized by its fundamental unity of purpose and program.

I do not need to remind you of the great variety of opportunities to be of service which will come to a united labor movement. Many of your members have spoken to me of these opportunities and many of them have also pointed out to me the hazards and dangers to which the labor movement is subject, both internally and from without, if it cannot find a pattern of unity.

Therefore, *first*, because it is right, *second*, because the responsible officers from both groups seem to me to be ready and capable of making a negotiated and just peace, *third*, because your membership ardently desire peace and unity for the better ordering of their responsible life in the trade unions and in their communities, and *fourth*, because the Government of the United States and the people of America believe it to be a wise and almost necessary step for the further development of the cooperation between free men in a democratic society such as ours, I am writing to ask you to appoint a committee to represent your organization and to negotiate the terms of peace between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Whatever assistance we in the Government can give you in this matter will be gladly given.

I wish to reiterate the sincerity of my belief in labor's capacity to end this breach and my faith in the intention of the wage earners of America to play their part along with all other groups in our community in overcoming our mutual problems and bringing about the good American democratic life.

I am sure that these results can be achieved if the parties come together with open minds and a clear intention to effect genuine peace and harmony in the labor movement.

It is with confidence that I write you, dear Bill, as a man of good will, of experience and high principles. I trust I shall very shortly receive a reply giving me the names of the members of the committee which you will appoint.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

On February 24th, 1939, immediately upon receipt of the President's communication, the President of the American Federation of Labor made reply as follows:

New York, N. Y.
February 24, 1939.

To the President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

In the letter which you sent me, dated February 23rd, you request me to "appoint a Committee to represent your organization and to negotiate the terms of peace between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations." There can be but one answer to such an invitation. I accept it in the same spirit in which you extend it. I appoint Mr. Harry C. Bates, Mr. Matthew Woll and Mr. Daniel J. Tobin, all Members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, as a Committee to represent the American Federation of Labor in peace negotiations as you have requested.

The Officers and Members of the American Federation of Labor have always been fully conscious of the injury imposed upon Organized Labor through the division which was created within the ranks of Labor. For that reason we greatly deplored the organizational set-up of a rival, dual movement such as the Committee for Industrial Organization, now known as the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Thinking men and women within the American Federation of Labor movement, conscious of their responsibilities, realized from the beginning that there was no place within the limitations of our economic and national life for the establishment and existence of competing rival labor organizations. It was because we knew and understood these things that we have constantly appealed to the organizations which left the American Federation of Labor to return and through such action restore unity and solidarity within the ranks of Labor. Time has developed new complications which will now make it more difficult to establish a basis of accommodation and compose differences.

The preservation of the structure of the American Federation of Labor and the preservation of its democratic principles are of transcendent importance and cannot be compromised or made the subject matter of negotiation. That fact will be kept constantly in mind in all negotiations which may be initiated and carried on. In addition, the economic and political philosophy evolved by the American Federation of Labor out of almost three-quarters of a century of experience cannot be compromised.

I feel sure, because you have kept in close touch with all that has taken place since the division was created within the Organized Labor movement, beginning in 1935, that you fully appreciate the difficulties and complications which will be met in negotiations which may be initiated in response to the request which you have made.

I know you are moved by the highest and most noble considerations in the appeal which you make for a settlement. I know the basis of your official and personal action is to be found in your sincere desire to promote the public welfare and to serve the public interests.

Please be assured of my willingness to cooperate in every possible way in the realization of the noble purpose which you so impressively expressed in your letter to establish and perpetuate peace within the ranks of Labor.

With every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN, *President*,
American Federation of Labor.

When Vice-President Tobin was advised of his appointment, he was overwhelmed with work and reported that it seemed impossible for him to serve on

the committee. Consequently, Vice-President Thomas A. Rickert was appointed. Later, within a very short time, Vice-President Tobin found that his numerous engagements and his heavy work had been so adjusted as to make it possible for him to serve. The members of the Executive Council were glad to learn of the change which had taken place which enabled Vice-President Tobin to serve as a member of the committee representing the American Federation of Labor in peace negotiations.

The Chairman of the C. I. O. did not respond to the request sent him, similar to the one sent the President of the American Federation of Labor, for a period of five days. Chairman John L. Lewis of the C. I. O. announced the names of the committee representing the C. I. O. as follows: Philip Murray, Sidney Hillman and John L. Lewis. It is worthy of note that the Chairman who appointed the C. I. O. committee designated himself as the Chairman of said Committee.

The President of the United States invited the members of the committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O. to meet with him in the White House on March 7, 1939. It was assumed that the President invited the members of the two committees named to meet with him so that he could counsel and advise with them and urge them to begin negotiations in a proper spirit and with a determination to achieve success. The conference with the President had practically ended and both committees were taking their leave when John L. Lewis, C. I. O. Chairman, handed the President a statement which had been prepared previous to the conference with the President and designed for release to the press at or immediately following the conference and not for discussion or consideration, either by the conference or the President. The President manifested surprise and disavowed any knowledge of the contents of this statement which contained a proposal that the American Federation of Labor dissolve and liquidate, that the C. I. O. do likewise, and that within a reasonable length of time a conference of the representatives of the liquidated American Federation of Labor and the liquidated C. I. O. and of the Railroad Brotherhoods meet for the purpose of forming a new One Big Union. This statement and proposal was given to the press by John L. Lewis, Chairman of the C. I. O., as the committee was leaving the Presidential conference. The statement and proposal read as follows:

The C. I. O. Proposal

Between April 15 and April 30, 1939, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor shall each hold a special national convention. These conventions shall be held separately and at any convenient place. The purpose of the conventions will be to pass upon and approve the following basic plan of procedure.

1. Not later than June 1, 1939, there shall assemble in the city of Washington, D. C., in the hall owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution, a convention of representatives of cooperation (a) the American Federation of Labor, (b) the Congress of Industrial Organizations and (c) the four brotherhoods in the railroad transportation field, heretofore independent.

2. This convention is to organize and dedicate the American Congress of Labor, designed to supersede and embrace the membership of the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., and to include the membership of the before-mentioned railroad organizations. The convention will outline its objectives, adopt a constitution and elect officers for a term of one year.

3. John L. Lewis and William Green shall not be eligible for election to any office in this convention. The A. C. L. will grant Mr. William Green a life tenure of his present salary for services rendered. The same arrangement will include Mr. Frank Morrison.

4. The executive board or governing body of the A. C. L. will be composed equally of representatives of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., with proportionate representation for the four railroad brotherhoods.

The president of the A. C. L., to be elected by the convention, shall be selected from the membership of the brotherhoods, from such types of executives as A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and D. B. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

5. During the year ensuing from the organization of the A. C. L., the services of the United States Department of Labor and its conciliation bureau shall be continuously available for cooperative mediation on all controversial questions affecting overlapping jurisdiction or other matters.

6. To insure the orderly, tranquil and good-faith execution of the suggestions herein noted, the President of the United States is requested to preside at the sessions of the unified ranks of labor, when its constituent representatives assemble for the purpose of stating objectives, electing officers and adopting a constitution.

Note that this proposal was submitted to the press before negotiations between the committees appointed had begun, and as the committees were leaving the President of the United States as his guests, having received from him counsel, advice and suggestions. Notwithstanding the disappointment which the members of the committee representing the American Federation of Labor experienced as a result of this extraordinary and most unusual act on the part of the Chairman of the C. I. O., they assured the President they would enter into peace negotiations with representatives of the C. I. O. with a sincere and honest purpose. On March 7, 1939, the committee submitted the following brief answer to the press proposal made by the Chairman of the C. I. O.:

"We regret exceedingly that the committee representing the Congress of Industrial Organizations saw fit to place the President of the United States in an embarrassing position by using the White House as a sounding board for its proposal.

"Any one familiar with present day labor difficulties will realize that the C. I. O. proposal does not offer any possible solution to the problems facing us. We are convinced it was not even designed for serious consideration.

"It should be obvious that the only way to obtain peace is for both sides to get down to consideration of the facts in a realistic way and then negotiate a settlement. Nothing can be accomplished by the issuance of fanciful statements for headline purposes. In the hope of finding a peaceful solution

of the problems involved we intend to confine ourselves to the procedure outlined by the President."

Following the conference with the President of the United States a formal meeting of the committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O. was held in the Department of Labor Building on March 8, 1939. At this meeting the committee representing the American Federation of Labor made a detailed and direct answer to the C. I. O. proposal given to the press by the Chairman of the C. I. O. This answer read as follows:

**Statement by the Peace Committee
Representing the American Federation of Labor**

After careful analysis and consideration of the proposal submitted by the Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, we are confirmed in the conviction earlier expressed that the proposal advanced "does not offer any possible solution of the problems facing us." We would add that the proposal submitted is also contrary to the directions and instructions of our respective conventions.

In our judgment the proposal submitted by the C. I. O. is impracticable. It does not begin with trying to heal a breach but shifts the issue to a field having no relation to the immediate problem that must be met, and for the solution of which the President of the United States has brought about this conference.

The proposal made by the C. I. O. is not a new one. It was offered on previous occasions when President Lewis himself did not pay the slightest attention to it. It bears all the earmarks of the type of "United front" which does not unite but divides, and which is extraneous to the best interests of the trade union movement.

The C. I. O. proposal would transfer direction of the trade union movement from its own hands largely into those of government officials, a dangerous tendency which has found extreme expression in totalitarian countries. While we welcome friendly cooperation from genuine friends of labor, we insist that labor must remain master in its own house and must not arbitrate its future.

The proposal is predicated solely and wholly upon the concept of bringing into the newly proposed mass organization the Railroad Brotherhoods. It is further proposed they should be entrusted not only with the balance of power but with the prestige and influence of Executive office. Then, too, quite aside from the fact that the proposal provides for equal representation without regard to actual dues-paying membership and disregards all principles of democratic procedure, the first question arises, have the brotherhoods been consulted and what has been their response? Courtesy, to say nothing of practicability, requires they should have first been consulted, leaving aside the point that our position might first have been ascertained before publicly announcing such a proposal.

As regards the railroad brotherhoods, their relations with the American Federation of Labor have always been most harmonious and cooperative. We have not the slightest doubt that they will continue so. While we would welcome the affiliation of the Brotherhoods into the American Federation of Labor, we would not disturb the present status or interfere with the friendly and cooperative relationship that exists between us. At the same time we maintain that the non-affiliation of the railroad brotherhoods in no way retards or presents any obstacle whatever to a solution of the issues that divide the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. On the contrary, to insist upon their affiliation as a condition or basis of peace and unity can only obscure and aggravate present issues and enlarge and multiply existing difficulties.

The proposal of the C. I. O. to dissolve the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and to replace them with a nebulous new federation into which various and sundry organizations are to be admitted without the slightest consideration of jurisdictional problems, would only make confusion worse confounded and increase the obstacles to labor peace. Under the cloak of peace, the proposal carries within it the germs of new dissensions, divisions and conflicts.

While it may be that the organizational structure of the C. I. O. is such as to enable its representatives to bargain for its termination, upon approval of special convention action, the organic structure of the American Federation of Labor is such as to deny its representatives the right or authority to bargain away its existence even by means of special convention. Indeed, members of this committee would not if they could terminate the existence of the American Federation of Labor under the guise of peace negotiations or otherwise. The American Federation of Labor has functioned successfully for almost sixty years. Indeed, all substantial organizations making up the C. I. O. have been reared within the fold of the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L. has grown from a small beginning to a gigantic oak. It has become a fixed and permanent institution for good in our economic, social and political life. Its beneficent influence has been felt in every quarter of our land. Its constructive contributions have added much to the dignity, strength and security of our democratic institutions. It has accomplished for the working men and women of America more than any other labor movement here or abroad and at any time. It is inconceivable that for any reason these and other values heretofore attained should now be disregarded or destroyed or that the movement built up over a long period of years, through great material and financial sacrifice, should now be dissolved.

The other features of the plan proposed by the C. I. O. must be dismissed as unacceptable and highly objectionable. The reasons therefore are so obvious as to make it unnecessary to deal with these proposed objectives in detail.

Let us rather get down to the task for which we have been summoned by the President of the United States. Let us devote ourselves to the issues directly concerning the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.

These issues were in large measure clarified and agreement attained upon them in previous conferences between the representatives of our two organizations. It is therefore only logical and practical that the progress that was made in December, 1937, be used as a starting point and basis in the present negotiations. Our committee is quite prepared to do this and by this or any other practical formula or procedure endeavor to reach an amicable, fair and honorable basis for settlement of all issues in dispute and thus re-unite the forces of labor under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

An objective examination of the understanding reached in December, 1937, will disclose a genuine practical possibility for agreement, if pursued with sincere determination. Such agreement would definitely end the internecine strife in the ranks of labor and would open the road to new achievements for the trade union movement. Such an agreement would enable labor to play fully its rightful part in the life of the nation in this critical period of its history.

Following the conclusion of this meeting at the Department of Labor in Washington, D. C., on March 8th, meetings of the committees were transferred to New York City. This action was taken in order to accommodate the Chairman of the C. I. O. who was engaged in wage conferences with Bituminous Coal Operators. The first meeting in New York was held on March 10th. At this

meeting the original proposal given to the press by Chairman Lewis of the C. I. O. was laid aside, and the proposal made by the committee which represented the American Federation of Labor in conference held a year and a half ago and which was embodied in the agreement reached at that time, was taken up for consideration. Finally, the Chairman of the C. I. O. directly asked the members of the committee representing the American Federation of Labor just what that proposal meant so far as it provided for admission of the original unions that left the American Federation of Labor and participated in the formation of the C. I. O. He wanted to know if it meant they would come back to the American Federation of Labor exercising jurisdiction granted to each of them by the American Federation of Labor when they were a part of it and before they formed the C. I. O., or whether it meant they were to come back with all the acquired jurisdiction they now claim for each of these unions during the period they were dissociated from the American Federation of Labor and were a part of the C. I. O. Each of the original unions which met and formed the C. I. O. had extended their jurisdiction since the C. I. O. was formed. For instance, the United Mine Workers claim to have extended its field so as to include chemical, coke and by-product workers. Like extension of jurisdiction was said to have taken place in other organizations so that a number of them had invaded fields of jurisdiction previously granted to other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Because the committee representing the American Federation of Labor was of the opinion that it should not assume to make direct answer to this inquiry, it requested that a special meeting of the Executive Council be held and the Council be called upon to supply the answer requested. Consequently, a special meeting of the Executive Council was called to meet in Washington on March 22, 1939. The Council considered the report of the Committee representing the American Federation of Labor and the inquiry submitted by the Chairman of the C. I. O. After careful deliberation and broad consideration, the Executive Council drafted an answer. That answer read as follows:

It has ever been the intent and purpose of the American Federation of Labor that the jurisdiction granted by the American Federation of Labor to the National and International Unions which formed the Committee for Industrial Organization in 1935 should be acknowledged, respected and exercised in all attempts which may be made to bring about the reaffiliation of said National and International Unions with the American Federation of Labor. At the same time the American Federation of Labor has in mind that any extensions of jurisdictions exercised by these National and International Unions since the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed should be a subject of negotiation between Committees appointed by the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations for the purpose of healing the breach which has been created within the ranks of Labor.

It was always understood, in the case of the International Union, United Mine Workers of America, that its industrial character would be recognized freely in that it would be accorded the right to exercise jurisdiction over all men employed in and around the coal mines of the United States and Canada, as set forth in the original charter granted that International Union and as amended and extended at subsequent Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Admission to membership by this International Union of those employed in the explosive, chemical, gas, and coke industries, and by-products such as soap, perfume and cosmetics was never contemplated or authorized by the American Federation of Labor. This is a field unrelated and extremely remote from coal mining. The facts are that because no International Union had been granted jurisdiction over chemical, coke, gas and by-product workers the American Federation of Labor has organized a large number of these employees into Federal Labor Unions. A number of these chemical, coke, gas and by-product workers were organized into Federal Labor Unions by the American Federation of Labor before the C. I. O. was formed. They were chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor. For this reason one or more new International Unions may be formed in conformity with the decision of the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held in 1934.

Inasmuch as another union of Mine Workers applied for and was chartered by the American Federation of Labor, following the dissociation of the United Mine Workers of America from the American Federation of Labor and the creation of the Committee for Industrial Organization, with which it became affiliated, the American Federation of Labor is of the opinion that conferences should be held by Committees representing the United Mine Workers of America and the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America, for the purpose of composing differences.

The solution of these questions should be referred to the sub-committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in case the General Committees agree to appoint said sub-committees for the purpose of determining jurisdiction problems. The same method of procedure to be followed in dealing with the extension of jurisdiction claimed by the other National and International Unions since they became dissociated from the American Federation of Labor and affiliated with the C. I. O.

Regarding the other national and international unions which were among those who originally formed the C. I. O., a different situation prevails. Because of this difference it must be dealt with in a different way. National and international unions have been chartered by the American Federation of Labor and granted jurisdiction in fields which were invaded by some or all of these original C. I. O. unions. Workers who come under the jurisdiction of existing American Federation of Labor unions were taken into membership in some or all of these original C. I. O. unions. The solution of these problems can be brought about through a transfer of members to the American Federation of Labor national and international unions having jurisdiction over them and to which they properly belong.

With regard to the new Unions which have been created by the C. I. O., it is planned and proposed that Committees representing said new organizations and the American Federation of Labor Unions exercising jurisdiction in the same field would meet and, through conferences, negotiate an agreement providing for a merger or a settlement of the jurisdictional differences which exist. These conferences to be held under the supervision of the General Committees representing the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

But, before any question of conflict of organization or of jurisdiction in any case should be considered it is advisable that a thorough knowledge and understanding be had of the membership of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor upon whom the per capita tax has been paid for the past six successive months ending February 28th, 1939 and that this per capita paid-up membership be determined definitely for each of these six months and made available for the use and consideration of the Committees which are to be engaged in the negotiations

dealing with jurisdictional problems and the settlement of the difficulties which grew out of the breach within the membership of Organized Labor. This is an essential requirement which should precede any discussion or any consideration by any Committees. There cannot be a definite or intelligent solution of these problems unless all members of the Committees are thoroughly informed as to the number of members involved in the solution of all jurisdictional problems.

Therefore, it is our judgment that a Certified Public Accountant mutually acceptable be jointly employed and authorized to examine and audit the books and financial records of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations for the purpose of determining and certifying the true and exact paid-up membership of the two organizations covering the six months period ending February 28, 1939.

Another meeting of the committees was held in Washington on March 25, 1939. The American Federation of Labor committee presented to Chairman Lewis and his associates the answer of the Executive Council to his request. The proposal submitted by the committee representing the American Federation of Labor was rejected by the Chairman of the C. I. O. The conference reached the breaking point at this meeting. However, in spite of the difficulties encountered, and in spite of the uncompromising attitude assumed by the Chairman of the C. I. O., it was agreed that further meetings would be held in New York.

Additional meetings followed. During these meetings the C. I. O. representatives finally suggested that our committee consider the re-admission of the originally affiliated organizations on the basis of their present membership but without recognition of the extended jurisdiction involved. After considering all phases of this question and being desirous of bringing about an adjustment, our committee expressed willingness to recommend this proposal, that is, that the organizations originally affiliated to the A. F. of L. should be re-admitted on the basis of their present membership, with the definite understanding that such re-admission did not in any way carry with it directly or indirectly an extension of jurisdiction beyond that recognized by the A. F. of L. at the time of suspension of the several organizations. Our committee agreed to this recommendation upon the further condition that a satisfactory settlement and adjustment was reached with and as between all other organizations affiliated with the C. I. O., as well as all other questions raised and involved, including the reaching of an agreement or understanding between the United Garment Workers of America and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America with reference to agreement and understandings previously reached between these two organizations and which formed the basis for the original admission of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America into the American Federation of Labor.

Immediately following this the C. I. O. committee repudiated its own proposal and urged instead a proposal to the effect that a charter be issued to the C. I. O. as a Department within the American Federation of Labor, this Department to be considered as a separate and distinct federated entity, with complete and full authority, and to continue to function as now, such Department to be likewise free from any and all rules, regulations, requirements and constitution of the A. F. of L., that it was not to pay any per capita tax to the A. F. of L. or prove in any way accountable to the A. F. of L. Our committee rightly and

justly refused to entertain any such proposal and urged instead going back to a discussion of proposals previously considered and hereinbefore reported upon.

It was at this stage of the negotiations that the conference adjourned to meet the following day unless Chairman Lewis of the C. I. O. found it impossible to do so on account of negotiations then going on between the United Mine Workers and the coal operators.

On the following morning, April 5th, Chairman Lewis of the C. I. O. called Vice-President Woll, a member of the American Federation of Labor committee, and advised him it would be impossible for the C. I. O. committee to meet within the next few days as originally planned. It was then suggested that future meetings of the committees be postponed until such time as Vice-President Woll might hear from Chairman Lewis, when a date would be fixed which would be mutually satisfactory for the holding of another meeting. The committee has not heard from Mr. Lewis since April 5th.

In view of these developments, the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the committee representing the American Federation of Labor were surprised when they read in press reports an interview in which Chairman Lewis of the C. I. O. had declared that it was "impossible" to make peace with the Federation, (meaning the American Federation of Labor) because that organization was in the hands "of a small group of leaders, firmly intrenched and reactionary in their attitude on public questions, who are tolerant of many evil conditions existing in the A. F. of L." He further stated that the C. I. O. peace committee of which he, Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray were members, had reported on the recent peace conference to the Executive Board of the C. I. O., and that the Board was unanimous "in the belief that the A. F. of L. leaders were following a rule or ruin policy." The press story stated that "So far as he was concerned Mr. Lewis indicated clearly that it was a 'fight to the finish' from now on."

In addition to the declarations made by Chairman Lewis of the C. I. O. which justify the interpretation placed thereon that peace negotiations were ended, a quotation from an official letter which Chairman Lewis sent to a correspondent on June 22nd confirms the position he assumed. This quotation reads as follows:

"The Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations held its regular bi-annual Board Meeting in Washington, D. C., June 13, 1939. At this meeting reports were had from the various affiliated national and international unions of the C. I. O. and its Executive Officers on the state of our union.

"Among the many problems discussed at length was the question of unity and it has been clearly demonstrated that peace with the A. F. L. is impossible, except upon their terms and conditions. This would mean the stripping of many of our new unions and the abandonment of organizing the unorganized in industrial unions. This, the C. I. O. will not do. We must go forward! We must expand our movement! By doing so, we will build an instrumentality that will be most effective in guaranteeing peace in the labor movement."

In the light of transpiring events, the interpretation placed upon the press statement made by Chairman Lewis of the C. I. O. on June 14th, seems fully

justifiable. Vice-President Woll, member of the committee representing the American Federation of Labor, interpreted the statement made by Chairman Lewis as follows:

"The statement issued by Mr. Lewis, ostensibly in the name of the executive board of the C. I. O., blasting all hope of peace and unity in the labor movement, came as a shock to all who had hoped that the negotiations initiated by President Roosevelt would lead to a positive conclusion.

"Mr. Lewis's statement, marking an abrupt termination of the negotiations, was discourteous to the President in that the Chief Executive had requested the representatives of both the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. under no circumstances to terminate negotiations without first consulting with him. Mr. Lewis's action is, however, in keeping with his conduct in this situation on previous occasions.

"Negotiations between our committees had not collapsed. At the request of President Lewis, addressed to me during his recent bituminous negotiations, when he was pressed for time in the emergency then confronting the United Mine Workers it was unanimously agreed to recess our negotiations until such time as Mr. Lewis was ready to resume the discussion. We had every reason to believe that the negotiations would be resumed. Mr. Lewis has now seen fit to terminate them without cause.

"This is the second time he has deliberately wrecked efforts to restore peace in the family of labor. The first occasion was in December, 1937, when committees representing the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. had reached a unanimous agreement, which was vetoed at the last moment by Mr. Lewis. At that time, too, efforts were made to becloud the issue and misrepresent the agreement that had been reached. Nevertheless, subsequent events had demonstrated that an agreement had actually been reached.

"Mr. Lewis now repeats his performance of December, 1937. In blasting the present negotiations he has swept aside the issues upon which the C. I. O. has supposedly been waging its battle with the A. F. of L. and reveals that these issues were widely fictitious.

"Concealing the very substantial concessions made by our committees on questions of jurisdiction and so-called craft versus industrial unionism, and other problems raised during the discussions of the past three years and more, Mr. Lewis now falls back upon statements that have no basis in fact and upon irrelevancies.

"He seeks again to sow confusion by attacking the leaders of the A. F. of L. who enjoy the confidence of the millions of its members.

"As to who is pursuing a rule-or-ruin policy, is only too clear from Mr. Lewis's conduct. Mr. Lewis now says that it is to be a 'fight to a finish.' This certainly will be a grievous disappointment to the millions of workers in both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. who have been hoping and praying for peace. It will certainly be a disappointment to the general public of progressive and socially minded citizens.

"Mr. Lewis now says that peace is 'secondary' to him, that the primary purpose of the C. I. O. is the organization of the unorganized and the building of what he terms a progressive labor movement. Without arguing about the definition of 'progressive,' it may be asked how the interests of the labor movement can possibly be conserved and promoted without peace and unity.

"Peace and unity in the labor movement remains the issue. The workers in the American Federation of Labor will now see more clearly than ever who has made attainment of this objective impossible. The workers in the C. I. O. will now, likewise, perceive the truth, and unable to obtain peace and unity through the C. I. O., will turn to the American Federation of Labor, under whose roof they will find what they want."

Thus, the Executive Council submits in chronological order the developments which took place in the relationship of the American Federation of Labor to the dual, rebel C. I. O. movement, and in all the efforts which have been put forth to conclude a peace with the C. I. O. which would provide for a return of the C. I. O. organizations to the American Federation of Labor. The facts set forth in this report are supported by the records which have been made. We must leave to the honest, sincere and calm determination of the membership of the American Federation of Labor and of working men and women of the nation, the question as to who is responsible for the origination of the division within the ranks of labor and for its continuation in a most aggravated and destructive form.

Our committee still stands, clothed with authority to function, ready to resume negotiations when it is accorded an opportunity to do so. We have opened the door of the American Federation of Labor wide and completely. We have invited those who left the American Federation of Labor to return; we have urged them to come back home and settle differences within the family of labor in a sensible, honest and fair way. In doing this we have been inspired by a genuine desire to establish here in America a solid, united, labor movement through which the economic, social and industrial interests of the workers of the nation can be fully and completely served.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

The officers of the Department and all affiliated national and international unions have cooperated with the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the officials of other Departments; and in a like manner we have received the unstinted support, aid and assistance of the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor.

A careful perusal of the records of this Department indicates that there has been increased activity in the field of organization participated in by the national and international unions affiliated with this Department. There has been a marked increase in the membership of the affiliated national and international unions as well as an increase in the number of Building Trades Council charters issued during the fiscal year passed.

Since our last convention the C.I.O. has renewed its activity in its attempt to enter the building and construction industry, and it is a source of satisfaction to be able to report that this Department and its affiliated national and international unions have been successful in offsetting these attempts to invade the jurisdiction of the Department. And I may add that while we have been successful in protecting the jurisdiction of the Department that we hold ourselves in readiness at any time to aid and assist the American Federation of Labor and any of its Departments in combating this dual movement.

It is a source of pride and pleasure to be able to report that the finances of our Department are in a healthy condition; that all of the affiliated national and international unions are in good standing with the Department and will be represented at the thirty-third annual convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department.

We take this occasion of thanking the officers and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for their sincere cooperation in matters affecting the Building and Construction Trades Department.

It is with deep regret and profound sorrow that we report the death of our late President, Joseph A. McInerney and the death of the Vice-President of the Department, John J. Hines, General President of the Sheet Metal Workers. In the deaths of these two efficient officers in the past year the Department has sustained a loss almost beyond estimation.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Since the Houston, Texas, convention of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., 1938, the International Unions comprising this Department have faced a continuation of stagnant industry in the general metal manufacturing field. This has caused continued unemployment for many metal workers members of affiliated International Unions.

In some localities representatives of the C. I. O. have been particularly active in their attempts to raid our local unions, and to keep the workers' minds in a turmoil. Reports received from the Department's local Metal Trades Councils indicate that these efforts have been wholly unsuccessful.

The depressed condition of production in the metal manufacturing industries has not been accompanied by conditions which are prone to develop during depressed periods. Not only have the wage scales in existence been maintained, but a large number of local agreements have been negotiated establishing an advance.

Fully as encouraging is the progress which has been made in organizing. Several of the affiliated International Unions report a substantial increase in membership over a year ago. Without exception the metal trades group of International Unions are actively carrying on organizing campaigns and securing practical results.

The general problems which faced the metal trades group a year ago still remain. We still have the hostility of the C. I. O., and the supplementing efforts of the Communist Party to weaken our members' faith in sound trade union policies. These efforts have failed to make headway, but they are resulting in giving our membership a better and more accurate knowledge concerning the questions at issue.

Both the records of membership and the financial reserve have been materially improved during the past year.

RAILWAY EMPLOYES' DEPARTMENT

The Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor, and its affiliated international organizations have been unusually active during the past year. An intensive organizing campaign has been carried on, which has resulted in the establishment of contractual relations with many additional railroads throughout the country. The wage reduction movement inaugurated by the carriers last year was successfully resisted, and growing out of that pro-

ceeding, these organizations have actively cooperated with the railways to bring about the enactment by Congress of important transportation legislation. In Canada, legislation was enacted providing protection for railway employees adversely affected by consolidations similar to that provided by the so-called Job Protection Agreement of May, 1936, covering railway employees in the United States.

Progress of Organization—According to the latest tabulation, the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations have established representation on a total of 151 railroads since June, 1933, when the present organizing campaign was begun. New agreements have been negotiated on a total of 115 roads, while the existing agreement has been taken over on 23 roads, making a total of 138 roads on which the Railway Employees' Department has established contractual relations since 1933. Relatively few roads remain on which the existing agreement, taken over at the time representation was established, has not been replaced by a new agreement. Moreover, on the few railroads on which representation has not been established, intensive work is now being done by a large staff of organizers to organize these roads, as well as bring about more complete organization on those roads where we now have contractual relations.

Employment and Compensation—Adverse business conditions during the year 1938 caused railroad traffic and employment to drop precipitously but during the early months of 1939 there has been a considerable improvement, and based on present estimates they should continue to improve.

According to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the average number of employees on Class I Steam Railroads in the United States, (excluding Switching and Terminal Companies), declined from 1,115,077 in 1937 to 939,505 in 1938 or 15.7% while their total compensation declined from \$1,985,323,363 to \$1,746,193,567 or 12.1%. During the first four months of 1939, for which reports are available, the average number of employees increased to 943,074 or .9% over the number of employees reported for the first four months of 1938 while total compensation increased from \$572,423,595 during the first four months of 1938 to \$587,381,584 during the same period of 1939 or 2.6%.

The average number of maintenance of equipment employees declined from 311,142 in 1937 to 239,796 in 1938 or 22.9% while their total compensation declined from \$510,728,215 to \$399,610,378 or 21.8% during the same period. During the first four months of 1939 the average number of employees in the Maintenance of Equipment Department reached 255,702, which is an increase of 4.6% over the 244,403 employees reported for the first four months of 1938 while the total compensation paid to these employees increased 9.3% from \$132,578,057 during the first four months of 1938 to \$144,934,259 during the same period in 1939. It will be observed that due to the reduction in traffic in 1938, Maintenance of Equipment forces were reduced more sharply than railway employees in the industry as a whole, but have shown a better recovery during the early months of 1939.

Railroad car loadings, which indicate the condition of the business of the

railroads, declined sharply during 1938 as compared to the previous year but have shown a considerable improvement during the early months of 1939. The number of car loadings declined from 37,670,464 in 1937 to 30,468,544 in 1938 or 19.1%. During the first twenty-six weeks of 1939, for which data is available, car loadings increased to 15,343,122 or 7.8% over the 14,230,632 cars loaded during the same period in 1938. From all indications traffic should continue to increase and provide employment for railroad employees.

During the year 1937 when there was a demand for rolling stock because of improved traffic conditions, the railways greatly improved their bad order situation with the result that notwithstanding reduced maintenance programs during the year 1938 the number of cars and locomotives unserviceable has not increased greatly. The number of freight cars unserviceable of the total on line at the close of April, 1938, was 11.2% increasing to 11.9% of the total on line at the close of April, 1939. The number of road freight locomotives unserviceable of the total at the close of April, 1938, was 28.3% increasing to 30.9% in April, 1939. The number of road passenger locomotives unserviceable of the total increased from 22.7% in April, 1938, to 24.8% in April, 1939.

The reduced maintenance program during 1938 is reflected in the reduction of Maintenance of Equipment expenses during that year. Maintenance of Equipment expenses declined from \$826,708,829 in 1937 to \$676,518,731 in 1938 or 18.2% but increased to \$245,153,322 during the first four months of 1939 or 8.6% over the same period in 1938 when Maintenance of Equipment expenses were \$225,841,431.

The improvement in business conditions generally and in railroad traffic is encouraging and should result in a marked improvement in railroad employment.

Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act—Effective July 1, 1939, the benefit and tax provisions of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act became effective. The coverage of this Act is the same as that of the Railroad Retirement Act, which includes with insignificant exceptions employees of railroads and sleeping car and express companies, as well as certain companies owned or controlled directly or indirectly by such carriers. Employees of railroad employer associations and of national railway labor organizations and representatives of a few other organizations with a railroad-labor membership are also included under the law. This law, which was approved on June 25, 1938, provides for a national system of railroad unemployment insurance to be administered by the Railroad Retirement Board, which also administers old-age annuities for railroad workers.

In preparing for the administration of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, the Board found that a number of minor amendments were desirable in order to facilitate administration and clarify the language of the statute. The Board conferred with representatives of the railways and the Railway Labor Executives' Association and it was agreed that such amendments should be enacted. Accordingly, H.R. 5474 was introduced in the House of Representatives on March 31, 1939, by Congressman Crosser, which in addition to correcting a number of typographical errors in the original Act, provided for the following:

1. Exclusion of certain service in foreign countries.
2. Abolition of classification and separate treatment of part-time workers.

3. Shortening the waiting period from two half-months to one half-month.
4. Elimination of certain disqualifications and change in certain others.
5. Change in the reporting provisions and in the period after which reports will be conclusive.
6. Changes in the transitional provisions.

This Bill was passed by the House of Representatives on June 5th, 1939, under a suspension of rules after being reported by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. In the Senate it was referred to the calendar instead of going to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, and was passed without amendment on June 13th, 1939.

To be eligible for unemployment insurance benefits under the Railroad unemployment Insurance Act, an employee must meet the following conditions:

1. He must have earned \$150 or more from railroad or other covered employment in his "base year". (See below.)
2. He must have served, within six months prior to the time he begins to receive benefits, a waiting period of fifteen consecutive days in which there were at least eight days of unemployment.
3. He must not have become disqualified for benefits due to any of the causes specifically set forth in the Act.

The law limits the payment of benefits to employees who in a preceding calendar year have earned compensation from railroad employers of at least \$150. An employee's wages of \$150 or more, in any calendar year are used in determining his benefit rate and maximum amount of benefits during any twelve months beginning at any time in the year starting with the following July 1st. For example, the earnings for the calendar year 1938 are the "base year" earnings for any employee who claims and starts to receive benefits at any time from July 1st, 1939, to June 30th, 1940, inclusive.

When an employee has started to receive benefits, his benefit rate and maximum benefit amount cannot be changed for a period of one year from the first day of his first period of fifteen days containing days of unemployment for which he received benefits. For example, if an employee claims and receives benefits for the fifteen days from June 25th, 1940 to July 9th, 1940, his benefit rate and his maximum amount of benefits, based on his 1938 wages, apply to the twelve months from June 25th, 1940 to June 24th, 1941; he cannot start to draw benefits based on his 1939 wages until after June 25th, 1941, even though he may have drawn his maximum amount of benefits for the year ending June 24th, 1941, months before that date. The employment in the base year for which the employee may receive credit need not be consecutive. Records of the Railroad Retirement Board indicate that of about 2,000,000 workers who in 1937 received wages from employers covered by the Act, more than 400,000 earned less than \$150 in the railroad industry.

No railroad employee can receive unemployment benefits unless he has completed a waiting period for which benefits are not payable. The waiting period consists of a period of fifteen consecutive days, which includes at least eight days of unemployment. The waiting period must be served within six months of the first days for which benefits are payable.

It is important to note that the waiting period can begin on any day of the month in which unemployment begins.

Unemployment benefits to railroad employees are calculated on a daily basis and the actual amount of the benefit ranges from \$1.75 to \$3.00 per day, depending upon the total railroad earnings of an employee during the calendar year used to determine his eligibility for receiving benefits.

<i>Annual Railroad Compensation</i>	<i>Amount of Daily Benefit</i>
\$150.00 to \$199.99	\$1.75
200.00 to 474.99	2.00
475.00 to 749.99	2.25
750.00 to 1,024.99	2.50
1,025.00 to 1,299.99	2.75
1,300.00 and over	3.00

Benefits are payable to qualified employees for each day of unemployment in excess of seven within each period of fifteen consecutive days. The maximum number of days for which a railroad worker can draw unemployment compensation in any fifteen-day period is, therefore, eight. During a twelve-month period, beginning with the first day for which benefits are paid, a worker may draw benefits for a maximum of eighty days of unemployment. Unemployment compensation is, therefore, payable for at least ten half-months. It should be emphasized that an employee may begin a fifteen-day period at any time on the first day of unemployment; he does not have to wait until the first or the sixteenth day of the month to start a fifteen-day period.

A somewhat different method of calculation is outlined in the Act for employees in train and engine service, such as engineers, conductors, firemen, and brakemen, whose compensation is calculated on a mileage basis. Because labor agreements generally establish for these employees a maximum number of miles an employee can run during a calendar month, they regularly have lay-off days on which they are not in fact available for employment in their usual occupations. In order to meet this situation the law provides that in any benefit period, (fifteen consecutive days) in which the employee compensated on a mileage basis earned at least eight times his basic daily rate of pay he will not be eligible for unemployment benefits. If he failed to earn this minimum amount the calculation for a mileage employee is the same as for other unemployed workers.

The fund from which railroad unemployment benefits are paid are by a 3% tax on the pay rolls of carriers covered by the Act. As in the Railroad Retirement Act, monthly earnings in excess of \$300 are not taxable. Railroad workers are not required to contribute to the unemployment insurance fund. One-tenth of the total amount collected each year is to be set aside to cover the cost of administering the Act. The States will also transfer to the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Fund a proportionate share of the balances in their unemployment funds as of July 1st, 1939.

Many provisions of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act differ substantially from those of the State unemployment compensation laws. The variations for the most part are due to the fact that the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act was specifically enacted to apply to the employment and unem-

ployment conditions peculiar to the railroad industry. For example, the operation of seniority rules tends to produce greater frequency and severity of unemployment among employes with shorter service. Because seniority rules and practices are more thoroughly established in the railroad industry than in most other industries, there is a greater concentration of unemployment among junior and lower-paid workers on the railroads. For this reason the amount of compensation payable in railroad unemployment benefits in proportion to annual earnings is considerably higher for lower-paid workers than for the better-paid groups. Thus, the lowest railroad benefit payable to workers earning between \$150 and \$200 a year is equivalent to about \$7 a week, which is higher than the minimum weekly benefit in most States. Moreover, the total possible amount of benefits payable to an unemployed railroad worker in the lower-wage brackets is larger than under most State laws.

Railroad workers are not deprived of their right to benefits under State unemployment-compensation laws, which are based on wages they may have earned from non-railroad employers covered by the State Act. However, any day for which such State unemployment benefits are received cannot after July 1st, 1939, be counted as a day of unemployment for benefit or waiting-period claims with the Railroad Retirement Board.

Mr. Murray W. Latimer, Chairman of the Railroad Retirement Board, describes the procedure which is followed by unemployed railroad workers applying for unemployment compensation benefits as follows: John Jones, a section hand, is laid off July 15th, 1939. In May or June he received from his employer a card called a "certificate of service-months and wages," prepared by the Railroad Retirement Board. This certificate tells Jones the amount of his compensation from railroad or other covered employment during the calendar year 1938.

On his first day of unemployment Jones presents this card to the local claims agent designated to handle such claims. As a rule, this claims agent will be Jones' foreman, as the Board has worked out a cooperative arrangement with the railroads by which local railroad officials will handle cases of unemployment coming under their jurisdiction. The certificate will be forwarded to the appropriate regional office of the Railroad Retirement Board, with a form which would indicate whether Jones believes that his wages for 1938 are correctly reported on the card. This form will serve as first notice of Jones' unemployment.

On his first report of unemployment to the claims agent Jones will also sign a "registration and claim form" used by the local claims agent to keep record of unemployment cases. Each form has sufficient space to keep the record of an individual worker's status for fifteen consecutive days. For every day he is unemployed thereafter, Jones has to report in person to his local claims agent either on the same or on the following day. Every visit is recorded on the form and is attested with Jones' signature.

Fifteen days go by. Jones has not been recalled to railroad service nor has he found work elsewhere. He has reported faithfully to his claims agent for each day of unemployment. The registration and claim form he signed on the first day of his unemployment is now completed. The claims agent will give Jones a receipt for his claim and will forward the completed form to his

supervisor on the railroad, who is called the "countersigning agent". It is the duty of this agent to make certain that the form has been accurately filled out and that the signature of the claims agent is genuine. Within twenty-four hours after its receipt, he is required to forward the form to the appropriate regional office of the Railroad Retirement Board. Upon finding the form complete and accurate, the regional office will send to Jones through the mails a "certificate of waiting-period credit," which will show that he has complied with the waiting period requirement prescribed by the law, and will not have to serve another waiting period if he becomes unemployed again within six months.

Meanwhile, Jones continues to report to his claims agent, and at the expiration of the second fifteen days, another registration and claim form is completed and is routed through the same channels as the first form. Upon receipt and verification of the second registration and claim form the regional office of the Railroad Retirement Board will certify the amount of benefits payable to Jones to the disbursing office of the U. S. Treasury located in the same city. This agency of the Federal Government will then mail to Jones a check covering eight days of benefits to which he is entitled. Jones may continue to receive benefits for each day of unemployment in excess of seven during any fifteen-day period until he is reemployed or until he has exhausted the maximum of eighty days of benefits payable in the twelve-month period beginning with his first benefit day.

The field machinery of the Board in charge of unemployment-insurance benefits is comprised of twelve regional offices, located in Boston, New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Richmond, Atlanta, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Dallas, Denver, Seattle and San Francisco. The jurisdiction of these regional offices cover specified railroad carriers or divisions of carriers. The twelve regional offices are supplemented for the purpose of local investigation of disputed cases and other local problems by fifty-four district offices and 184 base points scattered throughout the country.

The administrative machinery has been designed by the Board in cooperation with the representatives of management and the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations. It is intended to facilitate the registration and filing of claims by unemployed workers since claims agents will be located at or near their usual place of employment. There is a minimum of delay in the transmission of claims from the point of origin to the regional office, as all countersigning agents are located within a zone of twenty-four hour service by railway mail from the claims agents and by United States mail from the regional office. Checks for unemployment-insurance benefits reach the claimant at about the same time as he would have received the pay check of the carrier, were he employed.

In the period ending July 15th, 1939, comprising the first three weeks of operation, the Railroad Retirement Board received registrations under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act from 62,095 railroad employees.

As of the close of business July 15th, 58,431 of the registrants were held to be qualified for railroad unemployment-insurance benefits since the railroad compensation credited to them for the calendar year 1938 was \$150 or over. Of the 3,654 registrants not held eligible, 1,962 registrations were being checked.

The first benefit checks were mailed to eligible workers during the week beginning July 17th.

Canadian Job Protection Legislation—The Canadian National-Canadian Pacific Act of 1933 provides for "cooperative measures" designed to effect economies of operation of the two large railways in Canada, the bulk of which has been realized at the expense of the employees. In order to protect employees adversely affected by such cooperative measures, an amendment to this Act was introduced in the Senate of Canada on April 21st, 1939, by Senator Dandurand, Government leader in the Senate. This Bill contained the principles of the Washington Job Protection Agreement of May, 1936, effective between the carriers in the United States and representatives of the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations. The Bill received its second reading on April 27th, and was referred to the standing railway committee where it was considered on May 8th and reported on favorably by a vote of thirteen to five. On May 9th it was given a third reading and after amending it slightly, the Senate passed the Bill by a vote of thirty-four to twenty-four. It was then referred to the House of Commons, where it received its first reading on May 11th, the second reading on May 26th, and on the third reading was passed without further amendments on May 29th, and assented to on date of prorogation, June 3rd, 1939. This law, which is cited as the Canadian National-Canadian Pacific Act, 1939, becomes effective on and after the date on which it was assented to.

The "Explanatory Notes" which accompanied the Bill explain its purpose:

The purpose of this Bill is to provide for the payment of compensation by the employing company to railway employees who are deprived of employment or adversely affected by cooperative measures undertaken by the Canadian-National Railway Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company pursuant to the provisions of The Canadian National-Canadian Pacific Act, 1933.

Except for minor changes, which were necessary to adapt it for legislative enactment, this measure provides the same type of protection which is provided by the Job Protection Agreement of May, 1936.

Attacks on Railway Labor Act—The Railway Labor Act of 1926, which was the product of many years of experience under various federal laws providing for the settlement of labor disputes and the enactment of which was sought and secured jointly by the railway managements and the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations, provided among other things for the creation of adjustment boards by agreement between the railway managements and the organizations. The purpose of the adjustment boards composed of an equal number of management and employe representatives was to settle disputes growing out of the application or interpretation of agreements governing wages and working conditions in effect on the railroads.

The railroads only partially complied with this provision of the law and declined to agree to anything which would deny them the final decision with regard to the application or interpretation of their agreements with the organizations. This attitude on the part of the railroads made it necessary for the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations to secure amendments to the Railway Labor Act in 1934 providing for the creation of the National Railroad Adjustment Board, consisting of four divisions and composed of an equal number of

management and employe representatives. To this Board may be referred all disputes growing out of the application or interpretation of agreements governing wages and working conditions of railway employees, which cannot be settled on the property.

Since this Board was established, many railroads have not only refused to accept and abide by the decisions rendered, but in recent months a studied campaign of attack has been waged against the Board by the railroads and by various publications influenced by them, complaining that the Board was imposing unjust burdens on the railways.

It should be explained in view of all the publicity given to the railroads' alleged complaint that on substantially all of the railroads in the country the employes have designated the various Standard Railroad Labor Organizations to represent them in accordance with the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, and as the result of collective bargaining thereunder, have entered into agreements governing wages and working conditions. These agreements impose certain obligations on both the carriers and the employes, and when the provisions of the agreement are not lived up to, a dispute arises. If a carrier has violated the agreement, which it has entered into with its employes, and refuses to adjust the matter through conference as provided in the agreement and under the Railway Labor Act, the dispute is referred to the appropriate division of the National Railroad Adjustment Board, which, it should be remembered, is composed of an equal number of management and employe representatives. A majority of the members of the division of the Board, to which the dispute has been referred, is necessary for a decision, and only in the event of a deadlock is a neutral referee appointed. If the Board finds that the railroad has violated the agreement and renders a decision requiring the carrier to comply with the agreement, it complains that unjust burdens are imposed on it by the Board. It is apparent if the carrier would comply with the agreement into which it entered with its employes in the first instance, there would be no dispute, and, therefore, no occasion to refer it to the Board. Moreover, if a dispute arose, and the carrier settled it promptly or referred it to the Board without delay, the large amounts of back pay which accumulate and about which the carriers complain particularly, could be prevented. Thus the complaint of the railroads with reference to the Adjustment Board is of its own making, and could readily be adjusted if they would simply comply with their working agreements entered into with their employes.

For a number of years the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations have cooperated with the railways in matters of mutual interest. It has been understood and agreed that any problems, which the carriers desired to bring up, would be handled jointly in conference and an effort made to settle the matter by agreement. The organizations have always been ready and willing to meet with the railways to deal with such problems. Instead of availing themselves of this means of airing their complaint, the railways proceeded to undermine the work of the Board by attacking it through the press with the view of creating sufficient adverse public opinion to secure its abolishment. The matter came to a head when certain railroads having disputes before the Board brought in attorneys and representatives of the public press, and proceeded to embarrass

the members of the Board by demanding that they change their method of procedure for the handling of disputes. The Railway Labor Executives' Association, representing the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations, called the attention of the Association of American Railroads to the attacks which were being made on the Adjustment Board by its member railroads and through the press, and also to the understanding had between the railways and the organizations to the effect that such matters be handled through conference, with the result that committees representing the managements and the employes have been appointed for the purpose of discussing this situation and attempting to reach an agreement on their differences.

It would appear that the attacks on the Railway Labor Act, coming at the same time that employers in other industries are attacking the Wagner Labor Relations Act, are being carried on in sympathy with that movement. As has been pointed out, criticism of the Railway Labor Act and the National Railroad Adjustment Board is wholly unjustified, particularly in view of the fact that the administration of the Act has been eminently fair to both the railroads and the employes and has been instrumental since its enactment in eliminating strikes and maintaining peace in the industry by providing for the prompt settlement of disputes.

Railroad Wages—A movement for a wage reduction of 15% was promulgated by the railways early last year, which was successfully resisted by the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations, again demonstrating the value of these organizations to their membership. It is estimated that this victory saved the employes approximately \$250,000,000 annually in wages.

On May 12th, 1938, the carriers served notice on all of the organizations with whom they had agreements governing wages and working conditions, for a wage reduction of 15% effective July 1st, 1938. After initial conferences were held locally on each railroad between the management and the committees representing the employes, it was agreed that the matter would be handled nationally between committees representing substantially all of the railroads in the United States and the Railway Labor Executives' Association.

Negotiations between the Carriers' Joint Conference Committee and the Railway Labor Executives' Association were begun in Chicago on July 20th, and continued with brief recesses until August 4th, 1938, when they were concluded because no agreement could be reached. The carriers immediately invoked the services of the National Mediation Board and mediation proceedings by the entire Board were begun on August 11th, 1938. Mediation, which continued until August 30th, failed, and as the result of a vote among the employes, a suspension of work was ordered to take place on September 30th, 1938. Pursuant to the authority vested in him by the Railway Labor Act, the President of the United States issued a proclamation on September 27th, 1938, providing for the appointment of an Emergency Board composed of Messrs. Walter P. Stacey, Chairman, Harry A. Millis and James M. Landis to investigate the dispute and report its findings to the President.

Hearings were held from September 30th until October 17th, at which representatives of the railroads and the Standard Railroad Labor Organiza-

tions appeared. An exhaustive presentation was made by both the managements and the employees, and on October 29th, 1938, the Board made its report. Consisting of seventy-five closely printed pages, the report carefully scrutinized all of the pertinent facts presented by both the railways and the employees and based on these findings concluded that "no horizontal reduction upon a national scale of the wages of railway labor should be pressed by the carriers at this time." Briefly, the findings of the Board may be summarized as follows:

1. The wages of Railway Labor are not high even as compared with wages in other comparable industries.
2. A horizontal reduction of wages on a national scale would not meet the financial emergency of the industry, since the savings would not be distributed merely to the needy roads.
3. A wage reduction in the railroad industry would run counter to the trend of wage rates in industry generally.
4. The financial distress of the carriers which has obtained since October, 1937, when the last wage increases were granted, is as yet a short-term situation. As such, it cannot be regarded as grounds for a wage reduction especially in view of present indications of an improvement in the business of the carriers.
5. In the light of these findings, the Board concludes that the proposal of the carriers for a reduction of the wages of railway labor should not be pressed and recommends that the carriers withdraw and cancel the notices which would put such a reduction into operation as of December 1st, 1938.

Upon receipt of the Board's report by the President, he requested the carriers to advise him of their attitude toward the findings of the Emergency Board recommending the withdrawal of the wage reduction notices. The member roads of the Association of American Railroads met in Chicago on November 4th, 1938, to give consideration to this request and on the same day reported to the President that the wage reduction notices would be withdrawn.

Committee of Six—While the wage movement was in progress, the President of the United States requested the following "Committee of Six," composed of three railroad presidents and three railroad labor executives, to meet with him at the White House on September 20th, 1938, for the purpose of discussing the general transportation situation:

- M. W. Clement, President, Pennsylvania Railroad,
- E. E. Norris, President, Southern Railway System,
- Carl R. Gray, Vice Chairman, Board of Directors, Union Pacific Railroad,
- B. M. Jewell, President, Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor,
- D. B. Robertson, President, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen,
- George M. Harrison, President, Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express & Station Employees.

The President referred to recommendations covering the transportation industry, which had been made by the "Splawn Committee," composed of Commissioners Splawn, Eastman and Mahaffie of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and introduced in Congress but upon which no action had been taken. He expressed a desire for the assistance of management and employees in the

development of a comprehensive program covering the transportation situation in the country which could be submitted to the next session of Congress.

After the matter had been discussed at some length the labor representatives advised the President that railroad employes were keenly interested in the development of a program to rehabilitate the industry and indicated a willingness to cooperate with the Government and railway management to that end. It was also made clear, however, that the representatives of railway labor could not give attention to this subject while all of their time was being devoted to resisting efforts of railway management to reduce wages.

During the hearings before the President's Emergency Board in connection with the request of the carriers for a 15% wage reduction, the Railway Labor Executives' Association submitted a proposed plan for the rehabilitation of the railroads in which they would cooperate if the proposal to reduce wages was withdrawn. Strangely enough, this plan, which is summarized below, was the only constructive proposal offered at the hearing which approached the real problems with which the railroads were faced:

1. All forms of transportation on land, water and in the air should be subjected to substantially the same character of federal regulation.
2. Regulations should be consolidated under unified control in an agency to be set up in the federal government which might be called a Transportation Board.
3. Railroads are best qualified to haul heavier long-distance traffic while the highway vehicle is better qualified to meet the needs for lighter, short-distance traffic.
4. Railroads must adopt new methods of service by operating light and high-speed equipment making possible more frequent units of transportation.
5. The government can make available new capital at low interest rates to permit railroads to modernize their plant in this direction.
6. Interstate Commerce Commission should have authority to fix a rate base that would work in prosperous as well as lean times.
7. Railroads should be required by law to accumulate a reserve or surplus fund in liquid assets equivalent to three times the annual fixed charges before being permitted to pay dividends.
8. Payment of dividends should be restricted to some reasonable figure, and the surplus used to retire funded debt after permitting necessary additions and betterments, depreciation and retirement charges.
9. Powers of the I. C. C. to approve issuance of funded debt should be restricted so that it could not approve an issue exceeding 40% of the value of the property as fixed by the I. C. C. for rate-making purposes.
10. Financial reorganization might be voluntary for a period of 10 years after which reorganization would be compelled by law.
11. Some consolidations may have to be made in the public interest, but should be permitted only after special investigation by the I. C. C. Economies resulting from such consolidations should provide amply for fair and equitable treatment of labor.
12. The federal government might lend funds for short-term purposes to effect temporary relief for roads in need, but only on condition that other things will be done as part of the general rehabilitation program for the industry.

After the report of the Emergency Board was made public, the Railway Labor Executives' Association renewed labor's assurance of cooperation with management in working out a sound comprehensive program for the rehabilitation of the railroad industry.

Early in November, after the railway managements withdrew their notices for a wage reduction, the members of the Committee of Six met to give consideration to the general transportation problem as requested by the President. They conferred from time to time and continued their labors until December 23rd, 1938, when they submitted their report to the President. A careful study of the transportation problem was made which formed the basis for the following conclusions and recommendations.

Summary of Conclusions

Rapid and largely unregulated development of transportation facilities in the United States has produced a national transportation problem without a national transportation policy. The railroad problem is inextricably intertwined with this national problem. One result of the absence of a clearly defined policy is an intensified but unequal and economically wasteful competition for traffic among the several modes of transportation—unequal by reason of governmental favoritism of some of the modes of transportation over others, economically wasteful because it has resulted in the creation of transportation facilities beyond the ability of the traffic of the country to support.

The major factor in the present distressed conditions of the railroads is the low volume of their traffic. A contributing factor is the depressed character of many of their rates. Competitive modes of transportation are partially responsible for the former and almost wholly responsible for the latter. To the extent that the inroads made upon railroad traffic and revenues by other modes of transportation are not due to natural advantages which the latter possess, but are attributable to artificial advantages accruing to their competitors as a result of governmental favoritism in any respect, the railroads have a right to object. Such favoritism now exists in pronounced degree in the important matters of regulations, taxation and subsidies.

While substantial relief should come with improvement in general business conditions, the removal of these important contributing causes is essential to the healthful functioning of the transportation industry. Certain temporary measures are necessary and should be adopted, but the only way in which anything of lasting benefit may be accomplished is by equalizing the situation of all modes of transportation with respect to the three important matters mentioned. The first step is the adoption of a definite national transportation policy based upon such principle of equalization as will provide a fair field for all and special favors for none of the various modes of transportation. The next step is the creation of the necessary machinery to insure the effective execution of the declared policy. The recommendations submitted are largely directed to these two ends.

Summary of Recommendations

National transportation policy—Adoption by the Government of a definite national transportation policy providing for fair, impartial regulation of all modes of transportation, so administered as to preserve the inherent advantage of each.

Jurisdiction of Interstate Commerce Commission—Responsibility to be placed in the Interstate Commerce Commission to administer all regulatory provisions with respect to rates, services, valuation, and accounting as to all modes of transportation, together with powers of investigation limited to its jurisdiction.

Revision of rate-making rule—Repeal of the present provisions of section 15a of the Interstate Commerce Act and substitution therefor of a new rate-making rule applicable to all modes of transportation, with suggested wording of the rule.

Long-and-short haul clause—Repeal of the so-called long-and-short haul clause of section 4 of the Act.

Reparation—Amendment of section 8 and 16 of the Act relating to reparation in accordance with recommendations heretofore made by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Intrastate rates—Extension of the power of the Commission with respect to intrastate rates in connection with general readjustments of interstate rates.

Transportation Board—A new and independent agency to be created, charged with the duty of investigating and reporting to the Congress concerning the relative economy and fitness of the several modes of transportation and the extent to which any of them is now being subsidized, with its recommendations for further legislation. Thereafter to be charged with responsibility for administering as to all modes of transportation regulatory provisions relating to certificates of convenience and necessity covering new construction or operations and abandonments of facilities or operations, and the approval of the issuance of securities, consolidations, mergers, leases, acquisitions of control, interlocking directorates, etc., and to exercise all functions of a research or promotional nature relating primarily to any mode of transportation now vested in other agencies or bureaus.

Tolls for use of improved waterways—A fair and reasonable system of tolls for commercial use of certain inland waters, the elimination of the Inland Waterways Corporation and disposal of its properties.

Taxation and other Governmental impositions—Legislation, national and state, relieving the railroads of certain unjust tax burdens and providing that Government bear the expense of eliminating grade crossings.

Reconstruction of bridges and other facilities—Adoption of policy that whenever, in connection with the improvement of navigable waters or the carrying out of flood-control or similar projects, a railroad is required to alter or reconstruct bridges or other facilities, it be reimbursed by the Government for all costs in excess of any direct benefit accruing to it.

Land-grant rates—Repeal of the reduced rates provisions of the so-called land-grant statutes.

Reorganization Court—Establishment of a single court vested with exclusive jurisdiction over matters connected with railroad reorganizations and composed

of judges selected with especial reference to their experience in and qualifications for this highly specialized service. The Federal district courts to retain jurisdiction over all matters not connected with reorganization. The Interstate Commerce Commission to be relieved of all responsibility in railroad reorganizations.

Consolidation plan—Repeal of provisions of the Act which make the Commission responsible for the prescription of a general plan of consolidation for railroads, thereby restoring to the carriers all initiative, but requiring approval by the Transportation Board of any proposed consolidation. Such approval to be granted or withheld in accordance with the considerations set forth in our recommendations, including protection of the public interest and a fair and equitable arrangement to protect the interest of employees affected.

R. F. C. loans—Legislation enlarging the powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to purchase or guarantee obligations of and to make loans to railroads or to receivers or trustees thereof and modifying the requirements with respect to the approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission of any such purchase, guarantee, or loan.

We are under no delusion that our recommendations, if given effect, would dispose of all the problems of the railroads. We do feel, however, that they would remove some of the major causes and are directly responsive to the principal task assigned to the committee of developing recommendations calculated to be helpful in creating stability in the field of transportation.

On January 23rd, 1939, the President invited the Committee of Six to confer with him at the White House. At this conference he requested that the Committee draft legislation in accordance with its recommendations with respect to the general transportation situation and arrange for its introduction in Congress.

Railroad Legislation—While the Committee of Six was drawing up its legislation, Congressman Clarence F. Lea, Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, introduced a bill (H. R. 2531) in the House on January 13th, 1939, called the "Transportation Act of 1939." This bill embraced some matters recommended by the Committee of Six, excluding other important features, and some recommended by the "Splawn Committee." Congressman Lea explained that his bill was the "outgrowth of these efforts of the Administration" to secure legislation to aid the transportation industry. Hearings were begun on January 24th, 1939, and were in progress before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce when the Committee of Six completed its draft of a general bill. Giving effect to their recommendations, this bill was also introduced in the House by Congressman Lea on March 8th, 1939, and identified as H. R. 4862.

Unlike the Omnibus Bill (H. R. 4862) which was introduced in the House covering the various phases of railroad legislation, a number of separate bills were introduced in the Senate covering substantially the same matters. The so-called "Key Bill" of this series, based on the recommendations of the Committee of Six, was introduced in the Senate on March 30th, 1939, by Senator Wheeler, Chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, and Senator Truman. Designated as S. 2009, this bill, among other things, provided for codi-

fication of the Interstate Commerce Act and gave the Interstate Commerce Commission jurisdiction "over transportation by common carriers, by railroad, by water, by motor vehicles, by express, by pipe line, as well as sleeping car companies, and for rate making purposes only, over transportation by air." The purpose of the measure, according to its sponsors, was to "place the regulation of other forms of transportation on the same basis as the regulation extended to the railroads." Contract carriers by air, water and motor, as well as brokers, were to be brought under the Interstate Commerce Commission. A long-and-short-haul clause, applying to all common carriers, was included. No new agencies were to be created but the bill contained a provision directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to make studies of the relative economy and fitness of the various types of transportation and of government aids or subsidies in the transport field. Senator Truman on the same day introduced the following additional bills, the subject matter of which was included in the Omnibus Bill (H. R. 4862) in the House: S. 1990 known as the "Land Grant Rates Bill," which would require the Government to pay applicable commercial rates for the rail transportation of persons or property, except as to the transportation of persons or property in the military or naval service, and S. 1989 known as the "Bridge Bill" providing for the reimbursement of railroads by the United States Government for the cost in excess of benefits in cases where railroads are required to alter or reconstruct bridges in connection with the improvement of navigable waters and other public projects.

Hearings on the general transportation legislation (H. R. 2531 and H. R. 4862) before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce continued for ten weeks and closed on March 30th, 1939, when a sub-committee, including Chairman Lea, Representatives Crosser of Ohio, Bulwinkle of North Carolina, Cole of Maryland (Democrats), Wolverton of New Jersey, Holmes of Massachusetts, and Halleck of Indiana (Republicans), was appointed to draw up legislation.

On April 3rd, 1939, hearings on S. 2009 were begun by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce. Chairman Wheeler ruled at the outset that the hearings would be broad enough to receive presentations on other pending measures dealing in one way or another with the matters covered by the recommendations of the Committee of Six. The public hearings closed on April 14th and a sub-committee composed of Chairman Wheeler, Senators Truman of Missouri, Minton of Indiana (Democrats), Reed of Kansas, and Gurney of South Dakota (Republicans), was appointed to draw up legislation.

The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on May 17th, 1939, filed in the Senate its favorable report on S. 2009, the Wheeler-Truman "Key Bill." A number of changes were made by the sub-committee, but remaining were the principal features—regulation of water carriers by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the original form—codification of the Interstate Commerce Act. Among new provisions were the writing in of the so-called "through routes bill" giving the Interstate Commerce Commission power to prescribe through routes and joint rates without reference to the short-hauling of any carrier; and of the resolution sponsored by Southern Senators and Representatives directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate interterritorial rates. Studies

of the relative economy of the various modes of transport and of Government aids to transport, which were assigned in the original bill to the Interstate Commerce Commission, under the revised version were to be made by a three-member "board of investigation and research" appointed by the President.

The Wheeler-Truman "Key Bill"—S. 2009 was passed by the Senate on May 25th, 1939, by a roll call vote of seventy to six after four days of debate. Preceding this favorable action was the defeat of the motion offered by Senator Bailey, Democrat of North Carolina, to exempt all water transportation, except joint rail-water rates, from regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission by a roll call vote of fifty-seven to twenty-two and the rider offered by Senator Shipstead, Farmer-Laborite of Minnesota, to amend the Federal Trade Commission Act to make it an unlawful practice for any seller to include the rail rate in the destination price of products not actually shipped by rail, by a roll call vote of fifty-four to twenty-one.

The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on July 18th reported favorably on a general transportation bill which took the form of an amendment to S. 2009, the Senate-approved Wheeler-Truman "Key Bill." It was felt that the retention of the Senate number would expedite its advancement to the conference stage after action by the House. It differed from the Senate bill in that it provided for the amendment rather than codification of the Interstate Commerce Act, but embodied most of its major provisions including the regulation of water carriers by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Like S. 2009, the House bill included the resolution sponsored by Southern Congressmen directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate inter-territorial rates. In addition it provided for the repeal of land-grant rates and the granting of relief to the railroads in connection with the cost of reconstructing bridges required to be altered in connection with waterway development—matters dealt with in separate bills pending before the Senate. No provision was made, however, for studies of the relative economy of the various modes of transport and of government aids to transport which the Senate measure assigned to a three-member board appointed by the President or for the inclusion as in S. 2009 of the so-called Through Routes Bill designed to give the Interstate Commerce Commission power to prescribe through routes and joint rates without reference to the short-hauling of any carrier.

After adopting a number of amendments, the House passed the uncodified version of S. 2009 on July 26th, 1939, without a record vote. Efforts of the so-called waterway "bloc" to remove the provision for regulation of the waterways by the Interstate Commerce Commission were defeated. The motion of Representative Wadsworth, Republican of New York, to recommit the bill was defeated by a roll call vote of 273 to 99, the only record vote on the measure. Previously, the House, in Committee of the whole, voted down by a teller vote of 167 to 144 the amendment offered by Representative South, Democrat of Texas, to strike out the bill's Title II, providing for the enactment of a new Part III of the Interstate Commerce Act to regulate water carriers. Also, another amendment offered by Representative Poage, Democrat of Texas, to strike out the provisions calling for conditional repeal of land grant rates was killed on a division vote of 63 to 39.

Both the Senate and House bills contain a number of provisions of particular interest to labor. The declaration of policy, which is practically the same in both measures, states that the legislation is intended, among other things, "to encourage fair wages and equitable working conditions established through collective bargaining."

With respect to railway consolidations the House bill, like the Senate measure, repeals the Interstate Commerce Commission's plan for the consolidation of railroads. It provides for the protection of railway workers affected by consolidations as follows:

The commission shall require, as a prerequisite to its approval of any proposed transaction under the provisions of this section, a fair and equitable arrangement to protect the interests of the employees affected.

Provided, however, that no such transaction shall be approved by the Commission if such transaction will result in unemployment or displacement of employees of the carrier or carriers, or in the impairment of existing employment rights of said employees.

The second paragraph above was added by House amendment and is not included in the Senate Bill. This language would afford railway employees complete protection in the matter of all consolidations, mergers, leases and other forms of control. Under both the Senate and House bills the Interstate Commerce Commission still retains complete control over the approval of proposed consolidations. Both bills lay down additional restrictions which are not included in the present law. As to these restrictions the two measures are in accord. The Commission must take into consideration the effect of the proposed consolidation on weak railroads that may be affected, to total fixed charges resulting, the interests of the employees and the effect upon adequate transportation service. The Commission must find that the proposed consolidation will be in the public interest. Employees are given the positive right to intervene in all consolidation and other proceedings before the Commission—a right which railway labor has not hitherto enjoyed.

The House and the Senate bills both amend the present law to permit the railroads to give free transportation to "executive officers, general chairmen, and counsel of employees' organizations when such organizations are duly authorized and designated to represent employees in accordance with the provisions of the Railway Labor Act." Both bills provide that the railroads may transport free of charge the household goods and personal effects of officers and employees "required to move from one place to another at the instance or in the interest of such carrier."

Five members of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and seven members of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce have been named by their respective branches of Congress to comprise the conference committee, which will endeavor to evolve a compromise measure from the Senate and House versions of S. 2009, the general transportation bill carrying amendments to the Interstate Commerce Act and provisions for the regulation of water carriers by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The Senate Conferees are: Chairman Wheeler, Senators Truman of Missouri, and Donahey of Ohio (Democrats), and White of Maine and Reed of Kansas

(Republicans). House Conferees are: Chairman Lea, Representatives Crosser of Ohio, Bulwinkle of North Carolina, and Cole of Maryland (Democrats), and Wolverton of New Jersey, Holmes of Massachusetts, and Halleck of Indiana (Republicans).

Because of the importance of this legislation and the difficult task confronting the conference committee to reconcile the two measures, it was decided in view of the short time remaining before the adjournment of Congress, that the conference report would be prepared this fall and presented to the next session of Congress for approval.

Provisions for repeal of the land grant rates and for the reimbursement of railroads by the U. S. Government for alteration of bridges in connection with waterway improvement included in the general transportation bill, which was passed by the House, were embodied in separate bills in the Senate, and hearings on them were conducted concurrently with hearings on the Senate version of S. 2009. In addition to the bill (S. 1990), providing for the repeal of land grant rates which was introduced by Senator Truman, another (S. 1915) was introduced by Senator Reed, Republican of Kansas, and a third bill (S. 2294) was introduced by Senator Sheppard, Democrat of Texas, to provide for a survey of the land grant situation by the General Land Office of the Department of Interior. While hearings on the Land Grant Bills were concluded, no bill was reported out. The Bridge Bill (S. 1989), introduced by Senator Truman, was passed by the Senate on July 18th, 1939. Although similar provisions were included in the House version of S. 2009, which is in conference, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on August 2nd ordered a favorable report on the Senate-approved bill (S. 1989) in order to complete action on a separate Bridge Bill. It was passed by the House on August 3rd, 1939. The President vetoed this measure on August 11th, 1939.

In addition to the general legislation referred to, the Committee of Six recommended the enactment of legislation which would make important changes in Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act by creating a special reorganization court to handle railroad bankruptcies. A bill, providing for the creation of such a "reorganization court," was introduced in the Senate on March 20th, 1939, by Senators Wheeler and Truman, and designated as S. 1869. Hearings before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce were begun on April 27th and concluded on May 5th, 1939. The bill was reported favorably with some amendments dealing principally with the standards set up for reorganization plans and passed by the Senate on May 27th, 1939, without a record vote after five and one-half hours debate.

In the House, Representative McLaughlin of Nebraska, introduced H. R. 5182 as a companion measure to the bill introduced in the Senate by Senators Wheeler and Truman. Later he introduced H. R. 6369 as a substitute for his previous bill, incorporating the changes made in S. 1869 by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce. Hearings on this measure were begun before the House Judiciary Committee on May 31st, 1939, and tentatively concluded on July 12th, 1939. It is expected that a bill will be reported out favorably at the next session of Congress and arrangements made for its enactment into law.

A number of other important railroad bills were also introduced and acted upon by Congress.

A bill (H. R. 3704) designed to aid in expediting the voluntary reorganization of railroads, which have submitted their financial problems to their security holders, was introduced in the House by Representative Chandler of Tennessee, Chairman of the Bankruptcy Sub-Committee of the House Judiciary Committee. This bill, known as the "Chandler Bill," did not change Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act, but rather added an entirely new chapter (XV), which, according to Representative Chandler, provided "a method for the reorganization of those railroads which have submitted their financial problems to their bondholders, stockholders and creditors, generally, and have obtained the approval of more than two-thirds of the aggregate amount of all claims affected by the proposed plan of reorganization."

Another bill (H. R. 5407) was introduced by Representative Chandler as a substitute for his previous bill, and reported out favorably by the Judiciary Committee. This bill was passed by the House on April 17th, 1939, without a dissenting vote, and referred to the Senate. Following hearings, the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce reported this measure favorably, but limited it to those roads which had filed plans with the Interstate Commerce Commission as of April 1st, 1939, making it applicable only to the Baltimore & Ohio and Lehigh Valley railroads. The bill as passed by the House would permit any railroad to reach a voluntary readjustment of its capital structure.

Because of this difference in the two bills, the matter was referred to a conference committee. The conference report was adopted by the Senate on July 25th, by the House on July 27th, and was signed by the President on July 28th, 1939. As finally enacted, the benefits of this measure, made applicable to any railroad, were limited for a period of one year from July 31st, 1939.

Prior to the enactment of the Bankruptcy Act in 1935, claims for injuries to employes on a railroad were prior-secured claims to be paid out of operating expenses in both equity and bankruptcy proceedings. This provision was amended in the Bankruptcy Act of 1935 so as to take such claims out of the prior-secured class in equity proceedings. In order to restore this provision to the Bankruptcy Act, S. 2654 was introduced by Senator Truman and passed by the Senate on August 2nd, 1939. This bill was referred to the House where it was passed on August 5th, 1939. It was approved by the President.

On March 13th, 1939, Representative Healey of Massachusetts introduced two bills, H. R. 4988 and H. R. 4989, providing for the amendment of the Act entitled "An Act relating to the liability of common carriers by railroads to their employes in certain cases," known as the Employers' Liability Act. A similar bill (S. 1708) was previously introduced in the Senate on March 6th, 1939, by Senator Neely. The courts over a period of years have written into the Employers' Liability Act the "assumption of risk" theory, while the railroads have promulgated rules providing for the dismissal of employes who testify on behalf of their fellow employes, and this legislation, the principle of which was endorsed by the Railway Labor Executives' Association, was designed to correct these objectionable features.

The Senate on July 18th, 1939, passed S. 1708, which contained three main provisions. The first clarified the question of whether or not an injured railroad employe was engaged in interstate commerce so as to come within the provisions of the Act. The second did away with the assumption of risk doctrine in certain cases where death or injury is caused by the negligence of a carrier and made the comparative negligence doctrine applicable. The third provision prohibited the promulgation or enforcement of rules which penalize railroad employes for giving information concerning accidents to injured persons or their representatives.

On July 31st, 1939, the House adopted H. R. 4988 embracing the provisions of both bills originally introduced by Representative Healey.

Because of the differences between the Senate and House bills, a conference committee was appointed. The conference report was adopted and approved by the President.

On the whole it can be said that considerable progress has been made in advancing the railroad legislative program during the past session of Congress. A number of bills were enacted into law, while others were passed and advanced to the conference stage, with good prospects of enactment at the next session.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has made unusual strides during the past year. Never in the history of the Department have such encouraging reports been received from officials, organizers and members of all the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor. We have also received requests from many manufacturers, merchandisers and consumers throughout America inquiring about union label goods and union services. Replies are always made to all inquiries, and literature about the union label, shop card and service button is sent. In this manner and through the use of the labor press and radio the promotional activities for the publicizing of these emblems of the American Federation of Labor has increased many times during the past few years. At the present time we are carrying on one of the most intensive drives for the buying of union label-union-made products and the use of union services that has ever been inaugurated since the formation of the Union Label Trades Department in 1909.

We desire to acknowledge our deep appreciation for the splendid cooperation that we are receiving from the officers of the American Federation of Labor. Our President, William Green, has given freely of his time to help in every campaign of the Union Label Trades Department. He has helped to marshal the forces of the entire labor movement for our great cause. Our Secretary-Treasurer, Frank Morrison, has also cooperated with this Department. All the facilities of the A. F. of L. headquarters, in Washington, have been at our disposal.

We also desire to express our appreciation for the wholehearted support and intelligent cooperation that we have received from the presidents, secretary-treasurers and other officials of the national and international labor unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and also the presidents of seven railway labor unions that are not affiliated but have given unqualified

support of our union label campaign through their official journals and otherwise.

The success of our union label campaign is chiefly due to the volunteer support that we have received from the members of the various national and international unions, the state federations of labor, central labor and local unions. Added to this are the ever-increasing number of members of women's auxiliaries and union label leagues as well as friends in numerous cooperative and consumer organizations. To all of these helpful groups we desire to acknowledge our full measure of gratitude. We appreciate what they are doing and we urge them to continue this priceless cooperation in the future.

Editorials—News Releases—Cartoons—The chief function of the Union Label Trades Department is to carry on an educational campaign for the promotion of the union label, shop card and button. Every channel of publicity has been utilized for this purpose by the Department.

News releases, editorials and cartoons have been issued to the labor weeklies, monthly labor journals and other publications. Liberal space has been contributed for this display by the labor press. Other weekly and daily papers as well as farm journals have carried union label advertising. Mats of all union labels, shop cards and buttons have also been furnished to labor newspapers and central labor bodies for the purpose of display advertising.

The Union Label Trades Department takes this opportunity to thank the editors of the labor press for their unqualified support of the union label. The weekly labor newspapers, official monthly labor journals and the state federation annuals have all contributed freely in space to run the editorials, news releases and cartoons publicizing union labels, shop cards and service buttons.

Radio Broadcasts—One of the most resultful sources of publicity for the "trade marks" of American Labor is broadcasting. A general demand for union label products and union services has been created by the use of the radio. Coast-to-coast broadcasts on the networks of the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System have aroused unusual interest by the consuming public. In addition to nation-wide broadcasts, there are many local radio stations that have given time for a series of talks on the union label.

Union Label Leagues—There has been a healthy growth of Union Label Leagues during the past year. Thirty-four new charters have been issued.

The union label committees in conjunction with the central labor bodies and union label leagues in various cities have held union label exhibits which have been very successful. Displays by all the merchants who sell union-made goods as well as the manufacturers of union-made products are exhibited. Local unions, the products of which bear the union label and the services of which are unionized, also have displays at these exhibits. Our Department encourages the formation of union label leagues wherever possible.

Union Label Week—Among the various other activities carried on by the Union Label Trades Department is the union label week in various cities throughout America. Several governors and mayors have issued proclamations declaring

that a six-day period be set aside for the sole purpose of promoting union label products and union services. In connection with the union label week, the central labor unions, in cooperation with union label leagues and women's auxiliaries, arrange for large parades, radio addresses, streamers on automobiles, newspaper and window display advertising of union label merchandise, and demonstrations of union services. Great interest is shown in these events and the results are proven by the many requests that our Department receives for union label literature.

In San Francisco a great Union Label and Industrial Exhibition was held during the month of May. It was similar to the A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exhibition held in Cincinnati, Ohio, a year ago.

1939 Union Label Catalogue-Directory—Our 1939 Union Label Catalogue-Directory contains an up-to-date list of manufacturers of union label and union-made products that are nationally advertised and also those larger industries and concerns that employ union services. It would be impossible to list all the merchants and firms in every city that sell union label products and use union services. These concerns can take advantage of local directories that are printed by the central labor bodies and other union label committees in many cities.

The Union Label Trades Department is the clearing house for American labor unions which have adopted union labels, shop cards, or buttons to designate their products and services. These official emblems are adopted by bona-fide labor unions to assure the public which products are manufactured and which services are performed under American labor union standards. Thus the Catalogue-Directory becomes the union label buyers' guide.

American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor—The Union Label Trades Department, with the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, organized an International Auxiliary to coordinate the women's auxiliaries of various unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and also the women's auxiliaries of the standard railway unions.

After two annual conferences the first annual convention of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor was held in Cincinnati, on May 19, 20, 21, in conjunction with the A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exhibition. It was a successful gathering. The delegates demonstrated that they are enthusiastic over the possibilities of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor. It started with a membership derived from national and international women's auxiliaries, local auxiliaries, central and joint council auxiliaries and state federations of women's auxiliaries. Forty-two temporary certificates have been issued during the past year.

At last the women members of labor unionists' families play a vital part in obtaining higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions for American labor. The wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, and friends of organized workers have, in collective buying, a weapon which supplements the collective bargaining of labor unions. Individually, each woman can do her part by spending union-earned money only for union label goods and services. Members of the A. F. W. A. L. are carrying on oral-advertising campaigns, from

house-to-house, promoting the brand names as well as the union labels. The new Catalogue-Directory has become a most important and necessary medium for information in this splendid educational campaign. Collectively, the economic effect and psychological influence will be more powerfully felt if these women join their new organization—The American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor.

While much effort has been expended by organized labor in familiarizing the general public with the origin of the union label and its development as the traditional emblem of fine craftsmanship, until the recent past too little has been said about the shop card and service button. As a result labor's friends who seek the union label in garments and hats, on printed matter and other finished products have only commenced to amplify their vigilance in patronizing those retail services and allied lines in which the shop card or service button of the service unions is prominently displayed.

If the union label campaign in its entirety is to achieve the success it so richly deserves, it behooves us to keep constantly in mind this most important phase of our drive to establish and maintain throughout the length and breadth of our land, ideal working conditions and adequate wages for American workers. We must see to it that these benefits are secured not only for those workers engaged in manufacturing lines, but as well for those thousands upon thousands of our loyal members who render cheerful and efficient service directly to the public in shops throughout the United States and Canada.

We are convinced that our drive for union label goods and union services has gained such momentum that no counteracting force in America can stop it. Consumers are asking: "Where can we find union-made goods?" Merchants write: "What manufacturers make union label products?" And manufacturers inquire: "Will you kindly send us full information regarding the use of the union label? Our firm is fully unionized and we want to indicate this by placing the union label on our products." Thousands of miscellaneous requests come in to our headquarters in Washington, but generally speaking, the questions fall within the categories which we have outlined. The answers to these questions may be found in the 1939 Union Label Catalogue-Directory.

Union label-conscious consumers are becoming an important economic factor in every market place. The union label drive is of vast importance to all workers because it means insurance of union wages, union hours and union conditions.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

While the 76th Congress began its session with an apparent determination to economize, it appropriated \$13,349,020,564.39—the largest appropriation ever made in any year, even during the War.

Because more than 10,000,000 men and women are unemployed, Labor suffered most from the economy program. The Spend and Lend Bill to appropriate \$2,390,000,000 to be loaned to states, municipalities and other public bodies for the financing of a program of recoverable expenditures was killed by the House. The object of the appropriation was to give work to the unemployed.

Then another crushing blow for the unemployed building and allied trades workers was the defeat of the bill appropriating an additional \$800,000,000 for housing and slum clearance. The insufficient appropriation for work relief resulted in the discharge of more than 1,000,000 men and women. Furthermore, the PWA was refused any appropriations, thus affecting the building trades workers who have suffered severely during the depression.

The Spend and Lend Bill and the housing appropriation were defeated during the closing days of Congress.

However, the American Federation of Labor secured a number of laws beneficial to Labor. It also defeated several that would have been of great injury to Labor.

Among favorable legislation enacted by Congress and measures defeated are the following:

1. Amendments to the Social Security Act providing for liberal pensions for several groups, advancing for two years date when old age pensions will take effect, adding approximately 1,000,000 persons to those already covered, and maintaining for the next three years the 1% employee-employer old age pension tax.
2. Appropriation of \$50,000 for the Civil Liberties Committee to complete investigations on the west coast.
3. Beneficial amendments to Employers' Liability Act of 1908 applicable to railroad men and seamen.
4. Amendments to naturalization law enabling a person to qualify for citizenship who entered the United States prior to July 1, 1924, even though there is no record of permanent admission.
5. Extending to December 31, 1940, the time in which Filipinos will be provided free transportation to their native land.
6. Appropriation of \$1,200,000 for Wage and Hour Administration after the House refused any appropriation.
7. Appropriation of approximately \$2,000,000,000 for national defense.
8. Appropriation of \$1,477,000,000 for relief.
9. Postal substitutes granted vacation and sick leave.
10. Government employees who work a five-day week have heretofore had Saturday counted in their leaves. Hereafter Saturdays, Sundays and holidays will not be counted in their annual and sick leaves.
11. Providing for the payment of pensions to beneficiaries after the death of a government employee.
12. Extending the life of the C. C. C. until July 1, 1943.
13. Requiring shipowners to deposit such portions of a seaman's wages, as may be stipulated, in a savings bank or a United States postal savings depository.
14. Load lines made applicable to foreign-going American vessels of 150 tons, or over.
15. Secured amendment to bill enlarging Panama Canal to provide all positions (approximately 3,000) of skilled technical, clerical, administrative or supervisory class be filled by citizens of the United States.
16. Secured passage of bill to permit appointment of midshipmen to the Naval Academy from sons of civilian employees of the government on the Canal Zone.
17. Appropriation of \$1,325,000 for the purchase of surplus products of the fishing industry to be distributed to persons on relief.
18. Permitting Home Owners Loan Corporation to extend amortization of loans from 15 to 25 years.
19. Defeated provision in the National Defense Act providing that the manufacture of educational airplanes would not come under the Walsh-

Healey Act which would permit the employment of cheap and incompetent labor.

20. Defeated amendments to Wage and Hour Law that would have exempted more than 2,000,000 workers from its provisions.

21. Defeated bills that would permit certain Asiatics ineligible to citizenship to be naturalized, which if they became laws would have ultimately opened our ports to nationals of all Asiatic countries now denied admission for permanent residence.

Social Security—H. R. 6635 (Public No. 379), revamping important features of the Social Security Act, passed the House on June 10th, and the Senate on July 13th. The conference on disagreements between the House and Senate did not agree until August 4th, the day before adjournment. The conference report was then promptly ratified.

The principal point of disagreement was the Senate amendment which provided that the federal government shall pay two-thirds of old age assistance benefits up to the first \$15 per month. The Senate finally receded on this point.

H. R. 6635, as enacted, maintains the 1% old age pension tax rate for employers and employees for the next three years. It provides that only the first \$3,000 of an employee's annual salary may be taxed for unemployment compensation insurance. It advances the date for old age pension payments to January 1, 1940, and provides pensions for widows, orphans, etc., and grants more liberal benefits for those who reach the age of 65 in the early years of the system. It adds approximately a million persons to those covered by the Social Security law.

Finally, it provides that the federal government shall pay to the states on a 50-50 basis up to \$20 per month for old age assistance. The present limit is \$15.

Works Financing Act of 1939—S. 2864 provided for the financing of a program of recoverable expenditures. It was referred to as the Spend and Lend Bill. It provided for the issuance of bonds not to exceed \$2,390,000,000 to lend which would mature at such time or times not exceeding thirty years from the date of issue. The funds were to be distributed as follows: To the Public Roads Administration, \$500,000,000; Reconstruction Finance Corporation, \$350,000,000; Public Works Administration, \$350,000,000; Rural Electrification Administration \$500,000,000; Department of Agriculture, \$600,000,000; Secretary of Agriculture, \$100,000,000, and Department of Interior, \$90,000,000.

Each of these government activities was empowered to loan to states, municipalities and other public bodies for the purpose of launching projects that would give employment to the unemployed and thus add to the consuming power of the people. The bill created much controversy. The newspapers and public men attacked it unmercifully. When the bill went to the House the coalition of majority and minority members rejected the resolution submitted by the Rules Committee to permit consideration of the bill.

The Senate passed the bill July 31 after cutting the appropriation in two, but it was not printed as the House acted upon it before it was transferred. The House considered a resolution August 1 providing for the consideration of H. R. 7120, a companion bill. Before the vote was taken Mr. Rayburn, Leader of the

Majority, made a stirring appeal for its adoption, as he realized the effect of the bitter fight that had been made against it by the coalition. He said:

"I could stand here and touch every element of this bill, one that I believe will put people to work, put idle money to work, in an effort to make the business of the country prosperous again and to bring the country back to a more peaceable and a more peaceful condition, when labor may be employed, when capital may be active, and when every man's work on the farm, in the mine, in the factory, or in the counting house will mean something to him, because we all know that if this country is to live, to live as a great democracy, if it is to be a beacon light to free people throughout the nations of the earth, we must have peace at home among our own people, and we will not have the kind of peace for which we pray until men and women are given an opportunity to eat bread by the sweat of their brow, that capital may be able to work and that the people who own this country and who have helped to build it may have peace."

Notwithstanding this appeal the House by a vote of 193 to 167 rejected the resolution to consider the bill.

Low-Rent Housing—Pursuant to the unanimous action of the Houston Convention (Res. No. 126 and Committee Report as unanimously adopted, page 542, 1938 proceedings) the American Federation of Labor promptly took steps to secure the introduction of further amendments to the United States Housing Act of 1937 to guarantee the extension and continuity of the low-rent housing and slum clearance program administered by the USHA. Accordingly a bill was introduced in the Senate (S. 591) on January 12, 1939, by Senator Robert F. Wagner. A companion bill (H. R. 2888) was introduced in the House on January 19, 1939, by Representative Henry B. Steagall.

These bills, known as the "United States Housing Act Amendments of 1939" provided for an increase in the authorization of the United States Housing Authority for financing the construction loans for low-rent housing and slum clearance projects by \$800,000,000. As in the original Act, the loan authorization in this bill extended only to loans to local public housing agencies for construction of low-rent housing and slum clearance projects at an interest rate at least $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent above the cost of the money to the Federal government. These loans involve no subsidy, write-off, or other cost to the government. They represent a solid capital investment on which repayment is fully assured.

The original U. S. Housing Act authorized, in addition to these loans, annual contributions by the USHA to bridge the gap between the rents which would otherwise have to be charged for decent new housing and the rents which families now living in slums can afford. The purpose of these annual contributions is to bring rents in the new projects down to a level which will make them available to low-income families who must now live in slums. These annual contributions which effectively prevent competition between such low-rent public housing and good private housing, are paid to the local housing authorities as the only authorized recipients of the USHA's financial assistance.

In 1938 the USHA was authorized to spend \$28,000,000 a year for these grants-in-aid. The 1939 amendment proposed by Senator Wagner increased the authorization for the annual contributions by \$45,000,000. In introducing this amendment, Senator Wagner pointed out that this maximum limit of \$45,000,000

per year in additional annual contributions, added to the \$28,000,000 maximum limit provided under the existing law represents the maximum annual cost to the Federal government of the enlarged USHA program. In his statement to the Senate, Senator Wagner said:

"This is a very small cost in terms of the economic and social benefits of slum clearance and low-rent housing, and in terms of the infinitely larger expenditures undertaken for other public purposes that are certainly no more important than decent housing. It indicates that slum clearance and low-rent housing constitute about the most economical method of stimulating re-employment, increasing industrial activity, and uniting business recovery with fundamental social improvement."

Further emphasizing that the additional authorization of \$800,000,000 for construction loans will not involve an appropriation and therefore will have no effect upon the budget, Senator Wagner called the attention of Congress to the fact that the bonds to be issued by the Authority to raise these loan funds will not be obligations of such a character as to be included in or added to the national debt. He stressed the fact that not only is the loan program completely self-liquidating, but that instead of providing for the immediate expenditure of the entire amount, it merely enables the USHA to enter into loan contracts initiating this amount of construction while the actual development of the projects and the complete use of these funds will require at least two years.

According to Senator Wagner:

"The present program will provide decent American Homes for about 150,000 families or more than half a million persons now living in the slums. It will mean a total increase of employment, on the site of construction and indirectly in factories, of more than 330,000 men for a full year. This program of uniting reemployment with the improvement of basic housing conditions must be continued in order that the country may move nearer to the objective of a revived construction industry, a completely restored industrial system, and a decently housed nation of American families."

Hearings on S. 591 were held by Senate Committee on Education and Labor on April 7, and 8, 1939. In testifying before the Committee, Harry C. Bates, Chairman of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, said:

"Today there are more than 1,000,000 building and construction mechanics totally unemployed and dependent upon work relief for their livelihood. The program authorized by Congress today will provide a total of 270,000,000 man-hours of work at the site and \$257,000,000 which will be paid in wages to laborers employed at the site of construction. In addition, the present program will result in an even larger indirect employment in the production of building materials and will yield an even larger payroll to the workers in industries serving this new construction. The proposed amendments will double these benefits to the building workers by providing 540,000,000 man-hours of employment at the site or a full year's work to 330,000 building mechanics and laborers."

The Senate Committee reported the bill favorably on May 22, 1939, stating that "the proposed amendment is a step in the direction of relieving the Federal government of responsibility for lending its funds, by facilitating the flow of private capital into public low-rent housing."

The bill was considered in the Senate on June 6, 7, and 8, 1939, when an amendment introduced by Senator Wagner was embodied in the measure, providing for extension of the program to rural housing. The bill was approved by the Senate on June 8 by a vote of 48 to 16, and was referred to the House Committee on Banking and Currency. Following nearly three weeks of hearings held by this committee, the bill was favorably reported with an amendment similar to that sponsored by Senator Wagner, setting aside \$200,000,000 to be used exclusively as loans for construction of rural housing for families of low income in rural areas. The House Committee also added certain perfecting amendments as well as a restrictive amendment requiring that the local community contribute at least 10 per cent of the development cost of each project in the form of cash, land, labor, or materials.

The bill was then referred to the House Committee on Rules, which reported it out favorably on July 27. On August 3, the House debated whether or not the proposed amendments were to be considered before the adjournment. By a vote of 191 to 169 the House refused to consider the bill during the first session of the Seventy-Sixth Congress, leaving the bill to be called up for consideration by the House in 1940.

Federal Housing Administration—Further expansion of the program originally authorized by the National Housing Act of 1934 and administered by the FHA was provided in the administration-sponsored bills introduced, respectively, by Senator John H. Bankhead (S. 1097) in the Senate and by Representative Henry B. Steagall (H. R. 5324) in the House. The Senate Bill introduced on January 28th, 1939, failed to make any provision for the payment of prevailing wages on FHA-insured housing, a requirement which has been urged by the American Federation of Labor for the past two years. It will be recalled that a prevailing wage amendment to the FHA legislation was approved by the Senate in 1938 by a vote of 51 to 17, but was stricken from the Bill in the conference committee.

On February 27th, 1939, a strong joint statement was presented to the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency by Harry C. Bates, Chairman of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, and Joseph A. McInerney, the late President of the Building and Construction Trades Department. In this statement two amendments were recommended by the American Federation of Labor. One of these was designed to amend Section 207 (b) (1) of the National Housing Act in such a way as to prevent Federal mortgage insurance on projects undertaken by municipal housing agencies along the lines of the so-called "Fort Wayne Plan". Under this plan promoted by the FHA, a municipal housing authority has built a number of prefabricated houses of substandard construction and design, such houses having been manufactured, assembled and erected by WPA relief labor for use of relief families exclusively. This bizarre scheme of building movable houses involved a financing procedure making possible unbridled land speculation and unrestricted profiteering by private interests. Insisting that the FHA was designed to aid private enterprise and that minimum standards must be an absolute condition of any public assist-

ance, the American Federation of Labor recommended that mortgage insurance should not be extended to public agencies.

The second proposal recommended the adoption of an amendment to Section 203 (a) which would require the payment of prevailing wages to all laborers and mechanics employed in the construction of dwellings on which the mortgage is insured by the FHA. After a bitter disagreement the committee finally recommended a modified prevailing wage amendment whose application was limited to Sections 207 and 210 of Title II of the National Housing Act. This restricted the application of the amendment to large scale or rental housing projects costing more than \$16,000.

The committee failed to report favorably the so-called "Fort Wayne amendment", repealing the extension of FHA mortgage insurance privileges to public housing agencies. The modified prevailing wage amendment was voted favorably by the Senate and was embodied in the law as finally approved by the President on June 3, 1939. (Public No. 111.) Although labor failed to secure the full measure of protection which a universal prevailing wage amendment would give, the adoption of this limited amendment constituted an important achievement toward the establishment of the prevailing wage minimum in the FHA program. The 1939 amendments to the National Housing Act also contained a number of other provisions. Under Title I, the amendments which became effective on July 1, 1939 extended the authority of the Administrator to insure modernization and improvement loans to July 1, 1941. The maximum amount of such loan was set at \$2,500 and the maximum maturity was fixed at three years and thirty-two days. The amendments to Title II of the Act which became effective June 3, 1939, permitted an increase in the aggregate amount of outstanding insurance for new construction from \$3,000,000,000 to \$4,000,000,000 subject to the approval of the President and extended the insurance powers to July 1, 1941. Title III of the Act was amended by placing the national mortgage associations under the control of the Administrator.

Housing Census—On March 8, 1939, President Green communicated with Senator Robert F. Wagner pointing out that in connection with the various housing programs in which the Federal Government participates, there has developed a pressing need for reliable information on all phases of housing conditions in the United States. President Green emphasized that to insure the most economical, efficient, and intelligent development of our housing and home building programs, it is essential that a complete housing census be undertaken at the earliest possible date, and that if such a housing census were to yield information most valuable from the standpoint of long range planning, it should be taken simultaneously and in conjunction with the census of population of 1940. In view of this he urged Senator Wagner to introduce legislation authorizing a complete housing census and providing the necessary appropriation for that purpose.

In response to this request, on April 25, 1939 Senator Wagner introduced in the Senate S. 2240 which authorized the Director of the Census to take a census of housing in the year 1940 and every five years thereafter "to provide information concerning the number, character, and geographical distribution of

dwelling structures and dwelling units in the United States and concerning the social and economic characteristics of their ownership and use, necessary to aid in the formulation of a national housing program and in the administration of housing legislation."

The bill was favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency on June 21 with an authorization of an appropriation not to exceed \$8,500,000. The bill was unanimously passed by the Senate on June 23, referred to the House Committee on the Census and was favorably reported out of that committee on June 26 reducing the appropriation to \$8,000,000. The bill was passed by the House on August 4 and approved by the President on August 11, 1939. (Public No. 385.)

This measure, initiated by the American Federation of Labor, will make possible a nation-wide housing census to be taken in conjunction with the decennial census of population to be taken in 1940. By taking a housing census in conjunction with the general census of population it will be possible to utilize the same enumerators and thereby fill a vital need for factual information by the most economical and efficient method at only a fraction of the expense such a census would have required in any other year.

Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1940—H. J. Res. 326 (Public No. 24). The enactment of the Work Relief and Relief Law because of its provisions created consternation among skilled and unskilled wage earners throughout the United States. It appropriated only \$1,475,000,000 for the WPA. This was considered insufficient by the American Federation of Labor which supported a measure for a larger appropriation.

The prevailing rate of wage provision and policy which had applied on WPA projects as a result of Executive Order was abrogated and set aside through the incorporation in the WPA Relief Measure of a provision for a 130 hour work month at a so-called security wage. The Theatre Project was also dropped from the Work Relief Measure for the year 1940. Art projects, however, will be continued until December 31, 1939. Following that date, local sponsors must be obtained who will be required to pay twenty-five per cent of the funds necessary in order to continue these art projects.

Another provision of the law provides that all employees of the WPA who have worked eighteen months shall be "furloughed" for thirty days to give employment to needy persons who have been unemployed for three months. The statement was frequently made on the floors of the Senate and House that the men and women would not be "furloughed". Instead they would be discharged. This caused great alarm among the employees of the WPA as they realized that they could not return to the WPA for employment. It was estimated that 600,000 WPA workers who have worked eighteen months would be discharged. The bill originally had exempted persons 45 years of age and over, but this was stricken out, although it was stated that persons 45 years of age and over always find it difficult to secure employment in private industry. Members of Congress received thousands of protests, but when an attempt was made to modify the bill it was defeated.

Another provision which originated in the House provided for \$125,000,000

to be expended by the Commissioner of Public Works. This would mean that that amount would be spent in giving work to the building trades workmen where for every employe on the site there would be two employes preparing materials. This provision was stricken out in the Senate and the conferees agreed.

The bill originated in the House Appropriations Committee. No public hearings were held. It was reported in the House June 14 with a rule for six hours' debate—that day and June 15. On the 16th after a few amendments were made the bill was passed by a vote of 373 to 21. During that time the parliamentary situation was such that it was impossible to get a straight vote on an amendment providing for the prevailing wage. Besides, it was evidenced later by the vote on passage that it would have been impossible under any consideration to have an amendment made in the House.

When the bill went to the Senate, Senator McCarran, at the request of the American Federation of Labor, introduced an amendment to restore the prevailing rate of wage amendment for all WPA work, which was passed without a roll call vote. Another amendment of the Senate restored the theatre project to the bill.

When the bill went to conference the provisions for the prevailing rate of wages and theatre projects were stricken out and other amendments made by the Senate were radically changed or eliminated.

No sooner had the bill passed Congress than a hue and cry came from all parts of the country. When it was understood that more than a million persons were to lose their employment, and that those who did work would have to put in 130 hours a month for the same wages then received it is easily understood why such an uproar began. Building trades' wages were reduced from 50 to 75 percent. Furthermore, the bill had not been signed by the President an hour before contractors in New York, Cleveland and other cities demanded a reduction in the building trades wages.

When the Economy Act was passed in 1933 reducing the wages of Government employes 15 percent employers in all parts of the country began to slash wages. That was the fear which developed among building trades and other workers on WPA, that the standard of wages they had gradually secured in private employment by more than 50 years of effort would be torn down.

So disastrous would be the Work Relief Bill to the standard of wages established in the United States after years of sacrifice that President Green called a conference of representatives of all national and international unions to meet in Washington July 12. This conference adopted a resolution calling upon Congress to restore the prevailing wage rate and other important provisions eliminated from the 1939 law.

It also requested President Green to appoint a committee, of which he would be chairman, to wait upon the President, the Vice-President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives to present the resolution adopted and urge action upon it. These instructions were carried out and the committee composed of President Green, Matthew Woll, D. W. Tracy, Harry Bates, George Lynch, Herbert Rivers, and John P. Frey, forcefully presented the action of the conference.

Later when S. 2864, named the Spend and Lend Bill, was before the Senate,

Senator McCarran again introduced his amendment as a rider and fought vigorously for its adoption. It was defeated by a vote of 40 to 38. S. 2864 passed the Senate by a vote of 52 to 28, but when it reached the House it was refused consideration by a vote of 193 to 166.

When the Third Deficiency Appropriation Bill was considered in the Senate two further attempts were made by Senator McCarran to restore the provisions for the prevailing rate of wages. It was necessary to make a motion to suspend the rules to consider the amendment which required a two-thirds vote. The motion was defeated.

Senator Pepper submitted a motion to suspend the rules to permit the addition to the bill of an amendment that would cure a very grave injustice. The amendment was to repeal the clause adopted forbidding any theater project from being any part of the Works Projects Administration program. The motion was defeated.

H. R. 5681, which became a law (Public No. 393) authorizes the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation to purchase and distribute to persons on relief, at a cost not to exceed \$1,325,000, surplus products of the fishing industry. Experiments along these lines were made during 1937 and 1938.

Settlement of Disputes with the United States—Many administrative officers of the Government in making regulations to carry out laws enacted by Congress do not always confine themselves to the provisions of the acts. Therefore, Senator Logan introduced S. 915, which passed the Senate, to provide for the more expeditious settlement of disputes with the United States.

For instance, the National Labor Relations Board has made regulations in a number of cases entirely outside the authority granted them by the National Labor Relations Act. Several of its regulations have been declared invalid by the Supreme Court because they were not in accordance with the law.

The bill passed the Senate, but on motion of Senator Minton, who is opposed to the measure, the vote was reconsidered August 1, and the bill was restored to the Senate Calendar and will not be considered again until the next session.

The Logan bill provides that the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine within thirty days when any such rule issued or continued in force is in conflict with the Constitution of the United States or the statute under which it is issued. If a rule is held contrary to law and invalid it shall not thereafter have any force or effect and no person shall be penalized for any act done or omitted to be done in good faith in conformity with the rule which has been rescinded or declared invalid by the Court. The American Federation of Labor believes that such a rule has been necessary for many years as it frequently occurs that administrative officers have issued rules and regulations to carry out a statute that is not in conformity with the Constitution or the law for which they are issued.

Walsh-Healey Act Amendments—S. 1032 introduced in the Senate by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts made certain beneficial amendments to the Walsh-Healey Government Contracts Act. It reduced the amount of contracts from \$10,000 to \$4,000 and included the following representations and stipulations:

(a) That the contractor is the manufacturer of or a regular dealer in the supplies to be manufactured or used in the performance of the contract; (b) that all persons employed by the contractor in the manufacture or furnishing of the supplies required under the contract will be paid not less than the minimum wages as determined by the Secretary of Labor to be the prevailing minimum wages for persons employed on similar work or in the particular or similar industries or groups of industries currently operating in the locality in which the supplies are to be manufactured or furnished under said contract, such minimum wages as determined by the Secretary of Labor in no case to be less than the applicable minimum wages required to be paid by employers subject to section 6 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to employes in the particular industry or industries, or branches thereof, for which such minimum wages are being determined; (c) that all persons employed by the contractor in the manufacture or furnishing of the supplies required under the contract will be paid not less than such increased minimum wage; (d) that no person employed by the contractor shall be permitted to work in excess of eight hours in any one day or in excess of forty hours in any one week; (e) that no person under sixteen years of age and no convict labor will be employed by the contractor in the performance of the contract for supplies, and that no person under eighteen years of age will be employed in any occupation or industry which the Secretary of Labor has determined to be hazardous or injurious to the health of such persons; (f) that no part of the contract for supplies will be performed in any plants, factories, buildings or surroundings or under working conditions which are unsanitary or hazardous or dangerous to the health or safety of the employes.

Any breach or violation of any of the representations and stipulations in any contract shall render the party responsible therefor liable to the United States of America for liquidated damages in the sum of \$10 per day for each person under sixteen years of age employed in any occupation or industry, which the Secretary of Labor has determined to be hazardous or injurious to the health of such person or convict laborer employed in the performance of such contract, and a sum equal to the amount of any underpayment of wages. For the second breach or violation double such amount due any employe, and for the subsequent breach or violation treble such amount.

In addition the contracting agency shall have the right to cancel the original contract and to make open market purchases to enter into other contracts for the completion of the original contract. Additional costs will be charged to the original contractor.

All persons who shall be found by the appropriate court to have interfered with or coerced their employes in the exercise of their rights to self-organization to bargain collectively with representatives of their own choosing or engage in concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection shall be contained in a list to be distributed by the Comptroller General to all agencies of the United States. Unless the Secretary of Labor otherwise recommends no contract shall be awarded to such persons or firms until three years have elapsed from the date the Secretary of Labor determines such breach to have occurred. In exercising his power to make reasonable

variations and tolerances from minimum wage determinations, the Secretary of Labor shall take into account the prevailing practices established by collective bargaining in any industry which is the subject matter of such determination.

The bill passed the Senate but no action was taken in the House. February 24, 1939, the Senate Committee on Military Affairs incorporated in the National Defense Act the following proviso:

"Provided, that for the purpose of this Act educational orders shall not be considered as contracts for public work or works or for the manufacture or furnishing of materials, supplies, articles and equipment to carry out the provision of this Act."

This meant that airplanes purchased to be distributed among colleges and schools for the training of pilots could be made by cheap labor. Protest was immediately made to the Chairman of the Committee. It was pointed out that if the airplanes were built by cheap labor there would be no telling how many accidents would occur because of incompetent workmanship. The provision was stricken from the bill.

Fair Labor Standards Act—A well organized attempt to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act which would have exempted nearly 2,000,000 workers from its provisions presented a grave threat to the continued operation of the Wage and Hour law. The amendments proposed exempted all workers receiving the guarantee of \$150 a month or more from this statute. In addition to the hundreds of thousands of clerical workers who would be deprived of the right to overtime compensation, this provision would exempt all crafts and skilled workers paid on a piece rate or hourly scale where it would be to the employer's advantage to guarantee the employees \$150 a month. Other proposed amendments are:

Exempting from the wage and hour provisions 120,000 employees engaged in packing fresh fruits and vegetables; 160,000 employees engaged in canning fresh fruits and vegetables; 13,000 pecan shellers; 68,000 tobacco stemmers and handlers, 250,000 employees engaged in the milk industry (including distribution) and in the making of ice cream and cheese; 125,000 employees engaged in ginning, compressing and storing of cotton; 70,000 employees engaged in the making of sugar, molasses, and maple syrup; 100,000 employees cutting, milling and manufacturing timber into lumber where the employer has fifteen employees or less; 6,000 nursery employees, 30,000 employees engaged in handling, slaughtering, dressing and refrigerating poultry; 30,000 stockyard employees engaged in handling or transporting livestock, 30,000 employees engaged in storing and warehousing all these products; 75,000 drivers engaged in handling and transporting meats, grain, livestock, lumber, cotton, and all other perishable foods.

In addition the amendments would exempt from the maximum hour and overtime provisions among others the following: 55,000 employees of the big grain elevators and exchanges wherever located; 100,000 employees engaged in logging and lumber operations; 10,000 employees engaged in evaporating and condensing milk; 42,000 employees engaged in the wholesale distribution, including foreign imports, of fresh fruits and vegetables; 20,000 employees handling the storage of other commodities; 125,000 employees engaged in handling and packing dried

fruits, or in canning dry products for sixteen work-weeks; 128,000 employes of the big meat packers for a like period.

It is conservatively estimated that the amendments, if adopted, would exempt 1,000,000 workers from the present minimum wage provisions of the act and more than 1,500,000 to be exempted from the maximum hours provision.

Three bills containing amendments to the wage and hour bill were granted a rule by the Rules Committee, the object being for the House to consider the three bills and agree to a single measure.

Fearing that Congress was in such a temper that it would adopt a most reactionary measure President Green wrote a letter to Representative Barden in which he said:

"It is my opinion that the Fair Labor Standards Act should at least remain as it is. Time will demonstrate the soundness of the provisions of this social justice statute. It has only been in operation about one year. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed in order that we might test the soundness and practicability of the regulatory provisions of this Act."

The members of the House went further than expected. They refused to consider any amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act and the matter will have to be adjusted in the next session.

There is no doubt that a well organized effort is being made to emasculate the law or even to force its repeal. When the House Appropriations Committee considered the recommendation of the Budget Bureau and the President that \$2,000,000 be appropriated in the Third Deficiency Bill in order that the Administrator of the Act could investigate violators it was stricken out. In his report the Administrator pointed out that there were 20,000 violations of the law and that he had only 218 inspectors. The Senate voted to appropriate \$1,200,000 and the House accepted the amendment.

One amendment was made to the Fair Labor Standards Act in a separate bill, S. 1234. It provides for the "exemption of any switchboard operator employed in a public telephone exchange which has less than 500 stations." It passed both Houses and was signed by the President (Public No. 344).

Pernicious Political Activity—The scandals arising out of the political campaigns in 1938 and in many years previous caused Congress to pass a bill, S. 1871 (Public No. 252), Section 1 of which makes it unlawful for any person to intimidate, threaten or coerce or to attempt to intimidate, threaten or coerce any other person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote or to vote as he may choose, or of causing such other person to vote for or not to vote for any candidate for the office of President, Vice-President, Presidential elector, Members of the Senate or House of Representatives, at any election held solely or in part for the purpose of choosing those officials, and also Delegates or Commissioners from the Territories or Insular possessions.

This applies to any person in the United States whether in Government employ or in private employment. This will prohibit private employers from intimidating, coercing or threatening their employes as they have done in years past. It has been the practice of some employers to inform their employes

that if a certain candidate was elected President they should not return to work the next day after the election. If the employer's candidate was elected they were to return and have permanent employment.

Any person employed in an administrative position with the United States or by any department, independent agency or other agency of the United States is prohibited from using his official authority for the purpose of interfering or affecting the election of the before-mentioned candidates.

Any person directly or indirectly who promises employment, compensation or other benefit made possible by any Act of Congress to any person for the support or opposition of any candidate in any political party or election violates the Act.

All persons are forbidden to solicit or receive any assessment, subscription or contribution for any political purpose whatever from any person known by him to be entitled to or receiving compensation made possible by any Act of Congress appropriating funds for work relief or relief purposes.

Lists of names of persons receiving compensation through any Act of Congress delivered to any persons for political purposes shall be unlawful.

No officer or employe in the Executive Branch of the Federal Government can take any active part in political management or a political campaign. These persons shall retain the right to vote as they may choose and express their opinions on all political subjects.

The term "officer" or "employe" shall not be construed to include (1) the President or Vice President, (2) persons whose compensation is paid from the appropriation of the office of President, (3) heads and assistant heads of executive departments, (4) officers who are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who determine policies to be pursued by the United States in its relation with foreign powers or in the nation-wide administration of federal laws.

Any Government employe violating this section shall be immediately removed from the position or office held by him and he is ineligible for employment thereafter. The bill was signed by the President August 1.

While S. 2864, the Spend-Lend Bill, was under consideration, Senator Tydings introduced an amendment prohibiting labor organizations from contributing to any candidate for office at any election, or to any political committee or political party, any amounts paid as dues, assessments, or fees by the members of any organization, lodge, or group, unless said dues, assessments, or fees were paid by such members for the sole purpose of aiding a particular candidate, political committee, or political party, and such members had actual knowledge that the amounts so paid by them were to be used solely for such purpose. Penalty for violation would be a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment of not more than one year, or both. This failed when the House refused to consider the Spend-Lend Bill.

Senator Neely introduced a bill to extend the Hatch Act on pernicious political activity to employes of states or their political subdivisions who are paid in whole or in part by federal funds. He said he would bring it up in the next session of Congress in order that it could become a law before the 1940 Presidential election.

Canal Zone Legislation—On the Panama Canal Zone there are five separate branches of the United States Government: The Army, the Navy, the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad, and the Panama Railroad Steamship Line. The first three named are under direct supervision of the President and must receive all their appropriations from Congress. The last two are set up as corporations, but all their stock is owned by the United States Government in order that they may manipulate their funds and avoid the necessity of coming to Congress for appropriations. By Executive Order of the President, the Governor of the Panama Canal must be an Army officer and by virtue of his office the Governor is President of the Panama Railroad and Panama Railroad Steamship Line.

In 1904, by purchase, our Government took over the Panama Railroad and the construction of the Panama Canal from the French and shortly thereafter instituted a policy of employing West Indian colored aliens from French and English islands in the Caribbean Sea. From the inception of this policy to date American employees on the Canal have vigorously protested the policy through their local unions and national organizations. Year after year the American Federation of Labor at its conventions has passed resolutions calling for the elimination of these West Indian aliens. By Executive Order of the President they are prohibited from receiving more than 40 cents per hour or \$80 per month, the average pay for all of them, however, being approximately 25 cents an hour. Government officials contend, by employing native labor, they are following the practices of other governments and large corporations who do business abroad, but on the Canal Zone "native labor" (Panamans) are not employed, as West Indians, subjects of Great Britain and France, predominate.

At present there are about 13,000 employees of the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad, and the Panama Railroad Steamship Lines on the Zone engaged in the operation and maintenance of the Canal and the companies, and approximately 10,000 of these employees are aliens, and the remaining 3,000, American citizens. Approximately 4,000 of these aliens are employed in positions above the grade of laborer. About 1,500 of them are building tradesmen who are termed artisans by officials of the Canal. The others are employed in the following positions:

Baggagemaster	Opr. Compressor
Baker	Opr. Mov. Picture
Blueprinter	Opr. Pump
Boatswain	Opr. Telephone
Brakeman	Policeman
Butcher	Salesman
Caulker	Secretary of Clubhouse
Chainman	Signalman
Cook	Steward
Checker	Storeman
Chauffeur	Tailor
Engineer (Marine)	Upholsterer
Engineer (Steam)	Vulcanizer
Fireman, incl. R. R.	Water Tender
Foreman	Winchman
Office Helper	R. R. Trainmen
Oiler	Printing Trades
Opr. Motorboat	

These aliens have not penetrated into the metal trades to any extent because of firm resistance from these trades. Contractors serving our government on the Zone, however, have generally followed the policy of the government, and in many cases the contractors themselves were aliens as well as all their employees.

In 1923 President Gompers, as a result of a resolution adopted at the Portland Convention of the American Federation of Labor, proceeded to the Canal Zone accompanied by William Spencer, George Hedrick, Al Berres, G. M. Bugniazet, William C. Roberts and W. C. Hushing and upon his return he interviewed government officials of the highest rank without obtaining definite results. The report of this investigation is found in the March, 1924, issue of the American Federationist.

Despite the consistent opposition of the American Federation of Labor over a long period of years, nothing was accomplished in regard to this alien question until this year when an agreement was reached with General Owen Seaman who is in charge of all construction work done by the United States Army in continental United States or any of its possessions. That agreement is as follows: Public No. 18 of the 76th Congress, provides an appropriation of \$23,750,000 for the erection of hangars and houses for the new airplanes and personnel, and all employees on this Canal Zone project of the Army above the grade of common laborer shall be American citizens and all contractors shall be American citizens.

On the 30th day of May a bill, S. 2229, carrying \$277,000,000 to build a third set of locks on the Panama Canal, was being considered by the Senate. H. R. 5129 was an identical House bill. Both bills when reported to their respective houses contained the following clause:

"For the purposes aforesaid, the Governor of the Panama Canal is authorized to employ such persons as he may deem necessary and to fix their compensation without regard to any other law affecting such compensation."

This clause permitted the Governor of the Panama Canal to employ anyone he saw fit, at any rate of pay and as hours of labor affected the compensation of the employees, it would have eliminated any laws which had for their purpose the regulating of hours or compensation of employees. Strenuous objections to this clause were made by representatives of the American Federation of Labor and after two hours of debate on the Senate floor the bill was recommitted by a roll call vote of 50 to 16. Later hearings were held and government officials were willing to accept the following amendment:

"For the purposes aforesaid, the Governor of the Panama Canal is authorized to employ such persons as he may deem necessary and to fix their compensation, but the compensation of such persons shall not be lower than the compensation paid for the same or similar services to other employees of the Panama Canal. Provided, That rates of compensation in excess of those authorized by law shall not be paid without approval of the Secretary of War; and Provided further, That the Governor of the Panama Canal with the approval of the Secretary of War is authorized to engage under agreement, when deemed necessary, assistance in the various arts and sciences upon terms and rates of compensation for services and

incidental expenses in excess of the maximum of salaries authorized herein and by Chapter 13, Title 5 of the U. S. Code, to authorize the making of any and all necessary contracts to carry out the purposes of this Act."

They did not, however, accept any amendment touching upon the alien question, but the representative of the American Federation of Labor insisted upon the following amendment and it was adopted by both Houses:

"Provided, however, that all new personnel in such construction work occupying skilled, technical, clerical, administrative, and supervisory positions shall be citizens of the United States."

The agreement with General Seaman, Constructing Quartermaster of the Army, and the adoption of the two last quoted amendments by Congress to H. R. 5129 (Public No. 391), means that new construction work done by the Army on the Zone and new construction work done by the Panama Canal in enlarging the Canal will insure the payment of prevailing wages, the working of proper hours, and the employment of American citizens on such work, in all positions above the grade of common laborer.

There remain, however, certain aliens employed by the Army and Navy regularly on the Canal Zone in skilled positions and also the aliens employed by the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad and the Panama Railroad Steamship Line on the operation and maintenance. This elimination should be made, if possible, by negotiations between officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Government, with legislation not being resorted to unless it is absolutely necessary. Government investigators have officially reported that these aliens on skilled work can accomplish but one-third the amount of work done by American citizens. The existing law permits these aliens to be retired on a pension of \$1 per month for each year of service up to 25 years of service and the Governor has a fund with which to repatriate them.

S. 588, providing for the appointment of a midshipman to the Naval Academy from among the sons of civilian employees of the Government resident on the Canal Zone was drafted, introduced and passed at the request of the officials of the American Federation of Labor. It was approved by the President (Public No. 119).

H. R. 139 amended the Canal Zone Retirement Act by permitting all tropical government service to be used in computing annuities at a higher rate per annum. About 253 Canal Zone employees had had such service and some of them will benefit. Passed both Houses, signed by President (Public No. 373).

S. 310—This bill was drafted by the Panama Metal Trades Council and introduced in both Houses of Congress by request of American Federation of Labor officers. This bill amends the Canal Zone Retirement Act by permitting three 1-year extensions after retirement age is reached, optional retirement at 58 after 30 years service, with 15 on the Canal Zone, optional retirement at 55 if 30 years were served on the Isthmus; a provision to permit an employee to divide his annuity with a beneficiary without the two annuities aggregating more than the one divided; a provision to permit employees to have additional deductions made for purchase of additional annuities; a proviso that a bene-

ficiary may deposit up to \$10,000 to purchase an annuity and a provision to give one year to retired disabled employees in which to secure employment upon recovery.

This bill passed the Senate without amendment and an identical bill, H. R. 1819 was favorably reported without amendment in the House.

Public Education—Senator Thomas, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and Chairman Larrabee of the House Committee on Education, introduced companion bills (S. 1305 and H. R. 3517) providing progressively increasing federal grants to states for various branches of public education. A sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor held extensive hearings on the bills. Vice President Matthew Woll, Chairman of the Committee on Education, American Federation of Labor, and George Googe testified and urged enactment of the bills into law. Irving R. Kuenzli, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers and a member of the Education Committee of the A. F. of L., testified as to the Federation's position with regard to the effects of federal aid on the schools and on the teachers themselves and on crime and delinquency. S. 1305 was reported favorably on April 3. A minority report in opposition was submitted by Senator Taft on April 24. An additional minority report in opposition was filed by Senators Walsh and Donahey on June 13. Because of the pressure of other business the Senate failed to give consideration to the bill at this session.

Federal grants to the States for vocational education are now authorized to the extent of about \$22,000,000 annually, mainly by the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 and the George-Deen Act of 1936. Although there is no doubt that these grants are providing funds much needed by the States and are on the whole promoting very desirable forms of education, in recent years there has been criticism as to the manner in which the grants are administered. Upon request of the Executive Council Senator George and Chairman Larrabee of the House Committee on Education, introduced bills (S. 2460 and H. R. 6157) amending existing vocational education laws in harmony with the principles approved by the American Federation of Labor. It was agreed that hearings on the George-Larrabee bills would be held promptly upon reconvening of Congress in January, 1940.

Civil Liberties Investigation—The LaFollette Sub-Committee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor was authorized by the 74th Congress to investigate violations of civil liberties and did commendable work but was unable to complete an important inquiry initiated in California. Upon request of the Executive Council, Senators Schwellenbach of Washington, and Downey of California introduced Senate Resolution 126 appropriating the sum of \$100,000 so to enable the Committee to complete the before-mentioned inquiry.

Senate Res. 126 was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate and reported to the Senate on August 3 with an amendment providing a fifty per cent reduction in the requested appropriation. The Senate considered the Committee's report during the night session of Friday, August 4. Senator LaFollette made a plea for the full \$100,000 requested in the Resolution but the Committee amendment was adopted. The

Resolution, as amended, was then adopted by a record vote of 36 ayes, 17 nays, not voting 43.

Oppressive Labor Practices—S. 1970, favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, embodies in a single measure the legislative recommendation formulated on the basis of the findings and experience resulting from a painstaking and exhaustive investigation conducted during the past 2½ years by the LaFollette Committee on Civil Liberties.

The Committee report rightfully asserts that "this bill is several decades overdue." Over the past 40 years governmental investigations have insistently brought to the attention of the Congress the needless bloodshed and strife which has attended the use of the machine gun, the labor spy, the professional strike-breaker, and the criminal strike guard as instruments of labor policy. As President Green stated in the course of his testimony before the Senate Committee:

"The disclosures made in the four reports of the Civil Liberties Committee are startling. They reveal a condition, not only of highly organized opposition to the principles of collective bargaining, but an opposition characterized by the use and maintenance of private armies and private arsenals, equipped and trained to do battle against attempts on the part of workers to organize for collective bargaining.

"Such conditions tend to develop class hatred, incite violence and promote widespread industrial strife. The continuation of such conditions is unthinkable in this country; they must be ended not only for the purpose of restoring civil liberties to workers and of establishing and maintaining industrial peace, but also to protect the very foundations of democracy."

The bill remained on the Senate Calendar the day of adjournment and will receive consideration when Congress reconvenes. H. R. 7454, a companion bill to S. 1970, is pending in the House Committee on Labor.

Immigration—This session of Congress considered many measures to further restrict immigration to the United States. It is significant that further restriction is demanded notwithstanding the fact that our alien population has been reduced almost fifty per cent during the past twenty years. According to census returns, our alien population was: in 1920, 7,300,000; in 1930, 6,200,000; in 1939 (estimated), 3,750,000.

The Senate Committee on Immigration, after extensive hearings, by unanimous vote reported a compromise bill, S. 409, apparently embodying the views of majority and minority members of the committee. Following is a summary of S. 409:

- 1, All quotas are suspended for a period of five years, except for such quota immigrants who are in possession of valid unexpired immigration visas.
- 2, Certain exceptions are made to the arbitrary immigration restrictions for alien wives, husbands and unmarried minor children of American citizens.
- 3, The President is given discretionary authority to admit aliens under circumstances known as hardship cases upon recommendation of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Labor. The President is required to submit to Congress a full report regarding the exercise of this discretionary authority.

4, The law relating to the decennial censuses is amended by providing "That the schedule containing the inquiries relating to population shall contain inquiries designed to obtain, in the case of any alien with respect to whom such inquiries are answered, accurate information with respect to (1) his name and address, (2) his place of birth, (3) the date and port of his entry into the United States, and (4) whether he has filed a declaration of intention for citizenship."

5, An alien registration board is created to be composed of representatives of five government departments. This board is required to arrange for the registration of all aliens now in the United States, except native born citizens of the Western Hemisphere crossing the land borders of the United States as non-immigrants. All such aliens must pay a one dollar fee for a registration card and report changes of address to the nearest postmaster.

6, The bill, in substance, includes the Wagner resolution (S. J. Res. 64) for the admission of 10,000 children, under 14 years of age, born in Greater Germany, for each of the next two years. These children must be residents of Germany. In other words, if they have already left Germany, they will not be eligible for admission under this special dispensation.

The bill remained on the Senate Calendar the day of adjournment.

Naturalization—The Act of March 2, 1929, provides that aliens who entered the United States prior to June 3, 1921, and in whose case there is no record of permanent admission, can nevertheless qualify for naturalization upon satisfactory showing to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 3215 extends this privilege to all aliens who arrived prior to July 1, 1924 (Public No. 315).

Anti-Alien Bills—Congress has never before been confronted with such a flood of anti-alien bills as made their appearance at this session.

Among the many so-called anti-alien bills pending in Congress the majority never had a hearing and never left the Committee pigeon holes. But several of the more questionable bills did have hearings and did pass the House by substantial majorities. In accordance with established policy the Executive Council opposed detention or concentration camps for certain deportable aliens whose countries of origin will not accept them; compulsory fingerprinting of aliens; compulsory naturalization with deportation as the penalty for non-compliance.

Asiatic Exclusion Law Defense—A number of bills made their appearance at this session of Congress to put holes into the Asiatic Exclusion law.

It will be recalled that Congress in 1924 inserted a clause in our General Immigration laws providing that aliens ineligible to citizenship shall be barred as immigrants. This legislation was supported by the American Federation of Labor because it provided a logical, practical and effective solution of the Asiatic immigration problem. It followed the Federal Law which since 1790 has made all the yellow and brown races ineligible to citizenship because of unassimilability and the menace they would offer if established here. Certainly if immigration is to be restricted, we would commence with that element which is barred from citizenship.

Two of the bills introduced at this session (S. 2887 and H. R. 6798) provided that natives of India shall be considered "white persons". If adopted, such

legislation would, of course, remove natives of India from the Exclusion law of 1924.

Another bill (H. R. 7110) provided for the naturalization of any native of India who has entered the United States prior to 1924.

Still another bill (H. R. 7239) proposed to naturalize all Filipinos who are permanent residents of the United States. The author of this bill very generously sought to provide special naturalization privileges for Filipinos. Neither a certificate of arrival nor a declaration of intention were required under the terms of this bill. It should be noted that according to the census of 1930 there were 63,052 Filipinos in the Territory of Hawaii.

C. I. O. spokesmen again sponsored bills (H. R. 3657 and 6937) to provide jobs for Filipinos on American merchant vessels. It is a curious commentary on C. I. O. statesmanship that on the very day, March 29, 1939, when the President of the C. I. O. Seamen's Union told the House Committee on Merchant Marine there were 18,000 unemployed seamen in Atlantic and Gulf ports, another authorized C. I. O. representative appeared before the House Immigration Committee and pleaded for the bill (H. R. 3657) to naturalize Filipino seamen so as to qualify them for jobs on American ships and thus add to the number of American seamen already unemployed.

The Executive Council, with the cooperation of Congressmen from Western States, successfully opposed all these bills and not a single one has received a favorable committee report although repeated efforts were made to create the impression that there was public demand for such legislation.

It is quite obvious, of course, that if naturalization privileges should be granted to natives of India or the Philippines, the natives of Japan, China and other Asiatic countries would have justifiable cause for complaints of discrimination. And if the privilege of naturalization were extended to all Asiatics the props would be knocked from under our present effective immigration barriers.

Filipino Emigration—The law which for the past four years has provided free transportation to Filipinos who voluntarily desire to return to their native land has been extended by H. R. 4646, to cover applications filed prior to December 31, 1940. Filipinos who take advantage of this opportunity are not permitted to return to the United States (Public No. 241).

Maritime Legislation—*Minimum requirement of professional capacity for licensed officers*—One of the five treaties (No. 53) adopted by the International Labor Conference at Geneva in 1936, and ratified by the United States Senate on June 13, 1938, provides for certain minimum requirements with respect to the professional capacity of officers. The treaty also provides that vessels under 200 tons may be exempted by supplementary legislation. The National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots submitted an amendment to lower the exemption to fifteen tons "for all vessels propelled by machinery, but not including pleasure craft and fishing vessels under 200 tons." The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries rejected this amendment and the bill (H. R. 950), providing for a 200-ton general exemption, was enacted into law (Public No. 16).

Shipowners' Liability for Sick and Injured Seamen—This treaty (No. 55)

provides certain additional rights to sick and injured seamen. It does not take away any rights, remedies, etc., to which a seaman was entitled prior to ratification of the treaty. The new right provides that if a sick or injured seaman has dependents, the shipowner must "pay his wages in whole or in part as prescribed by national laws or regulations from the time when he is landed until he has been cured of the sickness or incapacity has been declared of a permanent character". The treaty also provides that such payments may be limited to not less than sixteen weeks.

The House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries reported a bill (H. R. 6881) defining the word dependents and limiting the amount payable to such incapacitated seamen to \$10 per month for a period of sixteen weeks only, from the time when he is landed. The bill passed the House and was then referred to the Senate Commerce Committee where it was held over because of numerous protests against the penurious \$10 per month allowance approved by the House.

This treaty will take effect on October 29, 1939, and in the absence of any permissible modifying legislation, it being assumed that the treaty is self-executing, shipowners will be required to pay full wages to any incapacitated seaman who has dependents, after he is landed.

Minimum Age for Employment on American Vessels—This treaty (No. 58) provides that minors under 15 years of age shall not be employed on vessels. American Federal law does not contain such minimum age requirements (except for apprentices). As a matter of fact, however, the generally prevailing minimum age for employment on American ships is 18 years. Therefore, it would seem desirable to eliminate the employment of minors under fifteen years of age from the vessels of our competitors. The treaty will be effective on October 29, 1939, but no action was taken by Congress to pass any implementing legislation. Two days before adjournment the President sent a Message to Congress submitting the draft of an implementing bill prepared by an interdepartmental committee and stated that "it is a matter of great importance that legislation be enacted at this session of Congress". Since only two days of the session remained, no action was taken by Congress.

Inspection of Motor Craft—It is not generally known that the laws relating to the inspection of steamships do not apply to the ever increasing Diesel and Motor-driven vessels. To remedy this anomalous situation the American Federation of Labor supported H. R. 3837, sponsored by the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots. A hearing on H. R. 3837 and related bills was held on April 11 by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. Although the only issue involved was safety, the various organizations of engine and boat manufacturers, river and harbor contractors, yacht and power boat owners objected most strenuously to any such regulation. Because of this protest the Committee took no action on the bill.

However, the committee reported favorably on H. R. 6039 which amends the Motorboat Act of 1910 in several respects. The most important change is in the issuance of licenses for persons operating motorboats carrying passengers for hire. At the present time licenses are issued upon application without examination. The bill as passed by the House, provides: "Whenever any per-

son applies to be licensed as operator of any motorboat carrying passengers for hire, the inspectors shall make diligent inquiry as to his character, and shall carefully examine the applicant orally as well as the proofs which he presents in support of his claim, and if they are satisfied that his capacity, experience, habits of life, and character are such as to warrant the belief that he can safely be entrusted with the duties and responsibilities of the station for which he makes application, they shall grant him a license authorizing him to discharge such duties on any such motorboat carrying passengers for hire for the term of five years". The bill remained on the Senate Calendar the day of adjournment.

Safety at Sea—Three minor sea safety measures were enacted at this session: S. 1583, (Public No. 92) amends the Load Line Act of March 2, 1929, to bring it in line with the International Load Line Treaty, ratified in 1933, by requiring a load line on foreign going merchant vessels of 150 tons, or over. H. R. 7090 (Public No. 371) relates to the Governmental supervision over the disengaging apparatus and the character of lifeboats, floats, etc. H. R. 7091 (Public No. 372) relates to the use of hand worked fire pumps.

Allotment of Wages by Seamen—H. R. 199 (Public No. 99) amends the act relating to allotments of seamen's wages to certain relatives by requiring the shipowner (when requested by the seaman) to deposit in a savings bank or in a U. S. postal saving depository, as designated by the seaman, such portion of wages earned as may be stipulated in the shipping articles. No allotment is valid unless in writing and signed and approved by the Shipping Commissioner.

American Whalers with Foreign Crews—H. R. 4592 and 4593, and H. J. Res. 344 and 347 were introduced at the instance of two whaling companies using foreign-built killer boats under foreign flags. The objective was to permit these foreign-built killer boats to be documented as vessels of the United States. With this accomplished the two companies could introduce whale oil into the United States free of the tax of \$67.50 per long ton.

The legislation was opposed by the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor as discriminatory against American shipbuilders. If such special privileges were granted to the whaling industry it would serve as a precedent to grant it also to the other branches of the American fishery such as salmon, tuna, cod, halibut, and other fisheries, since all American fishing vessels are now required to be American built.

It may be noted that there is no requirement under Federal law for the employment of American citizens in such an enterprise, except that the master of the vessel, and in the case of a steam vessel, the licensed officers be American citizens. It developed during the hearing that only five per cent of the crews of these vessels are American citizens, that a Norwegian Seamen's Union contract governs wages, hours and working conditions, and that the Norwegian language is spoken exclusively. There has been no action upon either of these bills or resolutions.

Lascar Seamen Investigation—As is well known one of the most serious problems confronting the American Merchant Marine in the off-shore trade is the fact that some of our competitors man their ships with the cheapest available labor. For instance, many British ships in direct competition with American

ships, trading regularly to American ports, are manned almost wholly by Lascar crews with a monthly wage of \$9.40 for able seamen as against \$72.50 for able seamen on our ships in the same trade.

With a view of ascertaining the facts in this connection, Representative Sirovich at the request of the Executive Council introduced H. J. Res. 194. In accord with the usual custom the resolution was referred to the various Departments of the Government which are concerned with the subject. A public hearing on the resolution was held on June 16, 1939, and it then developed that the Secretary of the Department of Labor had recommended favorable action on the resolution, that other branches of the Government were non-committal, and that the Department of Commerce alone opposed the adoption of H. J. Res. 194. There was no opposition whatever from any private source. Upon President Green's representation to Secretary of Commerce Hopkins, that Department finally withdrew its opposition but it was then too late in the session and the Resolution could not be moved from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Working Hours on Inland Waters—S. 1454 and S. 2305. These bills were introduced by Senator Shipstead at the request of the Executive Council to make applicable to inland water craft the provisions for an eight-hour working day already in effect on ocean going ships. In reporting on S. 1454 the Department of Commerce stated that this bill, if enacted, would require the appointment of forty-eight additional assistant inspectors at the various ports requiring an appropriation of \$170,000 per annum to cover the salaries of these additional assistant inspectors, and to provide the funds for the necessary traveling expenses in connection with this work. Hearings on these bills have been postponed until next session.

Miscellaneous Maritime Bills Pending—S. 1358 provides that a licensed officer, both in deck and engine department, must be on duty at all times when a vessel is in commission but tied to pier. S. 1366 provides that a pilot's license shall not be exercised by any member of the crew other than the master or chief officer. S. 1007 liberalizes the rules for admission to the United States Marine Hospitals. H. R. 4650 provides for the licensing of electricians. H. R. 4051 relates to hiring of seamen for Government-owned and subsidized vessels. S. 2477 and H. R. 6726 provide compensation for disability or death of injured seamen. H. R. 2553 and H. R. 6534 provide unemployment compensation for the maritime industry. H. Res. 215, provides for an investigation and study "into problems facing the maritime industry in so far as the question of extension of subsidies, establishment of unemployment compensation in the industry, and the speedy adjustment of labor problems are concerned. H. R. 3214 provides for the construction of a Marine Hospital at San Pedro, California. H. R. 3836 provides for the establishment of a home for retired merchant seamen in the vicinity of Los Angeles harbor, California, and appropriates one million dollars for that purpose. H. R. 2404 provides that no American or foreign steamer, carrying more than 25 passengers, shall leave a port of the United States unless equipped with a ship's hospital and carrying as a member of the crew a qualified surgeon. H. R. 6983 provides for the construction of a marine tuberculosis hospital in

California. H. R. 2544 provides that a shipwrecked seaman's wages shall be paid until he arrives at the home port and that he shall be sent to the home port as a passenger at the expense of the shipowner.

Employers Liability Act—S. 1708 (Public No. 382), enacted in the closing hours of this session, materially improves the Employers Liability Act of April 22, 1908. In particular, this measure virtually eliminates the defense known as the assumption of risk which has been built up and given an alarming scope and quality by various court decisions. S. 1708 also voids any rule or regulation seeking to prevent the furnishing of information to a person in interest as to the facts incident to the injury or death of any employee. The Employers Liability Act of 1908 was written for the employees of common carriers by railroad. However, Section 20 of the Jones Act of June 5, 1920, provides that all statutes of the United States modifying or extending the common-law right or remedy in cases of personal injury, or death as a result of such injury, with respect to railway employees shall also be applicable to seamen.

Motion Picture Films Distribution—S. 280, to prohibit and prevent the trade practices known as "compulsory block-booking" and "blind selling" in the leasing of motion-picture films in interstate and foreign commerce passed the Senate despite the opposition of all organizations of employees in the film industry.

If the bill becomes a law, it will mean that production schedules of the motion picture industry will be cut in half and thus directly affect the employment of some 282,000 persons who are employed in the production, distribution and exhibition divisions of the industry.

According to evidence given before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce there are 276 crafts employed in the industry and that many thousands of these workers will lose continuity of employment or be made entirely idle. All unions whose members are employed in the industry appealed to the Senate to defeat the bill and President Green wrote a strong letter to the leader of the majority in which he pointed out the injury that would be done to the workers in the industry by creating extensive unemployment. The bill was passed by a vote of 46 to 28.

When it reached the House it was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which postponed action until the next session.

Public Salary Tax Act of 1939—H. R. 3790 (Public No. 32) relating to the taxation of the salaries of public officers and employees became a law. The law provides that the Federal Government can tax the salaries of public officers and employees of the state, county and municipal governments and the latter governments can tax the salaries of federal employees.

An argument in favor of the bill was that a fair and effective income tax ought to subject the compensation of public officers and employees to the same general burden of taxation as is borne by private citizens. The law begins for the year 1939 to be paid in March, 1940. It is not retroactive.

The committees which considered H. R. 3790 received many briefs and memoranda regarding the taxation of the interest on federal and state bonds.

It was considered that the taxing of interest on bonds is entirely different from the taxation of salaries as it would have an effect on the borrowing power of the states. For that reason the recommendation of the President to enact a law for the taxation of interest on bonds was dropped for the time being.

Up to the enactment of the law federal employees were subject to federal income taxes, but were exempt from state income taxes. State and local employees on the other hand were subject to state income taxes but were exempt from federal income taxes unless engaged in proprietary functions. Under the law both federal and state taxes must be paid by public officers and employees.

According to the report of the Finance Committee of the Senate there were approximately 2,600,000 state and local employees in 1937 representing a total payroll for that year of \$3,600,000,000. Many of these employees have salaries below the personal exemptions allowed for income tax purposes. It is estimated that for 1937 1,000,000 received \$1,000 or less and approximately 2,300,000 received \$2,500 or less. It is estimated that the federal revenue to be derived from taxing such employees as are now exempt will be \$16,000,000 annually.

The Committee reported that the law would bring a clear-cut issue for determination by the Supreme Court. The bill was approved by the President April 12, 1939.

Facts on Productivity and Labor Costs—It has become apparent that we need facts and figures on productivity and labor costs in our efforts to prevent technological unemployment. We need facts and figures that will show in what industries work hours should be shortened because new machinery and techniques have increased productivity and reduced labor costs.

To this end Senator Wagner and Congressman Wood, at the request of the Executive Council, introduced Joint Resolutions (S. J. Res. 114 and H. J. Res. 265) to appropriate \$100,000 for the purpose of carrying on such studies regularly in the Department of Labor.

Authentic information is constantly needed by employers and employees for wage negotiations. By making adjustments in those industries where scientific advance makes shorter hours and higher wages possible, we can attack the problem of technological unemployment at its source and control it through the normal channel of trade union agreements. This is the logical and constructive way to make sure that scientific advance in our industries will bring higher living standards instead of an increasing problem of technological unemployment.

Estimates show that approximately one million men and women are unemployed today because of labor-saving devices installed in industry since 1929.

The information necessary to give productivity and labor cost information each month in 59 industries is readily available in the monthly records kept by these industries. This information has already been compiled so as to show productivity and labor costs from 1910 through 1936 in a study made with WPA funds. By keeping the figures up to date the usefulness of this original investment will be increased and information continuously developed that can be of real assistance to unions in planning their lines of action.

The House Resolution was reported favorably by the Committee on Labor but failed to receive consideration by the House in this session.

Firefighters Legislation—Congress passed a bill which was approved by the President permitting city firemen of the District of Columbia to affiliate with the National Association of Firefighters.

Several years ago Congress forbade the firefighters from joining an organization which engaged in strikes. This provision was placed in an appropriation bill by former Representative Blanton, who, while in Congress, kept up a running fire against trade unions.

A bill to reduce the hours of firefighters from 72 to 60 weekly passed Congress but was vetoed by the President.

Alaska Railroad Employees Retirement Legislation—Two bills (H. R. 2178 and 2642) passed Congress and were signed by the President (Publics No. 320 and 323).

H. R. 2178 provides that the annuity of an employee retired under the provisions of the act shall be composed of a sum equal to \$37.50 multiplied by the number of years of service, not to exceed thirty years, rendered on the Alaska Railroad or in the naval or military service of the United States in the tropics or Alaska.

It also applies for employees engaged in the construction of the Alaska Railroad between March 12, 1914, and July 1, 1923, plus the number of years' service, if any, rendered on the Isthmus of Panama. It also contains other important provisions.

H. R. 2642 provides for the order of precedence of beneficiaries.

Reorganization of Government Activities—Shortly after Congress convened President Roosevelt requested Congress to pass a bill empowering him to reorganize some Government activities. A similar request was made in the 75th Congress. A bill was introduced but failed to pass.

H. R. 4425 was introduced which provided that the President should investigate the organization of all agencies of the Government and shall determine what changes therein are necessary to accomplish the reduction of expenditures, increase the efficiency of the operation of the Government and reduce the number of agencies by consolidating those having similar functions under similar heads.

Besides, he was to abolish such agencies as may not be necessary to the efficient conduct of the Government and eliminate overlapping and duplication of effort. The bill was approved by the President April 3, 1939 (Public No. 19), and the provisions were immediately carried out taking effect July 1.

A number of activities were placed in the Executive Offices of the President. The Federal Security Agency was created which is composed of the Social Security Board, the United States Employment Service, the Office of Education and all other functions of the Secretary of Interior relating to the administration of the Office of Education, Public Health Service, National Youth Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps.

To the Federal Works Agency was transferred the Public Roads Administration, Public Buildings Administration, United States Housing Authority, Public Works Administration, Works Progress Administration and all their records, property and funds.

To the Federal Loan Agency were transferred the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Electric Home and Farm Authority, Reconstruction Finance Corporation Mortgage Company, Disaster Loan Corporation, Federal National Mortgage Association, Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Home Owners' Loan Corporation, Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, Housing Administration and Export and Import Bank of Washington.

When the bill was being prepared in the House it was understood that the United States Employees Compensation Commission would be transferred to the Department of Labor. However, the Executive Council made a vigorous protest believing that the Commission should be kept independent. The Committee writing the bill acceded to our request.

Exportation of Douglas Fir Peeler Logs and Port Orford Cedar Logs—S. 1108 to restrict the exportation of certain Douglas fir peeler logs and Port Orford cedar logs passed the Senate July 18 and was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means of the House July 20.

The American Federation of Labor supported the bill as its provisions are intended to take care of a serious situation regarding the employment of labor. Large numbers of members of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor are losing their positions due to the fact that logs are being shipped to foreign countries and are being manufactured into doors, sash and plywood and then reshipped into this country.

Wages in the countries into which these logs are shipped are so low that after they are made into manufactured goods they can be placed on the market in this country at a much lower price than it costs to manufacture them here. It is also contended that the countries now importing the logs and reshipping the finished products here are countries that formerly purchased these products from the United States.

The result of this practice is that American workmen are not only being deprived of the work necessary for the manufacture of goods to be shipped abroad to these countries, but they are also being deprived, in addition, of the work on a part of the goods which they formerly manufactured for use in this country. It is believed that the only practical way of remedying the grievance is to prohibit the shipment of the type of logs mentioned as very few, if any, such logs are produced abroad. As it takes hundreds of years for such timber to grow it is apparent that as a matter of conservation the bill should be passed. Its passage would also protect the jobs of American workmen.

Legislation for Government Employees—S. 281, the Neely Retirement Bill, passed Congress but does not contain all the provisions in the original measure.

It provides (1) for a joint and survivorship annuity which would allow an employee at the time of his retirement to receive in lieu of the regular life annuity a reduced annuity payable to him during his life, and an annuity after his death payable to his beneficiary during life; (2) it extends the time for retention of employees retired because of disability from 90 days to one year; (3) employees are permitted to make additional contributions to the retirement funds of from 1 to 10 per cent of their basic salary for the purpose of purchasing an increased annuity.

Owing to the opposition of the House conferees the reduction in the ages for retirement and the optional age feature were stricken out.

H. R. 3812 granting postal employees credit for Saturday in the annual and sick leave law and thereby conforming to the 40-hour workweek or 5-day-week law passed both Houses and was signed by the President May 15, 1939.

The law provides that employees in the Postal Service shall be granted 15 days' leave of absence with pay, exclusive of Saturdays, Sundays and holidays, each fiscal year, and 10 days' sick leave with pay, exclusive of Saturdays, Sundays and holidays, to be cumulative, but no sick leave in excess of six months shall be granted in one fiscal year. The 15 days' leave shall be credited at the rate of $1\frac{1}{4}$ days for each month of actual service.

H. R. 5479, a bill granting annual and sick leave with pay to substitutes in the Postal Service became a law. Hereafter these substitutes will be rated as employees and each shall be granted the same rights and benefits with respect to annual leave and sick leave that accrues to regular employees in the proportion to the time actually employed. The law provides for 15 days' annual and 10 days' sick leave. No substitute, however, shall be entitled to the benefits of the Act until he has served 2,448 hours.

Bills increasing the wages of village letter carriers passed both Houses and were sent to conference. The House increased the wages \$150 a year, while the Senate only increased the wages \$50 a year. The conference committee could not agree before the adjournment of Congress.

Bills were introduced to change the method of paying rural letter carriers. They provided for the 5-day week and hourly payment instead of payment by the mileage system. A hearing was held by the Senate Post Office and Post Roads Committee, and a report is expected to be made at the next session.

Discrimination Against Graduates of Certain Law Schools—For years the practice has been by executives in the Federal Government to discriminate against graduates of certain schools in the appointment of lawyers. No one could be appointed to a Federal position unless he was a graduate of a school accredited by the Association of American Law Schools or approved by the American Bar Association. This would prevent the appointment of lawyers who had qualified themselves by study outside the schools mentioned, not having the funds to attend college.

During the discussion on the bill it was pointed out that such men as Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry and Abraham Lincoln could not have been appointed to the Federal Government if they were alive today as they had not been graduated in schools approved by the Association of American Law Schools or the American Bar Association.

S. 1610, to remedy this discrimination, passed the Senate without a roll call vote. The bill was reported favorably in the House and it, undoubtedly, will pass in the next session.

Civilian Conservation Corps—H. R. 2990 extended the life of the Civilian Conservation Corps which would have ended July 1, 1940. The bill was amended to continue its activities until July 1, 1943. The bill passed Congress and was signed by the President (Public No. 326).

Amortization of Home Loans—S. 628 (Public No. 381) provides relief for persons unable to pay installments of principal and interest on home loans. It gives the HOLC power at any time to grant an extension of time to any home owner for the payment of any installment of principal or interest owed by him to the Corporation or may at any time during the existence of the mortgage grant an extension and revision of its terms to provide for the amortization by means of monthly payment sufficient to retire the interest and principal within a period not to exceed twenty-five years from the date of its execution if in the judgment of the Corporation the circumstances of the home owner and the condition of the security justify such extension or revision.

Up to August 5 the HOLC had authorized foreclosure on 168,010 cases. The number of loans that have been made by the HOLC throughout the United States is 1,018,413.

Aid for Blind Persons—H. R. 4927 amends the Act of June, 1936, authorizing the operation of stands in Federal buildings, by making an appropriation for the purchase, installation and maintenance of such vending stands in Federal buildings. The bill also appropriates \$550,000 to be disbursed to states on a 50-50 basis when such states have an acceptable plan for the establishment of blind persons in vending stands. The bill had a hearing in the District of Columbia Committee but has not been reported.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

As democratic government developed in response to modern conditions, it has added to the duties of keeping the peace and national defense, obligation to promote the welfare of the Nation. Promoting national welfare soon resolves itself into promoting the welfare of groups, classified according to their economic interests upon which basic welfare depends. Thus we have developed in our government special services for those engaged in commerce and trade, in making articles of commerce, in transportation, in mining, in agriculture, and last of all for those employed in all those undertakings. The creation of the Department of Labor was in recognition of the fact that promotion of the best interests and social progress of wage-earners was a special function which should be entrusted to a Federal Department whose Secretary should be a member of the President's Cabinet, in order that the welfare of Labor should advance equally and in coordination with the progress of other basic economic groups. Such coordinated progress is essential for sustained business activity and for the prevention of social unrest. The law authorizing the Federal Department of Labor conformed to precedents of other industrial countries which had been made conscious of the need for such agencies by their earlier industrial development.

In 1881, in its first convention, the American Federation of Labor because of the wholesome effects of state bureaus of labor statistics, urged that Congress authorize a Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics and recommended for its management the appointment of a person "identified with the wage-earners of the country." Such a bureau was created by Congress but there was delay in the appointment of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics. Repeated protests from the repre-

sentatives of organized labor brought action and Carrol D. Wright was made first commissioner. Later this bureau was included in the Department of Labor—an independent agency without the status of a secretarial head with a seat in the President's Cabinet.

In 1896, the convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the Executive Council to draft legislation to create a U. S. Department of Labor and to organize a campaign to put political support back of the measure. Such a Department would the Federation hoped "prove effective in perpetuating the purposes and intentions of the founders of the American Republic." A bill to create a Department of Labor, with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet, was introduced in Congress but met with opposition in the form of a measure to create a Department of Commerce and Industry. Such a Department authorized in 1903, absorbed the Department of Labor. Labor forcefully pointed out that a Department of Commerce had the primary function of serving commerce and industry and whatever labor information and service might be forthcoming would be a by-product of that fundamental purpose. Understanding and sympathy with the purposes of Labor, was the Federation maintained, essential to best service to Labor. In 1909 the Federation declared:

This demand for a department of labor, independent of any other department under the government, with a secretary at its head, has been the unanimous declaration of the organized labor movement of our country time and again. It was at the urgent insistence of organized labor that the Department of Labor, as it was primarily constituted was created, which was afterwards lereft of its individual function by the law merging it with the Department of Commerce and Labor. The labor forces and labor interests are of so vast and comprehensive a character that a department devoted entirely to the many questions and problems so intimately associated with it. The secretary at the head of that department having an intelligence of and sympathy for the duties involved, a secretary who will be at the council table of the President's Cabinet to give advice and counsel, and to speak the right word at the right time, is one of the growing important necessities of our great industrial development.

It was not until the closing hours of the Congress ending March 3, 1913, that a law authorizing the U. S. Department of Labor was passed, and signed by President Taft. President Wilson appointed Hon. William B. Wilson, formerly secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America and a union-card member of Congress, to serve as the first Secretary of Labor, an appointment most satisfactory to the workers of the country.

The basic law of the Department of Labor transferred to it from the Department of Commerce the following bureaus: Immigration and Naturalization, the Bureau of Labor with its name changed to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Children's Bureau. The Secretary of Labor was specifically authorized to act as mediator in labor disputes and to appoint conciliators. The functions of the Department were generally described in these words in the first section of the Act: The purpose of the Department of Labor shall be to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities to profitable employment.

The first effort to organize specific agencies to perform services in accord with this mandate was under the War Labor Administration when the U. S. Employment Service, the Women's Bureau, and the Working Conditions Service were organized. The Working Conditions Service was developed to give service and information in three fields: industrial safety, industrial hygiene, and labor relations between employers and employees. The set-up of the industrial hygiene division was interesting. The personnel were detailed from the U. S. Public Health Service and worked under the Department of Labor and in accord with its guidance. Only the Women's Bureau was made a permanent agency. In 1933, U. S. Employment Service was expanded on a Federal-State basis. In 1934 a Division of Labor Standards was set up which has been concerned with legislative labor standards, industrial safety and occupational diseases. In 1936 administration of minimum labor standards in public contracts was placed in the Department of Labor. More recently in 1937 the Wages and Hours Division administering the Fair Labor Standards Act, was placed in the Department of Labor. It seemed as though Labor were making progress in getting a representative administrative department responsible for the welfare of a group constituting such a large proportion of the population. The basic principle upon which Labor has tested what functions should be located in the Department of Labor is that legislation dealing with rights of labor should be administered by the agency designated to promote our interests and welfare. Sympathy and understanding of the labor movement and the problems of wage-earners are prerequisite to administration of matters directly affecting our rights and welfare.

When the Social Security Act was drafted and enacted in 1935, it provided old age benefits on a contributory basis, unemployment compensation, and public assistance. When this legislation was in the making the American Federation of Labor favored locating its administration within the Department of Labor, because old age benefits and unemployment compensation are rights of labor. However, the administration was made independent. As soon as unemployment compensation reached the stage of benefit payments, administrative difficulties began to accumulate. The executive agencies for the payment are the public employment offices which are under federal and state departments of labor. No legislative thought had been given to coordination of functions and control. The employment service is the Department of Labor's response to its mandate to provide working people with "better opportunities of employment." The lives of working people and their families are organized around their jobs. Through all their producing years, they are in and out of employment service for help in getting new jobs or better jobs. The employment service is one agency about whose location in the Department of Labor no question developed. It is primarily a labor service. It was therefore a most unexpected and unwarranted reversal of what we had built up by half a century of struggle and persistent effort, when, under authority to reorganize governmental departments, the Executive Order of the President transferred the U. S. Employment Service to the new Federal Security Agency, and to which were transferred also the U. S. Public Health Service, the Office of Education and the National Youth Administration.

The American Federation of Labor believes that from the standpoint of efficient management a much wiser decision would have been to have separated the direct assistance functions of the Social Security Board from its insurance function, and to have transferred old age benefits and unemployment compensation to the Department of Labor, where the administration of these agencies so directly affecting the welfare of Labor could be unified and coordinated with all of the undertakings to promote the welfare of those who work.

Transferring the employment service from Labor's own Department to any other agency, however good in itself, takes from the Department of Labor the very heart of the functions it is directed to perform and sets a precedent which unless reversed, will make the Department of Labor only an empty name. Dismembering of state departments of labor has been serious during the year, but this blow at the Federal Department of Labor nullifies the act creating the Department.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor do everything in its power to reverse the decision dismembering the Department of Labor and that we be prepared to insist that the functions and the services of the Department of Labor be increased and expanded by adequate appropriation and the necessary authorizing legislation until the Department of Labor is really able to promote the welfare of all those dependent on work for incomes. Our conception of the scope of the groups to be served by the Department of Labor has steadily expanded. The coverage of labor law should be expanded to cover all labor—whether agricultural, domestic, industry, commerce or service. The functions of the Department of Labor should expand accordingly and the Department should be made truly the Department of Labor, so that Labor's voice may be heard in the President's Cabinet where decisions affecting Labor are discussed and decided.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

The American Federation of Labor was the chief sponsor of the National Labor Relations Act. It fought for its adoption with all the vigor at its command. It considered the adoption of this Act a great victory for organized labor because it not only recognized Labor's fundamental rights of self-organization, self-determination and freedom of choice in designating representatives, but it gave Labor a means of enforcing such rights to the end that collective bargaining would be a reality.

The basic principles of the National Labor Relations Act are sound. The American Federation of Labor supports these basic principles and will continue to support them as forcefully as it sponsored the adoption of the Act. It will jealously defend and protect the basic principles of the Act from attack by forces that are antagonistic to these basic principles.

The American Federation of Labor, however, was disheartened when it found that because of the exercise of unlimited discretion in administering the Act, and unwarranted construction of procedural provisions of the Act, principles championed by the American Federation of Labor were invaded, weakened, and in several instances, destroyed by the Board.

Therefore, at the Houston Convention of the American Federation of Labor held October 1938, after an extended discussion of the activities of the Board and of important decisions vitally affecting the interests of the American Federation of Labor, the delegates adopted unanimously the following report:

"It is imperative, therefore, that the Act be revised lest our unions be rendered impotent by the unjust decrees of the Board.

"Of course, amendments to the Act will have to be drawn as near to the date when Congress convenes as is practicable, because between the present time and the convening of Congress more experience will have been had with the Board and its decrees. However, the experience to date convinces us that amendments dealing with the following subjects should be presented to the Congress.

- (1) The Unit rule must be changed to conform to that which is in the Railway Labor Act so that it will be obligatory on the Board to grant a craft or class the right to select its bargaining representative by majority vote.
- (2) The power of the Board to invalidate contracts must be definitely curtailed.
- (3) Every known interested party should be served with due process and be afforded an opportunity to appear in any case. No contractual rights should be passed upon without every party to the contract being served with process and given the right to appear in the case.
- (4) Intervention by interested parties should be made a matter of right and not a matter of discretion.
- (5) Definite qualifications should be set forth in respect to examiners. Some are wholly incompetent and unfit to serve in that capacity. In fact affidavits of prejudice should be permitted to be filed against them where an examiner is considered unfair.
- (6) Clarification respecting power over the issuance of subpoenas is necessary and liberalizing of the rule in that respect should be provided.
- (7) The secrecy of files must be lifted to the extent that all persons may have an opportunity to examine a record which contains material on which decisions are made. The idea of keeping information and material in a secret file and then utilizing it in connection with other evidence as a basis for the decisions smacks of star chamber proceedings.
- (8) Elections shall be conducted within thirty days from filing of a petition therefor.
- (9) All cases shall be decided within 45 days after the close of the taking of testimony.

Responsibility for much of the maladministration of the Act is due to the personnel of the Board. Changes are imperative if a just policy is to be adopted and maintained.

Finally, your committee recommends vigorous opposition to the appointment and reappointment of men who are not qualified by training, experience and reputation for a quasi-judicial position of highest importance."

Therefore, amendments were carefully drawn to carry out the foregoing mandate of the Houston Convention.

The fight to curb the abuse of power by the National Labor Relations Board has been of transcendent importance to the American Federation of Labor.

No sooner had the American Federation of Labor announced its proposals to amend the Act than propaganda forces opposed to the American Federation of Labor launched upon a campaign of vilification, slanderous innuendo, distortion and false argument. But these indefensible tactics proved of little avail. As

we evaluate the experience to date, incalculable good has resulted from our efforts.

Considerable difficulty was encountered at the outset in obtaining Committee hearings on the amendments. Senator Walsh introduced the American Federation of Labor amendments on January 25th, 1939. Hearings were set to commence at an early date but were then postponed. Finally, in response to vigorous demands hearings began on April 11th, 1939, before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

Once begun, the hearings soon proved their necessity. Overwhelming proof was submitted, justifying the complaints of the American Federation of Labor and establishing the indisputable need for changes in the Act and reforms in its administration.

Though not all of the fundamental changes sought by the American Federation of Labor have been effected, we are already able to report significant changes in the administration of the Act which conform to several of the proposed American Federation of Labor amendments, thereby providing greater protection of our fundamental rights and improving the operation of the Act.

In August 1938 the Executive Council requested President Roosevelt not to reappoint Donald Wakefield Smith whose term was about to expire. However, it was not until the hearings began and testimony was given which abundantly proved that Donald Smith's attitude toward the American Federation of Labor was inimical that it became obvious that Mr. Smith would not be confirmed by the Senate. The President did not submit his name to the Senate. In his stead William L. Leiserson of the National Mediation Board was appointed. His transfer to the National Labor Relations Board cannot but be interpreted as an acknowledgment of the American Federation of Labor's claim that the National Labor Relations Act was being poorly administered and the personnel was in dire need of an overhauling.

The hearings, too, succeeded in breaking down the obstinate refusal of the Board to change a single rule or adopt a new device for fairer and more efficient administration of the Act. Only after members of Congress, convinced of the justice and fairness of the proposals of the American Federation of Labor, demanded that the Board adopt these proposals, did it reluctantly yield. On July 14, 1939, the Board published and made effective new rules which conform to many of the major proposals of the American Federation of Labor.

The more fundamental changes are as follows:

1. Labor organizations whose contracts are involved in Board proceedings will be made parties in every instance to such proceedings.
2. The minimum period between the issuance of a complaint and the date of a hearing has been increased from five to ten days.
3. The Board will entertain an employer petition for certification where two or more labor organizations claim a majority.
4. Extension has been made in regard to the right of labor organizations to appeal to the Board from a dismissal of charges by a regional director.
5. The power to assign trial examiners has been shifted from the regional directors to the Board.
6. The right to obtain subpoenas has been somewhat enlarged.

In addition to these formal changes in its rules and regulations, the Board has by decision effected a change which corresponds to one of our amendments. The proposed amendment provides:

"Elections by secret ballot shall be ordered whenever it is requested by a labor organization (which is a party to the proceeding) . . ."

This amendment was designed to overcome the evil of certifying certain representatives of majorities established by so-called pledge cards whose trustworthiness was challenged. On July 13, 1939, while the hearings were still in progress, the Board in the Cudahy Packing Company case directed that an election be held regardless of the showing of a majority by cards when such majority was disputed. The Board abandoned its former practice and said:

" . . . Although in the past we have certified representatives without an election upon a showing of the sort here made, we are persuaded by our experience that the policies of the Act will best be effectuated if the question of representation which has arisen is resolved in an election by a secret ballot."

Of importance to the American Federation of Labor are the decisions of the Board ordering secret ballot elections of the production and maintenance employees in the various plants of the Chrysler Corporation, the Motor Products Corporation and the Briggs Manufacturing Company. The Board directed that the votes be conducted on the basis of separate plant elections as contended for by the American Federation of Labor and opposed by other organizations. The majority opinion was signed by Chairman Madden and Board Member Leiserson. A minority opinion was signed by Board Member Edwin Smith who contended that the ballot be conducted on an employer-wide unit grouping together all plants of each employer.

These decisions present an interesting contrast with previous decisions of the Board in the Longshoremen's case and the Libbey-Ford-Owens Glass Company case. In the Longshoremen's case the Board constituted the entire west coast, including all employers, a single unit. In the Libbey-Ford-Owens Glass Company case the Board merged the employees of the Parkersburg plant with other plants in other cities into a single unit. On the basis of such merger a rival union was certified as the bargaining agent of the Parkersburg plant even though 133 of the 134 employees of this plant were members of the American Federation of Labor. In its recent automobile industry decision the Board said:

"We are of the opinion that all plants should not be grouped in a single bargaining unit. It cannot be said that the past history of collective bargaining in the plants has established such a pattern of bargaining. On the contrary, bargaining practice in the past has recognized the individual status of separate plants."

"Furthermore peculiar problems arise out of the division of the international union into two groups. For it appears the A.F.L.-U.A.W. may have overwhelming majority in several of the plants and the C.I.O.-U.A.W. a similarly large majority in several others. Under the circumstances we conclude that each of the plants involved in this proceeding constitutes a separate appropriate bargaining unit."

Although the decisions point out the dangers inherent in the vesting of unlimited discretion over units in a Board and the danger from the division of the

Board on such an important ruling (for it is possible for one member of the majority hereafter to reverse his position and join the dissenting member), yet it is gratifying to note that the principles pronounced in the Longshoremen's case and the Libbey-Ford-Owens Glass Company case were not followed in these automobile industry decisions. If they had been, the American Federation of Labor may have been excluded from representing its members in automobile plants even though all the workers in a plant were members of the American Federation of Labor.

Of considerable consequence, too, is the acceptance by the Board of the contentions made by the International Association of Machinists that machinists be constituted a separate unit for the selection of a bargaining representative. The decisions grant the petition of the International Association of Machinists and the employees in this craft will vote independently of the other production workers in the plants.

The reasoning used by the Board in its recent decisions adopts the contentions of the American Federation of Labor as voiced by President Green, Judge Padway and other witnesses at the hearings of the Senate Committee when the Longshoremen's and the Libbey-Ford-Owens Glass Company cases were discussed and criticized.

Significant, too, is the change in the general personnel. New regional directors with labor experience are being appointed. Some trial examiners who have shown an anti-American Federation of Labor bias have recently "resigned" or have been assigned to other work. A lesser number of complaints of unfair treatment by regional personnel have been received from our affiliates in the past few weeks; also a less obvious manifestation of bias is being evidenced by trial examiners.

In Washington, too, better attention to American Federation of Labor matters has been observed in recent weeks. Moreover, it is significant that American Federation of Labor contracts have not been invalidated in recent months. It is hoped that this improvement in attitude and procedure will continue and that it is not merely a temporary expedient to offset current criticism.

American Can Company Case

The National Labor Relations Board, in the American Can Company case, decided July 29, 1939, has embarked upon a dangerous precedent. All the apprehension and fear of eventual engulfment of craft unions by Board decree, which gave rise to the American Federation of Labor amendments will be realized if this dangerous precedent is permitted to stand. The doctrine is laid down that once an industrial unit has been established for an entire plant, and the industrial organization has obtained a contract, such unit will be left undisturbed for all time though the contract has expired and regardless of the wishes of even 100 per cent of the craft workers employed in the plant. Chairman Madden vigorously dissented from this decision.

Board Member Leiserson went so far as to state that the Wagner Act foreclosed the Board from designating a craft unit after a contract had once been entered into between the company and the industrial unit. This reason-

ing was too much even for Board Member Edwin Smith. However, Board Member Smith agreed with the conclusion on the basis of his famous Allis Chalmers dissent to the effect that the industrial unit is preferable. As a result, craft organizations can be certain as long as Edwin Smith is on the Board and as long as Board Member Leiserson retains his present view, "the craft form of organization is for all practical purposes denied the right to exist", as Chairman Madden states in his dissent.

This devastating decision and its injustice is forcefully pointed out by Chairman Madden in the following portion of his dissent:

"Thirdly, I think the proposed distinction works out unfairly in practical effect. It means that where a craft union obtains an exclusive bargaining contract the industrial union may nevertheless, by taking away the membership of the craft union, merge the craft unit with the industrial unit. If the industrial union fails in its first attempts it may nevertheless continue its efforts. But once the industrial union has obtained an exclusive contract on a plant-wide basis, either by organizing before the advent of the craft union or by capturing the craft union's majority in a later election, *thereafter the craft employees are irrevocably part of the industrial unit.* The effect is, therefore, to crystallize the industrial form of organization and prevent the craft employees from ever thereafter changing their minds."

No more dramatic illustration has been presented of the manner in which, under the vague, indeterminative, broad discretion of the Board over units given by the present Act, the rights of craft unions depend completely on the personal preference of the individual members of the Board. No greater proof than this case is necessary to justify the amendment proposed by the American Federation of Labor whereby the vital decision of whether or not craft workers shall constitute a separate unit is left to those most directly concerned,—the craft workers themselves,—and not to the whimsical inclinations or economic views of members of the Board. The case is a striking demonstration that the greatly cherished right of "self-determination" of organized labor is threatened by the present language of Section 9(b) of the National Labor Relations Act. Unless that language is changed, many craft unions by this decision will be destroyed.

A number of recent court decisions reviewing Board determinations have, by interpretation of the Act, in effect adopted American Federation of Labor amendments and greatly improved the Act. Thus in the Consolidated Edison Company case, decided December 5, 1938, the Supreme Court of the United States reinstated an American Federation of Labor contract which had been invalidated by the Board. The importance of this case cannot be over-emphasized. The court expressly held that the Board was without punitive jurisdiction, that nothing that the employers do can deprive labor organizations of their rights, including the right to contract. The court pointed out to the Board its absolute duty to serve every labor union which is a party to a contract with notice of the proceedings.

Similarly, in the Jefferson Electric Company case, decided by the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals on March 31, 1939, the Court reversed the Board's decision which had set aside an American Federation of Labor closed shop con-

tract. The Court virtually affirmed one of our amendments by which we seek to prevent invalidation of our contracts because some supervisory employee expressed even an unsolicited opinion, in holding:

" . . . It was never the intention of Congress to prohibit friendly intercourse between employers and labor organizations, to curtail freedom of speech, to deprive an employer of his right to express an honest opinion or to outlaw the extension of common courtesies. . . ."

A further restriction on the Board's power to disregard American Federation of Labor contracts was imposed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in the Waterman Steamship Company case, decided April 11, 1939. The court held that a shift in affiliation of members did not authorize the Board to invalidate a preferential agreement. The court said:

" . . . The Board by its order would penalize the company for keeping its contract."

A landmark decision was made in the Consumers Power Company case, decided on June 28, 1939, by the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals. The Board refused to place the name of the I.B.E.W. on the ballot in a run-off election. On appeal it contended that it had the right to place only one name on the ballot, that of the rival to the I.B.E.W., and claimed further that there was no appeal from its ruling because it was a representation case only. The significant aspect of this case is that the Court took jurisdiction in a representation case in which no unfair labor practices were involved. That has been one of our most fundamental objectives, as evidenced by our appeal of the Longshoremen's case now pending in the United States Supreme Court.

The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals in the Hamilton Brown Shoe Company case, decided May 29th, 1939, accepted the Boot & Shoe Workers Union's argument that the Board could not decline to hold a hearing on a petition for certification by the Boot and Shoe Workers Union which claimed a majority. In spite of this majority the Board certified a rival union on a claimed majority dating back a year and a half. This holding is in line with the American Federation of Labor amendment which makes it mandatory that "the Board shall investigate" the petitions of labor organizations (Section 9 (c)).

Encouraging as have been the results of the Congressional hearings, we must not lose sight of the fact that only by writing them into law can these gains be consolidated. For court decisions are subject either to complete change or narrow application. Nor ought we rely on the Board's discretion in making rules. Such wide discretion may, in the hands of a hostile Board, too easily become an instrumentality of reaction and repression.

There still remains to be adopted several fundamental proposals if American Federation of Labor affiliates are to be assured complete fairness of treatment and if future possibility of discrimination is to be eliminated.

No valid argument has been advanced against our proposals respecting the unit rule. On the contrary Congressional Committee members have voiced strong approval. For example, Mr. Ramspeck of the House Committee on Labor, referring to the Longshoremen's decision setting up an industry-wide

unit regardless of the majority desires of the American Federation of Labor members, said:

"That gets back to the basic principles on which Congress enacted this law, to give freedom of choice to the worker. And I want to say this for the record, that I think the Board's decision in this case not only violates the basic principle for which this act was passed, but it is a deliberate flouting of the intent of Congress as expressed on the floor of the House and in the conference report. . . ."

As to the remaining feature of our unit proposal, the one permitting a single employee to be constituted a bargaining unit thereby abolishing the intolerable doctrine of the Finch case (wherein a single carpenter was, in spite of his selection of the Carpenters Union as his bargaining agent, compelled to be represented by a dual and rival union) not one critic of our amendments had raised a word in objection.

Problems of Great Consequence Still Remain for Solution

The evidence adduced left no room for reasonable doubt concerning the necessity for the adoption of the proposals which will change the Board and increase its membership to five. The power arbitrarily to fix units vests in a three-man Board the power to destroy unions. This is again made manifest in the recent Austin Coal Company case which reaffirmed the pernicious doctrine of the Longshoremen's case. In this case practically all of the employees of the Austin Coal Company were members of the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America. The Progressive Mine Workers petitioned for certification as bargaining agent. The Board dismissed the petition of the Progressive Mine Workers and certified the United Mine Workers. It did so by finding that the appropriate unit was that of an association of employers to which the Austin Coal Company belonged, thereby defeating the unanimous demand of the employees of the Austin Coal Company to be represented by the Progressive Mine Workers.

There still remains the problem of the right to an appeal in a case similar to the aforementioned Progressive Mine Workers case. The Board contends that the case being a representation case only, as distinguished from a complaint case, there is no right of appeal from its decision.

There still remains the problem of extraordinary and outrageous delay in adjudicating cases. Our affiliates continue to complain of such delays which cause unions to disintegrate.

A further danger is manifest in the tremendous power vested in the Board through what is commonly termed "rule making power". This danger was made strikingly apparent by the promulgation of the new rules of the Board on July 14, 1939. These rules deal with vital problems affecting procedural as well as substantive rights of unions and workers. Yet the Board failed to hold a hearing respecting them, and no labor union or other interested party was permitted to appear before the Board and discuss these rules. By this rule making power the Board is enabled to destroy fundamental rights and to indulge in the process of legislating. No more convenient weapon than this unlimited

"rule making power" need be resorted to by any "anti-labor" Board to destroy rights of labor and labor organizations. Labor must bear in mind that no Board is permanent.

Reference has been made to the delay in the commencement of the hearings on the amendments. Those responsible for such delay have brought about a situation fraught with grave danger to the interests of organized labor. Had the hearings proceeded promptly they could have been concluded in time for Congress to have acted on the amendments and thus removed the issue from the 1940 campaign. Instead, the dilatory tactics eventuated in the adoption of a resolution to investigate the National Labor Relations Board by a Committee of the House. The resolution was adopted July 20th by an overwhelming vote. If the results of this investigation should materially impair the Act, the responsibility must rest upon the shoulders of the National Labor Relations Board for its adamant refusal to yield to reasonable amendments before the resolution was proposed, and must be charged to opposition groups who, by vicious propaganda and other reprehensible means, endeavored to prevent the adoption of constructive amendments to the Act.

In answer to a question of the Chairman of the House Committee on Labor, President Green admonished the Committee that if action were not taken at this session of Congress, it was more than likely that the whole subject would be made a political issue in the 1940 campaign. President Green pointed to the experience of Oregon, of certain of the localities in California, of Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania, where reactionaries had already gained control and had emasculated labor's rights, as a warning of the probable dangers to the National Labor Relations Act if action were not taken at the 1939 session of Congress.

The American Federation of Labor will continue its vigilance over the National Labor Relations Act and its administration so that the fundamental rights of labor guaranteed by the Act are not perverted or destroyed.

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION

A repetition of the landslide of good labor laws enacted in 1937 was perhaps not to be expected in every long legislative year, but the output of the 44 legislatures that met this year was meager if not downright reactionary.

State Department of Labor—Among the favorable results achieved in spite of the growing opposition to progressive legislation, are to be counted the creation of strong, unified labor departments, with rule-making power in Alabama and in the Territory of Hawaii. While these two laws lodge rule-making power in regard to safety and health in the labor department, where it belongs, Idaho and Montana, give similar authorization to the Department of Public Welfare and the State Board of Health, respectively, where, experience in other states indicates, it will probably lie dormant and inactive so far as occupational and industrial hazards are concerned.

Two state labor commissioners—Indiana and New Hampshire—were given power to take wage claim assignments for collection, bringing the number of state departments that can effectively assist wage-earners in collecting their back wages to 15.

Four new states adopted apprenticeship laws, making 12 states that empower the state departments of labor to promote and supervise sound programs of apprentice training in cooperation with local labor and employer organizations.

Workmen's Compensation and Occupational Disease—At last Arkansas achieved a workmen's compensation law—only, however, to have its operation suspended until such time as a popular referendum can be held. The law is on the whole a good one, compulsory for private employers of five or more, with some exceptions, and providing compensation for a schedule of occupational diseases as well as for accidental injuries, on a fairly liberal scale. There are, however, a number of defects including the numerical exemption, the fact that it is to be administered outside of the labor department, the schedule instead of blanket coverage of occupational disease, and the medical board provision. Idaho and Maryland also enacted occupational disease compensation laws, bringing the total number of such laws to twenty-five.

A number of these newly enacted occupational disease laws carry provisions of doubtful benefit to workers. The insurance companies have been actively promoting a type of bill that places the controlling authority in a medical board, a provision which has this year been incorporated in the laws of Arkansas, Maryland, Idaho and Pennsylvania. Advisory medical opinions, furnished by impartial experts paid by the state are one thing. Binding decisions by a board of doctors who are not full-time state employees, but who are permitted to practice and do practice for insurance companies and employers, is quite another thing. A much more liberal and realistic interpretation of a compensation law is to be expected when claims are decided by lay referees, aided and guided but not superseded by medical experts.

While organized labor in the states has year after year carried on a battle to extend the coverage of compensation laws and to liberalize the benefits, hostile interests (led by insurance companies) have been undermining the administrative sections of these laws, thus indirectly but effectively depriving workers of the very rights that have been won. While these provisions are often so obscure that slight changes may seem comparatively harmless, recent experiences point to the need for careful scrutiny. The insurance lobby has shown itself repeatedly willing to trade small increases in benefits for procedural amendments whose significance is not easily apparent. Thus in Pennsylvania, an increase in the percentage of weekly wage was "traded" for other amendments to the law which more than counterbalance this supposed gain, and interpose many legal technicalities between the claimant and his award. The Pennsylvania worker who is injured after the new law took effect may lose his rights under the act entirely, simply because he has failed to file formal notice of the accident even though the employer had full knowledge of the accident and the injury. The employer or carrier is no longer penalized for persuading the worker to agree to a lump-sum commutation which is actually in violation of the act. The Department of Labor and Industry is barred from assisting the claimant who has signed an incomplete agreement and failed to secure his full rights under the act. Widows and dependents will lose very large sums—amounting in some cases to 80 per cent or more, of the death benefits formerly paid—because of a new pro-

vision which deducts sums paid to the disabled worker during his lifetime, from the death benefit. In presenting his claim and arguing his case through the maze of confusing new legal language, the worker is now also deprived of the right to be represented by a member of a labor organization. Obviously, the chief gainers under the new law are the lawyers, the doctors, and the insurance companies. These, and other amendments, are of a type that are being promoted under the guise of innocent changes intended to simplify the compensation laws and reduce costs.

State Labor Relations—Connecticut this year enacted an anti-injunction law modeled on the Norris-LaGuardia Act, and New Mexico passed a more limited type of restriction requiring that the hearing of witnesses in open court and certain findings of fact before the issuance of temporary or permanent injunctions. In most states, however, efforts were centered on defeating restrictive bills; some of the worst proposals were considerably modified before passage, notably in Michigan and Minnesota. While the total number of restrictive bills introduced in 1939 was actually no greater than two years ago, the bills were more aggressively pushed and a number passed or came near passage. Oregon led off with the adoption of an anti-picketing statute by popular referendum in November, 1938. At the same time two measures were defeated in neighboring states, California and Washington. The American Federation of Labor joined with the State Federation of Labor in bringing suit for a declaratory judgment to have the Oregon law ruled unconstitutional. Although the decision rendered upholds the law, it does at least in some measure clarify the rights of disputants in labor disputes. An appeal has been taken to the higher court in an effort to have the law set aside altogether.

An anti-picketing bill was passed by both houses in Idaho, but vetoed, upon the demand of labor, by Governor Bottolfson.

Restrictions on picketing, boycotting, and persuasion of non-unionists in connection with labor disputes and organizing campaigns are contained in the new state labor relations acts of Minnesota and Michigan, in the amended act of Pennsylvania, and in the new Wisconsin act that was substituted for the 1937 Little Wagner Act. These restrictions are generally couched in such elastic and ambiguous terms as to leave the boundaries of permissible action extremely uncertain. Therein lies, perhaps, their chief nuisance value. Ample new grounds are opened up for the issuance of injunctions, even in states like Wisconsin and Pennsylvania where this abuse of judicial power had been curbed; and in some cases union members and sympathizers may run the additional risks of damage suits and criminal prosecutions. In Wisconsin a three-fourths vote is now required to enter into a closed shop contract, instead of a simple majority. The check-off of union dues must be individually authorized by a secret majority vote.

The Minnesota and Michigan laws require notification of intention to strike, lockout, or change agreements, and allow a fixed period for mediation and negotiation before a strike may be called. The 1939 state labor relations acts as a whole contain so many uncertain and dangerous features that the net result may be counted unfavorable. As individual cases arise under these laws they

should be most carefully watched and handled lest a new series of court decisions fasten again upon the labor movement many of the outworn and cast-off doctrines of the old common law.

Wages, Hours, Industrial Home Work, Child Labor—The passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act failed to exert as great a stimulus on the state legislatures as had been anticipated. State wage and hour bills, introduced in 30 states, did not pass in any. Extensions of minimum wage are to be noted in Alaska, Maine and Connecticut (where the law has been broadened to include men). Oklahoma failed to correct the error in the title of its minimum wage law which was responsible for the court decision invalidating the minimum wage orders for men and minors, and in fact the whole law just missed being repealed. Coverage of the 8-hour day and 48-hour week laws were extended in Montana and Utah, but on the other hand, the principle of one-day-of-rest-in-seven lost ground in New Hampshire and New Mexico. South Carolina allowed its recent hours legislation for men, women and minors to be enjoined and declared unconstitutional without enacting anything to replace it; so that now the only remaining hours statute in that state fixes a 12-hour day, 60-hour week for women in mercantile establishments. The hours of minors were reduced in West Virginia and Hawaii.

Two new industrial home work laws were passed—California and West Virginia—making 19 states with this type of regulation.

The basic 16-year minimum age was adopted in Alaska, Hawaii, and West Virginia (though in the last-mentioned it is weakened by exemptions). In view of the action taken in Alaska and Hawaii, it is all the more surprising that 37 states and the District of Columbia still fall short of this standard.

Aliens—There has been quite a volume of bills introduced into the states this year dealing with aliens. A series of bills passed and was approved in Illinois, limiting the right to practice in certain licensed occupations to citizens or persons who have taken the first steps towards becoming citizens. In Pennsylvania a law was passed requiring aliens resident in the State, over the age of eighteen, to register annually with the Department of Labor and Industry. This requirement not only imposes an unjustified burden on the labor department, and invades a field of law which is reserved to the Federal Government, but also marks a dangerous departure from established principles of individual liberty. It is considered ineffective as a means of detecting aliens illegally in the country (for obviously they will not choose to register); it opens up a fertile field for blackmail, racketeering and exploiting the ignorant; and it is a first step towards regimentation of the Fascist and Nazi pattern. From police surveillance of the non-citizen to police surveillance of the citizen is a short step. How indeed can citizens prove that they are *not* among the class required to carry registration cards, except by themselves producing some similar identification? A registration law is unworkable and unenforceable unless it applies to all. It is impractical and probably unconstitutional, for the states to adopt singly, and if it should be allowed to stand would seriously inconvenience the free mobility of persons between states. Legislation relating to aliens should be carefully watched, in

order to guard against general inroads on individual liberties under the guise of preferential treatment of citizens.

Child Labor—Twenty states have failed to ratify the Child Labor Amendment. The Massachusetts House of Representatives for the fifteenth time in as many years refused to ratify the amendment by a roll call vote of 195 to 13. It seems remarkable that Massachusetts, which has always advertised itself for its humanitarian principles, has failed to ratify an amendment that would protect children being exploited in industry.

The Tennessee House of Representatives by a vote of 48 to 38 also failed to ratify the Amendment. This is the fourth unsuccessful attempt to ratify the Amendment in recent years.

The Illinois Senate by a vote of 17 to 9 defeated the bill to protect children. The present Child Labor Law in Illinois is not satisfactory and the bill defeated was to remedy the defect. It proposed to prohibit the employment of minors under 16 years of age in certain employment; to permit employment of minors between 16 and 18 years under prescribed conditions; to require the employer to display printed abstract of law and schedule of minors' working hours, and to prohibit certain named employments for minors under 18 years. The Department of Labor was to make rules and administer the act.

The fact that the Supreme Court decided against the questions raised by Kansas and Kentucky takes away from the opponents of the Amendment all excuses for not getting it ratified. Kentucky appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States that as the Kentucky Legislature had previously rejected the Amendment it had no power to ratify. It also claimed that 15 years had passed since the Amendment was submitted to the states and that this was an unreasonable time. The Supreme Court refused to concur.

Convict Labor—Fourteen states are still lacking the state-use system in the manufacture of goods, wares and merchandise. Nine of these states have practically no laws governing prison labor. These are: Alabama, Delaware, Missouri, Nevada, North Dakota, South Carolina, Vermont, West Virginia and Wyoming. While the latter has no laws governing convict labor, the administration prohibits the sale of convict made goods on the open market.

Florida and Indiana adopted a state-use system this year but the following states still refuse to indorse the state-use system: Alabama, Delaware, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

Eventually those states will have to adopt proper legislation as their markets for prison products are very much curtailed because thirty-four states forbid their transportation within their borders for sale on the open market.

WAGES AND HOURS

Drastic reduction in work hours was necessary in the last decade to prevent widespread unemployment; but if we had cut ten hours from the work week without adjusting wages, living standards would have been reduced to

poverty levels for millions of workers. Major adjustments in hourly wage rates were also necessary to compensate the reduction in hours.

Probably no decade in our history has seen more sweeping wage changes than the ten years from 1929 to 1939. There were first the severe wage cuts of depression which in four years reduced the average hourly wage of 56¢ in manufacturing to 46¢ in 1933. Following these losses, the effort toward recovery under N. R. A. codes brought substantial wage increases and in the next two years depression wage cuts were in large part restored. By 1935 the average wage of factory workers had recovered to 57¢ per hour. After the termination of N. R. A., the National Labor Relations Act freed workers to organize, and growing trade unions held N. R. A. wage gains, and by 1937 succeeded in bringing the average factory wage to 64¢ per hour.

Thus in this brief period of eight years we had a general wage reduction of 10¢ per hour in the first four years, followed by an increase of 18¢ in the next four years.

The last two years of the decade gave a striking example of trade union success in maintaining wages; for the sudden business recession of 1937-8 reduced production and prices so rapidly that we were threatened with serious and widespread wage cuts. Trade union resistance, together with Administration influence to maintain wages, effectively checked wage reductions. We came through this recession with relatively few wage cuts, and these have in large part been restored. In the first half of 1939 factory wages have averaged 65¢ per hour.

Thus the net result of the last decade is a 19¢ increase in the hourly wage of factory workers. This increase has not been enough however to bring weekly and yearly income of workers back to the 1929 level with the shorter work week. In 1929, the average factory wage earner worked a 49-hour week at 56¢ an hour and earned approximately \$27; in 1937 he worked an average 39-hour week at 64¢ per hour and earned approximately \$25. In 1939, with industry not yet fully recovered from the 1938 recession, part time and unemployment have reduced weekly earnings to \$23.50. Factory workers' yearly income averaged \$1,300 in 1929 and \$1,175 in 1937.

Thus it is clear that with the shorter work week, workers' incomes are not yet back to 1929 levels. Nevertheless, we have been helped toward a 1929 living standard by the decline in living costs. Living cost indexes in 1937 were nearly 12% below 1929. This price decline enabled wage earners in 1937 to support a 1929 living standard, even though the actual cash income received was not as great as in 1929. Measured in the goods our earnings would buy, the average factory worker's income in 1937 at the lower price level, was equivalent to \$1,325 per year, comparing with \$1,300 in 1929.

The above figures are for manufacturing industries, because in these industries records are more complete; it is not possible, with the present inadequate information, to follow changes in hourly wage rates in all industries. Commerce Department figures show us, however, that changes in the average yearly income of all wage and salaried workers in American industry from 1929 to 1937 have closely paralleled those in manufacturing industries. Employees in general in 1929 had an average yearly income of \$1,475, which was reduced to \$1,310 in

1937, but with lower price levels this 1937 income would buy goods and services equivalent to \$1,480 at 1929 prices.

These general averages are at best only very rough indicators of progress since 1929. The figures do not represent the actual wage or the actual yearly income of any individual or of any craft or group of workers; in such averages the unemployment losses of individuals are often discounted because the lay-off of employed workers may be offset by the hiring of others.

These averages do show in general, however, that trade union action in the last decade, together with Federal laws affecting workers, has succeeded in bringing about certain gains for wage earners in spite of all the difficulties created by the most severe business depression in our history. Those of us who are fortunate enough to have steady jobs are in general able, in a year of normal activity, to support a living standard equal to that of 1929 with ten hours more leisure time per week.

Ever since 1926 the American Federation of Labor has swung the entire force of the labor movement behind a drive to shorten work hours in order to reduce unemployment. We struggled first for the five-day forty-hour week, then for the thirty-hour week, and we have insisted that the work week be shortened without reducing the weekly income and living standard of American wage earners. This great drive, together with the help of Federal legislation, has resulted in outstanding achievement, equalled in no other country of the world. While there are still industries where the forty-four or forty-eight hour week is in effect, and in some few cases hours even longer, throughout a major part of American industry the forty-hour week is now prevalent, and hundreds of thousands of workers are already working a thirty-hour and thirty-five-hour week. Union building tradesmen and union members in printing trades have 95% of their membership working a forty-hour week or less; and of these, 26% in building have a work week of thirty-five hours or less, and 30% in printing have a thirty-seven and one-half hour week or less; 10% in building already have the thirty-hour week.

American trade unions, American employers, and all those who have assisted in achieving this major economic adjustment may well note that our measures have proved effective. We have prevented the loss of several million jobs through technological changes in industries, we have substituted leisure for unemployment, and we have accomplished this without reducing the living standard of employed workers.

The reduction in work hours to a forty-hour average, and the increase in average hourly earnings to 64¢ has laid a foundation for unprecedented future progress in living standards and industrial expansion in the United States. This has been a difficult adjustment, and it has been made when American industries were hard pressed in our worst industrial depression. The very difficulty of such an adjustment may have retarded somewhat our recovery from depression, but it has gone far to bring our economy back in balance and restore inherent soundness and industrial health. Present wage scales are a basis for the highest workers' buying power and the largest home market for goods in our history once industry again resumes its normal rate of expansion.

We must next consider the low level of industrial production in this last

decade and the effect it has had on our living standards. The year 1937 was intentionally chosen for comparison with 1929 because it was important to show what the living standard is today in a year of nearly normal industrial activity. In every other year of this decade, however, industrial production has been below 1937, living standards have been lower, and in most years there have been many more unemployed. Therefore, while 1937 was the only year by which we could measure achievements, 1937 living standards are by no means typical of the 1929 to 1939 decade.

Even in 1937, when employed workers were able to maintain a 1929 living standard, we cannot overlook the heavy burden of caring for the unemployed which fell upon the shoulders of our wage earners. With more than 8,000,000 out of work, millions of American families had to support relatives who, in normal times, would have supported themselves. The average worker's income was required to stretch over a larger number of persons than in 1929, and consequently, the average per capita or per person living standard for the entire population, even in 1937, was lower than 1929. As noted above, even at the lower 1937 price levels, the average per capita living standard was 7.5% below 1929. Thus while employed workers can maintain a 1929 living standard with shorter work hours, our comparison makes no allowance for the insecurity of working conditions today, the anxiety of not knowing whether one will have a job tomorrow, the burden of supporting unemployed family members. Unemployment compensation payments are an essential help here, but they are not a substitute for work opportunities.

If now we compare progress in the decade just ending with progress in the ten previous years (1919 to 1929), we find a strong contrast between the previous decade of expanding productive activity and the present ten years of industrial stagnation. From 1919 to 1929, the average per capita living standard in the United States rose 23% and hours of work were reduced by two per week (from fifty-one in 1919 to forty-nine in 1929). From 1929 to 1937, the average per capita living standard declined 7.5% and work hours were reduced by ten per week.

The only tangible gain to workers in the present decade has been an increase in leisure while adjustment in wage rates pave the way for higher living standards when industry expands. In the last decade the increase in leisure was very much smaller, but the 23% rise in per capita "real" income raised workers' living standards to the highest level of any country in the world. This contrasts with a net loss in the present decade, due to industrial stagnation.

For industry as a whole, however, this decade has brought a major gain, the value of which is not yet apparent, for basic adjustments of work hours and wage rates have placed the national economy on a sound basis, ready to go forward. Industry ended the previous decade with a period of inflationary debauch, which temporarily brought high profits, and then plunged the country into depression. The present decade has on the whole been a period of low profits, and even in 1937 profits were considerably below 1929 levels. But this decade closes with industry in a healthy condition ready to go forward to higher productive activity and greater creation of wealth than ever before.

As noted in the last section, our problem today is to restore industry to full productive activity so that the adjustments of this decade may take effect in higher living standards and increased incomes for all.

EMPLOYMENT AND THE SHORTER WORK WEEK

It is now ten years since industrial activity in the United States ceased to expand at its normal predepression rate; and in no year of these ten has unemployment averaged less than 8,000,000. In 1937, our best year of recovery thus far, although the product of our farms and industries was close to 1929 levels, we operated our industries with 1,000,000 fewer employees and our farms with 500,000 fewer workers.

To study the sore spots of unemployment which are causing this irreducible jobless army, we compare the year 1937 with the year 1929. National income produced in 1937, when measured in volume and not in dollars, was only 2% below 1929. Therefore, the major part of unemployment due to the decline of production was eliminated in 1937 and we can the better examine unemployment due to technological change, industrial shifts and other causes inherent in the progress of a growing economy. (Industrial decline since 1937 has reduced national production considerably below the 1929 level, making the years 1938 and 1939 less comparable with 1929.)

As above noted, we produced in 1937 almost the 1929 volume of product with 1,500,000 fewer workers. This job loss however was not all due to technological unemployment, for in spite of the general improved level of production, in a number of industries, such as building, business volume was still much below 1929. This figure represents in part technological unemployment and in part the remainder of depression unemployment. It can safely be said that technological unemployment in 1937 affected about 1,000,000 workers. Had it not been however for the drastic reductions in work hours, shortening the average work week in all industries from 50 hours in 1929 to 40 hours in 1937 (including part time work), technological unemployment would certainly have affected several million, and our total jobless army would have been very much larger than it is. On the whole, in the last decade, reduction in work hours due to N. R. A. Codes, strong trade union action and the Fair Labor Standards Act, has created jobs for the major part of our technological unemployed.

This loss of 1,500,000 jobs in agriculture and industry comes at just the time when the number seeking work is increasing faster than it ever has before in our history or ever will again. For, from 1915 to 1924 our birth rate was at its height, and the boys and girls born in that peak birth period have reached working age in the last ten years and have sought their first jobs at just the time when least work was available for them.

Thus when industry was not even using its 1929 work force, our job seekers had increased by nearly 4,500,000 (1929 to 1937). This 4,500,000 added to the 1,500,000 released by technological change and depression gives us an army of "new unemployed" amounting to about 6,000,000 who could not find work even when industry was operating at predepression levels. This jobless army continues to grow each year; for our working population is still increasing, although

at a slower rate, and labor saving devices continue to replace workers in farming and industry.

Add to this new unemployment the old unemployment of nearly 2,000,000, which existed in 1929 and was brought with us into depression, and we have a total of 8,000,000 unemployed in 1937. Since 1937, the same trends have continued, with lay offs intensified by the 1938 business recession. Our work seekers have increased by 1,000,000 and jobs have decreased by more than 1,000,000 so that in June 1939 we had over 10,000,000 out of work. (Note: In the above figures and those that follow, WPA workers are counted as unemployed and included in the unemployment figures. We count as employed only those who have normal work in government or private industry.)

In a period of industrial stagnation such as the present, unemployment must increase steadily. For even if we were to maintain our national production at the 1929 level, this volume of production could not create jobs for a work force which is constantly expanding due to population growth and increasing productivity. Nor could the 1929 production maintain living standards for a population which is steadily growing. Our population has increased by 9,500,000 persons since 1929, a growth of 8%, and has reached more than 131,000,000 in 1939.

Clearly the following facts are basic in any consideration of our unemployment problem: With a steadily increasing population and a constantly growing work force, living standards must decline and unemployment must increase unless national production expands at a rate sufficient to balance the combined effect of population growth and workers' increasing productivity.

It is safe to say that today's unemployment would not exist if our industries had continued to expand at the rate of the predepression decade. For in that decade national production increased 43%. A 43% increase in national production from 1929 to 1939 would probably have created enough jobs in industry and agriculture to absorb all the 1,500,000 laid off by technological change and depression, all the new job seekers and the major part of the predepression unemployed.

Instead of a 43% increase in production, however, the year 1939 is likely to show about an 18% decrease below our 1929 production.

Since the national living standard must be measured on a per capita basis, we adjust these figures for the 8% increase in population. This indicates that the living standard we are producing today (1939) for each family is 24% below the 1929 level. Industrial expansion at the predepression rate would have produced in 1939 an average living standard 32% above 1929. Even at our recovery peak in 1937 however, the living standard we produced, on a per capita basis, was 7.5% below 1929.

The failure of industry to expand during the last decade has meant an immeasurable loss to our people. We know that even in 1929 20,000,000 persons in the United States or one-sixth of our population were living below minimum standards for health and efficiency. In 1935 to 1936, estimates based on a study by the National Resources Committee of the Federal Government show at least half of all American families living below the minimum health and efficiency standard. In that period the Heller Committee of the University of California, a recognized authority on family budgets, showed \$2,000 per year as a health and

efficiency budget for a family of five. One third of our families were living on \$780 a year or less, which is not even an adequate income for single individuals; another third were living on incomes between \$780 and \$1450, and in this group all families of four or more members and most families of two or three were below a decent standard. In all, 59% of our population were living below minimum health and efficiency levels.

Thus the failure of American industry to expand at predepression rates has meant starvation incomes for a large portion of our families and idleness for millions of our wage earners. A great nation, with productive capacity above any other in the world, with industrial equipment and man-power capable of producing a comfort level of living for every family, has kept its industries running at part capacity, has ceased to expand industrially. This we consider the tragedy of the 1930's. To restore our industries to normal productive activity and normal expansion, to get our idle men and women back to productive activity in our industries is the first task before us, the first step in solving the unemployment problem.

While industrial stagnation is the chief cause of unemployment, we cannot leave this subject without a more careful examination of employment changes since 1929 to reveal other causes and problems of unemployment. The following table is given in round numbers because inadequate information in some industries makes it difficult to estimate employment any more closely.

Employment Changes 1929 to 1937

Employment Losses (Number of Jobs)		Employment Gains (Number of Jobs)		
Mining	150,000	Manufacturing	100,000	
Building	600,000	Motor trucking	100,000	
Railroads	600,000	Government and education, etc.	350,000	
Utilities	200,000	Self employed	200,000	
Trade and Finance.....	300,000			
Total losses in industry.....		1,850,000	Total gains in industry.....	750,000

Net loss in industry (round numbers).....	1,000,000
Net loss in agriculture (round numbers).....	500,000
Increase in working population.....	4,500,000
Total "new" unemployment.....	6,000,000
Predepression job shortage.....	2,000,000
Total unemployment, 1937.....	8,000,000

	1929	1937
Total work force.....	48,000,000	52,500,000
Total at work.....	46,000,000	44,500,000
Total unemployed	2,000,000	8,000,000

Analysis of Figures

Manufacturing—Work hours in manufacturing as a whole were shortened from an average of 49 per week in 1929 to an average of 39 per week in 1937. For this major group of some 325 industries, employing over 8,000,000, reduction of work hours has been more than enough to offset technological unemployment. The Census of Manufactures shows 8,381,000 wage earners employed in our factories in 1929 and 8,569,000 in 1937, although the volume produced in 1937 was about 8% below 1929. Thus in spite of a 25% increase in workers' productivity (per hour) in manufacturing, a 10-hour reduction of the work week created almost 200,000 more jobs.

This adjustment for technological change however has not been complete throughout all manufacturing industries. In petroleum refining, rubber goods, and especially in tobacco products technological improvements have reduced labor requirements so drastically that although production in 1937 was near or above 1929 levels and hours had been reduced to between 35 and 38 per week in each industry, employment was below 1929 by 19,000 in rubber, and by 23,000 in cigars and cigarettes. In petroleum refining with production 20% above 1929, the increase in employment was only 3%. There are other manufacturing industries also where technological change apparently has not been entirely compensated by shortening work hours, but in these our information is not sufficient to show the situation clearly.

Mining—In 1929, more than 1,000,000 workers depended on work in our mines and quarries. Job losses affecting 150,000 in coal and metal mines, quarries, and oil wells are due to improved efficiency and in some cases also to loss of markets. In coal, a shift to the use of oil and gas in homes and elsewhere, a shift to more efficient mines and to mechanical loading and other labor saving devices has combined with the decrease in demand from industry to reduce employment; the change from an 8 to a 7 hour day has not prevented the loss of 60,000 jobs and much part time work. In metals, increased efficiency and the shift from underground to open pit mining has eliminated 27,000 jobs; and the low level of building has reduced operations of quarries, so that they, with non-metal mines, have dropped 50,000. In oil well operation, the enormous increases in efficiency have eliminated 20,000 jobs even though the average work week (part and full time) was reduced from 44 hours in 1929 to 38 in 1937, and in spite of a 27% increase in production since 1929. Much of this lost employment in mining can probably never be recovered.

Building Construction, and Wholesale and Retail Trade—These two groups employed 8,700,000 in 1929. The loss of 900,000 jobs is due practically entirely to a reduced level of activity. In wholesale and retail trade the job loss has been less than 5% and was due chiefly to the fact that business volume was somewhat below 1929. In building, with construction volume 49% below 1929 even in 1937, it is not remarkable that 35% of all workers were unemployed. The major part of lost employment in both these groups may be recovered when the volume of business returns to normal.

Utilities—Nearly 1,200,000 were employed in utilities in 1929. Loss of 200,000 jobs is due to labor saving devices and increased efficiency. In power plants, reduction of work hours from 47 to 40 per week was not enough to offset an

increase of 58% in man hour production in these 8 years; and in telephones, the shift to dials and other changes increased output per operator by 39%. An average 39 hour week in telephones is not short enough to compensate for increased productivity. In utilities there appears to be a permanent reduction of jobs, but further reduction of hours is important.

Railroads—Employment on railroads has dropped from 2,000,000 in 1920 to 1,000,000 in 1939. The loss of 600,000 jobs from 1929 to 1937 has been part of this general trend, due to competition with other forms of transportation, to financial difficulties of the railroads, and also to improvements in efficiency, although labor saving devices have not been introduced to the same extent as in manufacturing in recent years. There has been no reduction of hours sufficient to compensate these changes and the 44 or 48 hour week is still prevalent. Most of this job loss can never be regained.

Motor Trucking—More than 350,000 were employed in 1929. The gain of 100,000 jobs is due largely to the shift from railroad to motor hauling. Clearly the gain has not been enough to compensate for the 600,000 jobs lost on railroads.

Government and Education—In 1929, nearly 3,200,000 were employed. The gain of 350,000 jobs includes gains in hospitals and other public or semi-public institutions, as well as in Federal, State, and local governments and in schools. This represents chiefly a growth in services which can only be performed by the government. If wage earners are to improve their living standards by increasing opportunities for education, recreation, better hospital service, more libraries and school buildings, use of automobiles requiring roads, and many other such services, a shift out of private employment into public employment is not only normal but necessary.

Self Employed—The 200,000 jobs added here represent in large part persons who, being thrown out of work as wage or salaried workers, have either gone into business for themselves or taken up such occupations as selling from door to door. The unemployed auto mechanic who sets up a garage business of his own, the unemployed service station worker whose wife opens a bakery, the carpenter who finds odd jobs, these and similar self-employed are included here. Sometimes this shift represents a better living and the new business a real service to the community. But too often work of this type is a mere stop gap at much lower pay, often with long intervals of unemployment, and it would be quickly abandoned if normal work in industry were available.

Farms—In 1929, more than 11,000,000 persons supported themselves by work on farms, including farmers, family workers, and hired laborers. The 500,000 job decline is due partly to the decrease in agricultural production, and partly to the steady increase in use of labor saving equipment, better fertilizers, and better production methods. Enormous increases in productivity on farms came with the introduction of highly efficient farm machinery in the war and post-war decades. Productivity has continued to increase in the last decade, although not quite so rapidly. The effort of unemployed industrial workers to support themselves by farm work caused a migration from city to farm in the depression year of 1932. But since then the tide has turned back again to the usual farm to city migration.

Other Industries—We exclude here those industries which have shown no

significant change in employment in these 8 years. This group accounted for 9,500,000 persons in 1929, of whom 4,000,000 were managers, officers, or proprietors of businesses, 400,000 were in water transportation, and the rest were in service industries or domestic service. It is significant that while jobs in productive industry and agriculture have declined, employment in service industries has remained practically unchanged. This is characteristic of modern trends. Our economy is changing from a producer's to a consumer's economy; we are increasing the number employed in consumers' goods industries and services as compared to industries making producers' goods. As technological improvements reduce the number needed in production industries, we may expect employment to shift into service industries.

Summary—Experience in the 8-year period from 1929 to 1937 gives striking proof that shortening the work week effectively compensated for technological unemployment. In manufacturing industries, the shorter work week has reversed the trend of declining employment and created jobs where technological unemployment would have eliminated them. In all we estimate that nearly 2,000,000 jobs were saved in manufacturing alone by taking ten hours from the average work week. Had hours remained the same, the 25% increase in production per hour would have eliminated some 1,700,000 jobs, whereas actually nearly 200,000 jobs were added.

In looking toward the future we note that a steady increase in productivity will make it both necessary and possible to reduce hours progressively and continually. With our working population growing steadily, even if less rapidly than in the past decade, increasing leisure is a necessary part of the national adjustment that must be made to keep our work force employed. Increasing leisure is also an essential part of a rising standard of living for our people.

In addition to the progressive reduction in hours which must take place year by year, there are certain industries which have not properly shared in the shortening of the work week during the past ten years; there are others which, although hours are shorter, have not reduced their work week sufficiently to compensate for labor displacement. These last include: Telephone communication, electric power production, rubber factories, petroleum refineries, and oil wells, cigar and cigarette plants, and others. Industries in which hours still average over 40 per week include: Motor bus operation, wholesale and retail stores, hotels, laundries and dry cleaning establishments, railroads, service stations and others.

We reemphasize the need of continual striving toward the shorter work week on the part of all unions, keeping in view our 30 hour week goal.

While continuing to shorten hours, however, we feel that the major national effort should be to lift industry out of its stagnation and restore it to a rate of expansion which will progressively raise living standards and put the unemployed to work creating the goods and services needed by all. Future employment trends will involve major shifts of workers from producing industry to service industries, from one type of product or service to another, from one kind of work to another. Such changes are essential in a growing economy and are bound to affect thousands of workers. It is essential, therefore, that the proper agencies be at hand to give workers the training they need to learn new skills for new jobs, that this

training be adequate and easily available, and that they be helped to locate the employment for which they are trained. Employment exchanges and vocational schools, which are an essential part of our mechanism to combat unemployment, are discussed elsewhere in this report.

WORK RELIEF

The peak of WPA employment was reached at the end of February 1936 when 3,040,000 persons were employed on works projects. With the approach of the summer of 1936, the decline in need, together with the broad expansion of private employment resulting from the improvement in the general economic conditions in 1936 and the first nine months of 1937, permitted a downward trend in WPA employment extending through the period from March 1936 to October 1937. In the early part of October 1937, a low was reached of less than 1,450,000 persons receiving WPA employment. The sharp recession in business activity and employment which began in the fall of 1937 forced the reversal in the work relief employment trend. As the result, a steady increase in WPA rolls continued from October 1937 until early November 1938 when the new peak was reached of 3,270,000 persons employed on WPA. Although in previous years, there had been a marked decline in work relief employment in summer months, a contraseasonal increase was necessitated in 1938 by a combination of several factors. Among these were the exhaustion of benefits by workers receiving unemployment compensation, the hurricane in New England, the new policy of employing needy farm tenants and farm operators in the South, and the pressure of need accumulated during the early part of the recession when the plight of the newly unemployed workers had been less well recognized.

After November 1938, in spite of two supplementary appropriations, limitation of funds authorized by Congress forced the curtailment of WPA rolls. By August 1939, about 2,020,000 persons were employed on WPA. For the current fiscal year of 1939-1940 sufficient funds are available to provide employment to an average of about 2,000,000. It is expected, however, that the number at work will be reduced to about 1,500,000 by the end of the fiscal year.

During the past two years, increasing difficulty has been experienced by WPA in finding suitable employments for those on relief rolls. This has resulted in a broad expansion of WPA relief employment on various types of construction projects. Thus of the 2,436,000 employed on WPA projects on June 24, 1939, the largest portion, 1,705,000 workers, or 70 percent of the total, were engaged in the construction of highways, roads, streets, public buildings, recreational facilities, publicly owned and operated utilities and of airports. The expansion of work relief into the construction field has in effect resulted in the transfer to WPA of a large volume of construction from PWA projects where the building is done under contract system and fair labor standards are required.

The amount of construction done through WPA projects is reflected in the figures available through March 1, 1939. By that time WPA had built 21,145 new public buildings, made repairs and improvements on 56,585 and built additions to 2,001 such buildings. Approximately 347,760 miles of public highways, roads and streets had been built by WPA as well as 179 new landing

fields constructed, 204 airports repaired, while 1,483,695 feet of runways had been newly constructed, and 604,817 feet of runways repaired. By that date WPA had built 37,902 bridges and repaired 28,102 bridges throughout the country. Recreational facilities built by WPA labor included:

Athletic fields—new construction, 2,141; repairs and improvements, 1,504.
 Parks—new construction, 1,282; repairs and improvements, 4,232.
 Playgrounds—new construction, 1,880; repairs and improvements, 6,284.
 Swimming pools—new construction, 554; repairs and improvements, 225.
 Tennis courts—new construction, 5,647; repairs and improvements, 1,851.
 There were also many other recreational facilities built or repaired.

In addition to this, WPA building work included the construction of 1,382,000 sanitary toilets, as well as repair and improvement of 15,000 units of sanitary equipment. Other building projects included the construction of water mains, aqueducts and water lines; storm and sanitary sewers, manholes and catch basins, pumping stations, wells, storage dams and treatment plants.

Another important phase of the WPA program included reforestation in the course of which 27,460,000 trees were planted providing permanent protection against drought and dust storms and adding substantially to forest conservation. Many related projects included flood and erosion control, irrigation projects, landscaping, etc.

The scope of other WPA projects may be measured by figures available through June 30, 1938. For example, 181,209,000 articles were made in WPA sewing rooms, while WPA workers were responsible for canning and preserving 41,567,000 pounds of food and served 238,000,000 school lunches. WPA music projects resulted in music performances before an aggregate audience of 3,030,000. In 1938 the WPA Federal Theater Project maintained an average monthly attendance of nearly 500,000. WPA workers published 293 books of which 3,550,000 copies were distributed. WPA activities also included the transcription of 2,136,000 pages of braille, as well as many other activities such as medical, dental and nursing assistance; art projects; historical surveys, Federal archives surveys; planning surveys; research and statistical surveys; housekeeping aides; museum activities, etc.

In May 1939 the 2,400,000 workers employed on various projects put in 278,000,000 man-hours in WPA work, averaging about 113 hours per man per month. For this work the average WPA worker received 50½ cents per hour.

To carry on this work it was necessary to disburse public funds as follows:

Fiscal Year Ending June 30	Total	Wages	Materials and Other Non-labor Costs
1936	\$1,258,130,000	\$1,040,351,000	\$153,216,000
1937	1,818,131,000	1,472,934,000	278,353,000
1938	1,427,374,000	1,231,583,000	131,983,000
1939	2,154,225,000	1,881,019,000	183,978,000

It is interesting to note that in May 1939 the total relief and employment load maintained directly through the expenditure of Federal funds on the various

relief, employment, and assistance programs represented the unduplicated total of 6,800,000 households or 20,200,000 individuals benefited. Included in this total is the WPA program employing at the time 2,600,000 workers and benefiting 9,800,000 persons. The National Youth Administration, including works projects and student aid, benefited over 600,000 persons. The Civilian Conservation Corps program with 292,000 employees, benefited 1,250,000 persons. The PWA program, employing 224,000 on both Federal and non-Federal projects, benefited a total of 570,000, while the employment of 215,000 on other Federal work and construction projects benefited nearly 650,000 persons. It is of special interest to note that under the Federal assistance programs administered by the Social Security Board there were 1,903,000 recipients of old-age assistance benefits and of aid to the blind, and that 299 families received aid to dependent children. In addition, 435,000 persons benefited from the assistance from the Farm Security Administration grants as the result of distribution of 87,000 grant vouchers. Finally, general relief was made available in May 1939 in 1,645,000 cases extending benefits to more than 5,000,000 individuals. In this connection the scope of the general direct relief extended is significant. The high and low points in the number of cases on direct relief for specified months between January 1936 and June 1939 were as follows:

January 1936	2,216,000
July 1937	1,257,000
February 1938	1,996,000
October 1938	1,496,000
March 1939	1,852,000
June 1939	1,568,000

The review of these facts makes clear the enormous extent of the unemployment and relief problem still to be solved. Continued lag in industrial and trade activity with the resulting unemployment make necessary continued provision for those who are dependent on some form of public assistance in order to be able to survive. We have seen that work relief on WPA projects has constituted the largest single instrumentality of such assistance. It has also been noted that 70 per cent of this activity was devoted to construction which, given the designation of "work relief," has actually represented one of the largest known programs of public works that has ever been undertaken by any nation. We believe it is important to recognize that such public works program, involving thus far the construction and repair of nearly 80,000 public buildings, 66,000 bridges, 380 airports, and the building of 350,000 miles of highways, cannot and should not be dealt with as work relief but should be embodied, within definitely prescribed limits, into a planned permanent public works program. Such a long-range program planned for the most effective and economical expenditure of public funds to fill real and pressing social needs should supplement private employment until the flow of investment into private enterprise is brought up to the levels necessary to attain full private employment. Such a long-range program of public works projects providing private employment under contract at not less than prevailing wages would do much to soften the impact of the recurrent fluctuations of business and construction activity upon employment.

The Prevailing Wage Problem—Section 15 (a) of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1939 (approved June 30, 1939) did away with the requirement that not less than the prevailing hourly wages be paid to the workers employed on WPA projects. This section, based on recommendations of Colonel F. C. Harrington, Commissioner of Work Projects, was adopted by Congress in the face of nation-wide opposition of organized labor and its friends. As approved by the President it authorized the Works Projects Commissioner to fix wages in such a way that the monthly earning schedule would not "substantially affect the current national average labor cost per person of the Work Projects Administration". According to the new law the monthly earning schedule of WPA workers is "not to be varied for workers of the same type in different geographical areas to any greater extent than may be justified by differences in the cost of living." Under the provisions of the new law the Commissioner must require all workers to work 130 hours per month except that relief workers with no dependents may be required to work less and have their earnings correspondingly reduced.

Regulations necessary to carry out the new statutory provisions were embodied in General Order No. 1 approved by Commissioner Harrington on August 15 to take effect on September 1, 1939. This order provides for three geographical wage regions: Region I including the northern states, Region II including Pacific and mountain states, and Region III including the South. Within these wage regions, five classifications of workers are established: professional and technical, skilled, intermediate, unskilled "A", and unskilled "B". In addition, each of the wage regions is broken down by counties into four population classifications. These population classifications establish wage differentials by counties. Lowest in the scale are counties with no town of over 5,000 population; second, those with the largest town between 5,000 and 25,000; third, counties with cities of between 25,000 and 100,000; and fourth, those in which the largest city has 100,000 or more population. Under this system 60 different wage schedules are to be effective and will bear no relation to the prevailing hourly rates.

As the result of this order the monthly rate will be drastically raised in the South and somewhat lowered in the North. Unskilled rural wages of workers in the South are jumped from \$26 to \$35 a month, while in the cities of the South they will be raised to \$50.70 a month. In the North a number of reductions in the monthly wage will take place under the order. The introduction of new skilled classifications and the requirement that the monthly rate be paid for 130 hours of work per month has resulted in a drastic curtailment of the hourly rates. The hourly rates in the North will range from 30 cents per hour for the unskilled workers in small towns to 40 cents per hour to such workers in large cities, while the northern rates for the highly skilled workers will range from 52 cents per hour in small towns to 60 cents per hour in large cities.

Although no representative figures showing the differences in the cost of living throughout the nation are available, the new schedule is alleged to reflect only differences in the cost of living applicable to the same type of work. How the new schedule accomplishes this is extremely difficult to determine. For example, an unskilled "B" worker in New York or Ohio in a town of, say, 20,000 would receive \$42.90 per month. Such a worker employed in a

town of similar size in Colorado or Arizona will receive \$46.80 for the same amount of work. Similarly, a skilled worker receiving \$74.10 in such a town in New York or Ohio would receive \$79.30 in Colorado or Arizona. If we compare towns of 30,000 population, however, we find that the workers are to be paid an identical amount in New York, Ohio, Colorado and Arizona for the same type of work done. One thing is certain—no available data on the cost of living heretofore assembled can justify the absurdities of such a schedule nor its destructive effect upon the structure of prevailing wages in all communities.

LABOR STANDARDS UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

The Walsh-Healey Act has been in operation for three years. Its two major requirements are (1) the maximum work-week of 40 hours with the payment of time and one-half for all hours worked in excess of that maximum, and (2) the payment of prevailing minimum wages, as determined by the Secretary of Labor. These requirements apply to all those employed in manufacture or furnishing of materials and supplies for the Federal government under contracts valued at more than \$10,000.

Procedures enabling the Secretary of Labor to determine what constitutes the prevailing minimum wage in a given industry represent the major administrative function under the Act. The determination of prevailing minimum wages usually begins with an informal conference held by the Administrator of the Division of Public Contracts and attended by representatives of employers and organized labor in that industry. The object of the informal conference is to get all interested parties to agree on the definition of the industry and on the method of securing factual evidence on the wage conditions prevailing in the industry. The matter is then referred to a board composed of three members and known as the Public Contracts Board. This board holds public hearings at which wage evidence is submitted for the record by government fact-finding agencies, by labor and by employers. The Public Contracts Board considers the evidence presented at the hearing and transmits its findings and recommendations to the Secretary of Labor. The Secretary considers these recommendations together with any objections that may be offered by the parties concerned. When a final decision is issued by the Secretary of Labor, it becomes unlawful for an employer engaged on government contract work to pay less than the prevailing minimum wage prescribed by the Secretary for the industry in the locality.

Since the inception of the Act, which went into effect on September 28, 1936, to July 1, 1939, some 14,700 government contracts valued at \$1,001,134,142 have been made subject to the Walsh-Healey Act. Of these, 6,396 government contracts valued at \$528,392,756 have been awarded under the Act in the last fiscal year ending July 1, 1939.

During that year the Public Contracts Board has held 24 informal panel conferences and conducted 19 public hearings for the purpose of recommending prevailing minimum wages in specific industries. In the same period the Board made its recommendations to the Secretary of Labor as to what the prevailing minimum wage should be in 19 industries. Eight of these recom-

mentations are now under the consideration of the Secretary of Labor. They involve the following industries:

Cement
Paper and Pulp
Fertilizers
Ammunition and related products
Explosives
Milk Condensing
Aerial Photography
Flour Milling

In addition, hearings involving 18 other industries were scheduled to be held before the Public Contracts Board.

From July 1, 1938 through August 1939 final determination of the prevailing minimum wage was made by the Secretary of Labor in twelve industries as follows:

Industry	Minimum Wage (cents per hour)	Differentials Provided
Furniture:		
Metal Office Furniture.....	.45	No differential
Wood Furniture.....	.50-.35-.30	By regions
Public Seating.....	.37½	No differential
Tobacco.....	.32½	No differential
Iron and Steel*.....	.62½-.60-.58½-.45	By regions
Bobbinets.....	.37½	No differential
Aeroplanes, Aircraft Engines, Propellers, Accessories, and the manufacturing and finishing of parts....	.50	No differential
Tags.....	.33	No differential
Fireworks.....	.37½-.31¼	No differential
Wool, Carpet and Rug.....	.40	No differential
Specialty Accounting Supply Manufacturing.....	.40	No differential
Photographic Supplies.....	.40	32c rate for learners during learning period of not more than 60 days.
Drugs and Medicine.....	.37½	No differential
Soap.....	.40	No differential

* Made Inoperative by temporary injunction issued by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia on vacation of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

Since the beginning of the operation of the Act minimum wages which must be paid on all supplies manufactured under government contract have been fixed for 28 industrial subdivisions. The prevailing minimum wages thus fixed by the Secretary of Labor range from a low of 30 cents an hour for furniture workers in the South to a high of 67½ cents an hour for workers employed in the manufacture of men's caps. Of the 28 wage determinations 7 provide for geographical differentials. In 6 determinations employment of handicapped

workers at less than the prevailing minimum wage is permitted. A tolerance for learners is permitted in 5 industries and for apprentices in 2 industries. In permitting subminimum rate for apprentices it is required that the employment of apprentices conform to the standards of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship.

During the past fiscal year the enforcement activities of the Division of Public Contracts have resulted in the recovery of \$76,102 in wage restitutions to 7,503 workers who had suffered from violations of the Act. There were 231 firms found to have violated the Act and compelled to make restitution. The average amount of wages recovered through the enforcement proceedings was a little over \$10 per employee. The bulk of the back wages recovered was for violation of overtime requirements in cases where employers failed to pay the time and one-half overtime rate and amounted to \$70,388. Minimum wage violations brought relatively few restitutions amounting to only \$2,600. The experience of the past year further emphasized the need for more expeditious and more aggressive enforcement policy if the standards of the Public Contracts Act are to become fully effective.

WAGE AND HOUR ADMINISTRATION

Marking the culmination of the long and stubborn legislative battle unswervingly led by the American Federation of Labor, the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 became law on June 25th, 1938. As the minimum wage and maximum hour provisions of the new statute did not become effective until October 24th, 1938, the first four months following the signing of the Act were consumed in the setting up of the Wage and Hour Division in the Department of Labor as the agency responsible for the administration and enforcement of the labor standards prescribed in the Act.

The Child Labor provisions of the Act are administered under the direction of Miss Katherine Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

The Fair Labor Standards Act applies only to workers engaged in interstate commerce or those producing goods for interstate commerce. When the minimum wage and maximum hour provisions became effective on October 24th, 1938, it was estimated that the protection of minimum standards of the law extended to over 11,000,000 workers.

Minimum Wages—The initial statutory wage of 25¢ an hour went into effect on October 24th, 1938. This minimum will be advanced automatically to 30¢ an hour on October 24th, 1939, and will remain in effect for six years when the 40¢ minimum will apply. A large mass of workers in low-paid industries and in low-wage areas have been benefited by the application of the 25¢ minimum.

The statutory method of maintaining a minimum wage standard is supplemented in the Act by the machinery which enables the Administrator to issue minimum wage orders for specific industries. These minimum wage orders must provide for minimum wage determination between 25¢ and 40¢ an hour and are based on recommendation of an industry committee made up of an equal number of representatives of labor, employers and the public. Under this procedure, an

industry committee reviews all available wage evidence and hears witnesses from all interested parties and by a majority vote submits a recommendation to the Administrator which he can either accept or reject in its entirety but cannot modify in any part. Before accepting a recommendation of an industry committee and embodying it in a wage order, the Administrator must hold public hearings in which the basic record of evidence is established.

The first wage order issued by the Administrator under this procedure is based on the recommendation of Industry Committee No. 3 for the hosiery industry and will establish minimum wages in that industry, effective September 18th, 1939. The order provides for a minimum wage of 32½¢ an hour for the seamless division of the hosiery industry and 40¢ an hour for the full-fashioned branch of this industry. It is estimated that this first wage order will increase the wages of 46,000 hosiery workers.

By the end of August, seven industry committees had been appointed. Industry Committee No. 1 covering cotton, silk, rayon and other textiles has dealt with the first major low-wage industry. The American Federation of Labor was represented on this committee by Francis P. Fenton and H. A. Schrader. During the hearings held by the committee in December, 1938, detailed presentation of facts was made by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of the National Council of Textile Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The committee finally recommended a uniform minimum for the entire industry of 32½¢ per hour. Public hearings were held on this recommendation before the Administrator in Washington and Atlanta in June and July. The American Federation of Labor and the United Textile Workers of America which returned to the ranks of the American Federation of Labor in April, were represented at these hearings by counsel and introduced numerous witnesses who testified in support of the minimum recommended. It is estimated that out of the 650,000 textile workers employed in this industry, 175,000 are being paid less than the recommended rate and will be benefited by the adoption of the committee's recommendation.

Hearings have also been held by the Industry Committee No. 1-A having jurisdiction over wool textiles which has recommended the minimum of 36¢ an hour. This recommendation has been protested by the American Federation of Labor as too low. There are 149,000 employees engaged in the manufacture of wool textiles and only a few thousand of these are paid less than this minimum.

Industry Committee No. 2 whose jurisdiction extends over apparel products with the exception of hats, shoes and knitted garments, has recommended separate minimum wage rates of 32½¢, 35¢, 37½¢ and 40¢ in application to different types of apparel. Of the 650,000 persons employed in this industry, it is estimated that 200,000 will benefit from the application of the rates recommended.

Industry Committee No. 4 which has jurisdiction over the hat industry was scheduled to complete its review of evidence preliminary to the making of a recommendation sometime in September. This industry employs over 20,000 wage earners. Industry Committee No. 5, covering millinery has recommended a 40¢ an hour minimum for the 23,000 millinery workers employed in this industry. There are approximately 3,500 workers receiving less than the minimum wage recommended. Industry Committee No. 6, covering shoe manufacturing, has

voted unanimously to recommend a 35¢ hourly minimum wage. There are 234,000 boot and shoe workers engaged in this industry, approximately 60,000 of whom are now receiving less than 35¢ an hour.

Maximum Hours. The Wage and Hour Law provides for no detailed regulation of maximum hours of work. Section 7(a) of the Act merely establishes 44 hours as the maximum workweek and requires that time and one-half the regular rate be paid for all work done in excess of this 44-hour maximum. Section 7(a) provides that the maximum workweek is to be automatically reduced to 42 hours a week, beginning October 24th, 1939, with a 40-hour maximum workweek to become effective on October 24th, 1940.

Section 7(b) of the Act states that employers are not required to pay overtime rates to their employees for hours in excess of the regular maximum hours established by agreement with bona fide unions as a result of collective bargaining. Such union agreements must provide, however, that no worker employed under its terms may be permitted to work more than 1,000 hours in any 26 consecutive weeks, and that no worker whose employment is guaranteed for a full year may be permitted to work more than 2,000 hours in any 52 consecutive weeks. There is also a provision requiring that such agreements must be made as a result of collective bargaining by representatives of employees certified as bona fide by the National Labor Relations Board.

The procedure and method of certification of representatives of employees as bona fide required by Section 7(b) of the Act was established by the National Labor Relations Board on January 20th, 1939, to be as follows:

"Upon application by a labor organization, the National Labor Relations Board will certify the applicant as bona fide within the meaning of the Fair Labor Standards Act, under the following circumstances:

"1. Where the labor organization has been certified by the Board as a collective bargaining representative of the employees pursuant to Section 9 of the National Labor Relations Act; or

"2. Where the applicant is a local of an international or parent organization which has been certified by the Board as a collective bargaining representative of the employees pursuant to Section 9 of the National Labor Relations Act; or

"3. Where any local of an international or parent organization with which the applicant is affiliated has been so certified as a collective bargaining representative pursuant to the National Labor Relations Act, such certification shall be sufficient basis for certification of bona fides under the Fair Labor Standards Act for any local of the same international.

"The foregoing policy in respect to certification of bona fides may be departed from in particular cases upon the Board being advised of any facts which may lead it to conclude that a certificate of bona fides is not warranted.

"Such a certificate of bona fides for the purposes of the Fair Labor Standards Act does not necessarily establish the right of the organization so certified to be recognized as the exclusive bargaining representative of employees of a particular employer under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, for the reason that such rights do not obtain under that Act unless the representatives are designated or selected by a majority of the employees in an appropriate unit."

From January, 1939, to the middle of August, about 160 certifications have been made by the National Labor Relations Board of unions entering into agreements which exempt their employers from the overtime penalty. The major por-

tion of such agreements have been made by the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America which by the middle of August had agreements with 683 firms in various parts of the country. Similar agreements have been negotiated by the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union; the International Longshoremen's Association; the Seafarers' International Union; the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada; the International Association of Machinists; the International Union of Operating Engineers; and by eleven directly affiliated local unions as well as a State Council representing a group of soap and edible oil workers' unions in California. Altogether 102 local and international unions of the American Federation of Labor have received certifications under Section 7(b) by mid-August, and on the basis of these certifications have negotiated agreements with nearly 750 firms.

Section 7(b) also provides that in industries found by the Administrator to be seasonal the statutory maximum workweek may be exceeded for not more than 14 weeks in any calendar year provided that during such a period of seasonal activity no one is employed for more than 12 hours a day or 56 hours a week. Among the first applicants for seasonal exemptions from maximum hours were employers in the logging branch of the lumber industry in Minnesota, Michigan and in a group of northeastern states. At a special hearing held in January, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the American Federation of Labor appeared on behalf of the workers in this industry and presented evidence showing that the claimed need for exemption was without validity. Upon the basis of the record made at that hearing, the presiding officer determined that the application should be denied. The employers concerned petitioned for a review, and following a hearing held by Administrator Andrews in April, he ruled in favor of a partial exemption to include pulpwood, sap peeling, ice and snow road hauling, and spring freshet driving, but the rest of the petition for exemption was denied. Similar applications have been presented from employers engaged in open pit mining and quarrying, and in certain clay products.

Exemptions. Numerous exemptions embodied in the Fair Labor Standards Act as it was finally enacted have placed a heavy burden of responsibility upon the administration to make sure that by pyramiding of broad interpretations of the exemptions allowed, the standards of the Act itself would not be nullified. One of the bitterest attacks upon the Act was made by employers engaged in packing and canning of fresh fruits and vegetables who were anxious to exempt from the law all processing and distribution of agricultural products. The dispute arose in connection with the definition of the term "area of production" in Sections 7(c) and 13 (a) (10). One of these sections exempts workers from maximum hours and the other from both minimum wages and maximum hours when the first processing or handling, packing or canning of agricultural produce is done within the "area of production" as defined by the Administrator. Despite the opposition on the part of organized labor, the presiding officer originally recommended the inclusion in the "area of production" and, therefore, complete exemption of all such operations performed in cities of 25,000 population or less, which

he defined as "open country" or rural areas, or performed less than 50 miles from where the produce is grown. Following a forceful presentation of evidence at the final hearing before Administrator Andrews by representatives of the American Federation of Labor, this exemption was narrowed down to cities of less than 2,500, and less than 10 miles from the farms on which the produce is grown. This modification has brought a number of processing operations carried on a large industrial scale within the coverage of the minimum labor standards of the Act.

Hearings on industry-wide exemptions such as those held in the case of learners in the cotton textile and apparel industries and in the case of telegraph messengers presented notable examples of the importance of effective presentation of factual data by labor which makes possible a sound administrative determination based on all facts. In the examples cited, and in a number of similar determinations made following other hearings, the expert evidence presented by the American Federation of Labor was largely responsible for the measure of protection the rulings afforded to the wage earners concerned.

Enforcement. When the Fair Labor Standards Act went into effect on October 24, 1938, President Green called on the officers of the American Federation of Labor unions and especially on central labor unions and state federations of labor, emphasizing that the major responsibility for the enforcement of the law rests upon organized labor. He urged all unions to create wage and hour committees which would carry on educational and informational work among union members and among the unorganized wage earners. The attention of all unions was also called to the vital need to maintain complete and readily available records showing wage standards attained by union agreements and the numbers of workers benefited by them.

The importance of active participation on the part of union membership in the enforcement of the law was enhanced by the fact that the enforcement section of the Wage and Hour Division, known as the "Cooperation and Inspection Section," had been very much understaffed from the outset.

During the first nine months of the operation of the Act, the Wage and Hour Division received some 20,000 complaints of violations, some 16,800 of which were determined to be valid. Of these 16,800 valid complaints involving 10,500 establishments, nearly 75 percent were complaints against employers in manufacturing industries. For all industries, approximately 70 percent of all valid complaints involved violations of the minimum wage provisions of the Act either alone or together with violations of the overtime requirements. Most of the complaints received from workers in industries other than manufacturing were those filed against establishments in wholesale and retail trade. About 51 percent of complaints in this group involved violations of the overtime pay provisions of the law.

During the first nine months of its operation, the Wage and Hour Division had only 100 inspectors in the field to handle complaints. Over this period, 7,500 complaints were investigated, involving 5,650 establishments. Of the complaints covered by 1,254 reports, 152 cases were closed mainly by restitution of back wages by the employer; 209 were dropped—151 because no violation was found,

and 58 because the firms were not covered by the Act; 106 cases were referred for possible prosecution and the remaining 787 cases were still pending final disposition.

Of 61 prosecutions instituted in the courts by the Federal government between the end of January and August, 46 preliminary or final decrees have been issued and the Division's preliminary petition for enforcement was denied only once. Of these cases, 29 were criminal suits brought in the various courts by the Department of Justice. In 18 cases, the Government either obtained convictions or the defendants entered pleas of guilty. In the remaining 11 cases suits were still pending. The legal branch of the Wage and Hour Division has filed 34 injunction proceedings seeking to restrain defendants from violating provisions of the Act. In 28 of these cases the injunctions sought were issued.

The Future of Wage and Hour Regulation—Considering the wide scale of application of minimum wage, maximum hour and child labor standards of the new Act, the initial year of its operation was notable for the extent of voluntary compliance with these standards by employers. As has been noted, complaints of violations were registered in the case of only one out of every 500 workers covered by the law. There are indications, however, that the application of the 30¢ minimum wage and 42-hour workweek which go into effect on October 24, 1939, will call for far more vigilant policing of the wage and hour standards than has been the case before. This need will be further enhanced as minimum wages for additional individual industries are promulgated by the Administrator under the industry committee procedure.

Special interests, such as the powerful canning and packing industry group, which have led a bitter fight to exempt some 2,000,000 lowest paid wage earners on the pretext that their industrial operations were supposedly agricultural, will undoubtedly increase the vigor of their attack and continue to press for the outright repeal of the law as the minimum standards are bettered. Thus increased responsibility will fall upon organized Labor to preserve the continued operation of the law and to insure its enforcement. The availability of but a small staff of newly-recruited inspectors and almost complete absence of personnel with background of seasoned trade-union experience in the Wage and Hour Division, make clear the pressing need for more active Labor participation in the enforcement and administration of the Act.

SOCIAL SECURITY

During the past year the Social Security Act has been altered by the first major bill of amendments affecting it, and by the President's Reorganization Plan. The unemployment compensation program became fully operative in all states with the initiation of benefit payments in Illinois and Montana in July, 1939, and the payment of the first benefit checks under the Railroad Unemployment Compensation Act in the same month. Under the amendments to the Act, the first regular monthly payments of the old age insurance program will begin in January, 1940. Up to the present time the only benefits paid under Title II (Old Age Benefits) have been the lump sum payments provided for aged persons not qualified for benefits under the law.

An important administrative change in the law is the provision that the Social Security Board may not certify payments to any state for the public assistance programs or unemployment compensation unless the law of such state has provision for methods of administration including the establishment and maintenance of personnel standards on a merit basis after January 1, 1940. While this amendment gives the Board no authority with respect to the selection, tenure of office, or compensation of any individual employed; it puts the personnel of state offices which are receiving and spending Federal funds on a sound, non-political basis.

Federal appropriations for the fiscal year 1938-39 under the Social Security Act have been as follows:

Total	\$714,700,000
Administrative expenses	\$22,700,000
Social Security Board: Salaries, expenses, and wage records	\$22,300,000
Department of Labor, Children's Bureau: Salaries and expenses	320,000
Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Salaries and expenses	80,000
Grants to States	\$332,000,000
Social Security Board	\$316,000,000
Old-age assistance	\$214,000,000
Aid to dependent children	45,000,000
Aid to the blind	8,000,000
Unemployment compensation administration	49,000,000
Department of Labor, Children's Bureau	8,000,000
Maternal and child-health services	\$3,700,000
Services for crippled children	2,800,000
Child-welfare services	1,500,000
Treasury Department, Public Health Service:	
Public health work	8,000,000
Transfers to old-age reserve account	\$360,000,000
Source: Social Security Bulletin, June 1939, p. 72.	

The Social Security Act is undoubtedly one of the most significant pieces of legislation for workers in the last fifteen years. For that reason we need careful planning and alert attention to amendments to make the amount of security achieved really significant and to extend it to thousands of workers not now protected. We need to plan for coordinated social security, protecting the worker against loss of income from all kinds of hazards, unemployment, old age and disability from injury and illness, and furnishing needed security for his dependents.

Old Age Provisions—The Social Security Act provides for two different systems of care for the aged: (1) old age assistance, or pensions for the needy upon proof of that need; and (2) benefit payments under an insurance program, based upon contributions from workers and their employers over a period of years.

I. OLD AGE ASSISTANCE

The Social Security Act (Title I) provides that the Federal Government shall make payments on a grant-in-aid basis to states which have in operation plans approved by the Social Security Board for furnishing financial assistance to aged needy persons. The original act provided that the grant of the federal government should be one-half the amount expended for each individual receiving old age assistance outside an institution, not counting such part of the expenditure for any individual which exceeded \$30. The federal government also paid an additional amount for administration of the state funds. The 1939 amendments increase the possible federal contribution for each individual to \$20, changing the maximum within which the matching is on a 50-50 basis from \$30 to \$40.

The increase in assistance granted by this change is more illusory than real. With federal funds available up to \$15 per person aided if the state supplies an equal amount, the average amount per recipient was \$19.27 as of May 15, 1939, and only one state, California, was paying an average of \$30 or over. Eight states were paying an average of less than \$10, including the federal grant. The lowest average was \$6.05; the highest, \$32.46. Obviously with the states not taking full advantage of the opportunity to equal \$15 per person, the increase of the offer to \$20 per person will not mean much in terms of larger pension payments.

Labor believes that pensions should be adequate for decent living standards. It believes that the extremes in pensions reflect economic capacity of the states to make provision for their old people, rather than differences in need in various sections. The aged people of the poorer states should be given more income. We believe that federal grants-in-aid to the states for all of the assistance programs of the Social Security Act should be on a variable basis, a larger proportion of the total expenditure for the assistance of each individual being supplied by the federal government in those states whose per capita income is below the national average than in those whose income is above that average in order that the poorer states may pay pensions more nearly adequate than at present.

An amendment for variable grants for old-age assistance, approved by the Social Security Board and by the American Federation of Labor failed to pass at this session of Congress. Another amendment, which would have required the federal government to pay two-thirds of the first \$15 of expenditure to each eligible individual in every state, passed the Senate but was dropped in conference. This amendment would, if passed, have greatly increased the federal costs beyond the necessary increase to carry out a system of variable grants.

While Labor is firm in its belief that the person who is past his years of productive service is entitled to a reasonable income and security for his old age, we would see the social security program developed as a coordinated whole with security for young and old, unemployed and incapacitated, being expanded at an even pace. We are against extravagant programs for one group at the expense of all wage earners who must provide for themselves and their families through many years on wages often too low. We must guard against increasing too sharply the burden of taxes on those wages.

II. OLD AGE INSURANCE

The most extensive amendments of the Social Security Act are those affecting the old age insurance system. As the law now stands monthly benefit payments will begin January 1, 1940, instead of 1942.

Coverage—Coverage has been extended to thousands of employees not under the original act. The major groups included are officers and members of crews on American vessels except those engaged in the fishing industry other than in connection with salmon or halibut fishing or in vessels of more than ten tons; employees of national banks and of Federal building and loan associations. A broadening of the definition of agricultural labor, opposed by Labor, excludes from coverage some workers other than regular farm employees. Some other small groups have been excluded: employees of organizations exempt from the income tax if their wages do not exceed \$45 a year or is performed by a student; student nurses and internes employed by a hospital or nurses training school; newsboys and minor delivery boys for shopping news services, and employees of some additional fraternal organizations and municipal employees not covered by retirement benefits.

The difficulty of drawing a line between excluded and included employments and the obvious injustice of excluding workers once included and from whose wages payments have been deducted for old age insurance makes it even more necessary that we should extend the program to cover all workers in every type of employment. It should ultimately cover the self-employed in order that no equities in the system should be lost by a man's changing his type of work or starting in business for himself.

Benefits—The entire basis of calculating the monthly benefit has been changed. Under the amended law the basic benefit is related to a man's average monthly wage instead of to his total wages earned in covered employment before his death or retirement as formerly. To the basic benefit is added an increment for each year he has been in covered employment. His "primary benefit" is the sum of these amounts. The method of calculating the "primary benefit" is as follows:

40% of the worker's average monthly wage to \$50 a month
plus 10% of the amount by which his average monthly wage exceeds \$50, to
a maximum of \$250
plus 1% of the previous sum multiplied by the number of years in which the
worker received \$200 or more in wages in covered employment.

The "average monthly wage" is calculated by dividing the total wages paid to the worker in covered employment prior to the quarter in which he became entitled to receive primary insurance benefits or died, by three times the number of quarters elapsing after 1936 and before that quarter in which he was entitled to benefits or died, excluding any quarter prior to the one in which he became 22 years of age during which he was paid less than \$50 in wages, and excluding also any quarter after he became 65 years of age if it occurred before 1939.

If the wage as calculated is less than \$10 the benefit payment shall be \$10. The maximum benefit is not more than double the primary benefit, 80% of average wages, or \$85, whichever is smallest.

The primary benefit is augmented by supplementary benefits for dependents. If a covered worker and his wife are both 65 or over she receives a benefit

equal to one-half of his. In addition each unmarried dependent child under 18 years of age is entitled to a benefit of one-half the primary benefit.

In place of the lump sum of 3½% of the total wages credited to an individual, which under the present act is paid to the estate of an insured person who dies before he is 65 years of age, survivors' benefits are substituted. A widow receives, at the age of 65, three-fourths of her husband's primary benefit. A widow under the age of 65 who has in her care one of the deceased's dependent minor children is entitled to a benefit three-fourths that of her deceased husband. A surviving dependent minor child's benefit is equal to that to which he would be entitled if his parent were receiving a primary insurance benefit. If neither widow nor children survive an insured person, his dependent parent or parents are entitled to an amount equal to one-half his primary benefit. If no eligible survivors are entitled to monthly benefits, a lump sum equal to six times the primary insurance benefit is payable to specified close relatives or, failing such relatives, to the person or persons who paid the burial expenses to the extent and in proportion as they bore the expense.

Illustrative Monthly Old Age Insurance Benefits under Old Plan and under Revised Plan

	Old Plan	Revised Plan		Old Plan	Revised Plan	
		Single	Married ²		Single	Married ²
Years of Coverage:	Average monthly wage of \$50			Average monthly wage of \$100		
	(¹)			(¹)		
	3	\$20.60	\$30.90	\$25.75	\$38.63	
	5	21.00	31.50	26.25	39.38	
	10	22.00	33.00	27.50	41.25	
	20	24.00	36.00	30.00	45.00	
	Average Monthly wage of \$150			Average monthly wage of \$250		
	(¹)			(¹)		
	3	\$30.90	\$46.35	\$41.20	\$61.80	
	5	31.50	47.25	42.00	63.00	
	10	33.00	49.50	44.00	66.00	
	20	36.00	54.00	48.00	72.00	
	30	39.00	58.50	52.00	78.00	
	40	42.00	63.00	56.00	84.00	

¹ It is assumed, with respect to the revised plan, that an individual earns at least \$200 in each year of coverage in order to be eligible to receive the 1-percent increment. If this were not the case, the benefit would be somewhat lower.

² Benefits for a married couple without children where wife is eligible for a supplement.

³ Benefits not paid until after 5 years of coverage.

Source: Senate Calendar No. 793. Report No. 734. Page 10.

The net effect of these changes is to increase the size of the monthly payment materially for both single and married workers who retire in the next few years, to increase the benefits payable to all married workers, and in later years to decrease the benefits to a single worker. The amount payable in a lump sum to the estate of the deceased under the original law is largely eliminated, only a small burial expense being paid if the insured worker leaves no dependent survivors of the classes named.

Illustrative Monthly Survivor Benefits¹

	One child or parent 65 or over	Widow 65 or over	Widow and one child	One child or parent 65 or over	Widow 65 or over	Widow and one child
	Average monthly wage of deceased, \$50			Average monthly wage of deceased, \$100		
Years of Coverage:						
3	\$10.30	\$15.45	\$25.75	\$12.88	\$19.31	\$32.19
5	10.50	15.75	26.25	13.13	19.69	32.81
10	11.00	16.50	27.50	13.75	20.63	34.38
20	12.00	18.00	30.00	15.00	22.50	37.50
30	13.00	19.50	32.50	16.25	24.38	40.63
40	14.00	21.00	35.00	17.50	26.25	43.75
	Average monthly wage of deceased, \$150			Average monthly wage of deceased, \$250		
Years of Coverage:						
3	\$15.45	\$23.18	\$38.63	\$20.60	\$30.90	\$51.50
5	15.75	23.63	39.38	21.00	31.50	52.50
10	16.50	24.75	41.25	22.00	33.00	55.00
20	18.00	27.00	45.00	24.00	36.00	60.00
30	19.50	29.25	48.75	26.00	39.00	65.00
40	21.00	31.50	52.50	28.00	42.00	70.00

¹ It is assumed that an individual earns at least \$200 in each year of coverage. If this were not the case, the benefit would be somewhat lower.

Source: Senate Calendar No. 793. Report No. 734. Page 12.

The number of persons who will be able to qualify for benefits is enormously increased by a provision that wages earned by a person 65 years of age or older during 1939 and henceforth, will be subject to the tax and counted toward the total wages on the basis of which benefits are paid. Thus, if a worker has not been in insured employment long enough to qualify as an insured individual before he is 65 he can work for enough quarters to bring his total quarters of employment up to at least six or half the number elapsing after 1936, before the quarter in which he becomes 65, at which time he will be eligible for benefits.

Receipts—The efforts which we have made in the past to induce the Bureau of Internal Revenue to implement its regulation requiring the employer to furnish to his employee a statement showing the amount of wages deducted each pay period for the old age tax have borne fruit in the amendment which now specifies the data to be shown in such statement and the times at which it must be given the employee, and provides a penalty for violation. Workers will find it very much to their advantage to retain these statements which their employers are now required to give them, in order that they may keep a valid record of the amounts which they have paid in for their insurance and may correct any inaccuracies in the government records which arise because of the failure of employers to pay the taxes they hold in trust for their workers. These records are of prime importance to the worker. His receipts will be valuable evidence to aid enforcement of the laws.

The Social Security Board is now ready to give each person who has an account number a statement of his total wage credits through 1938. The worker can get this information from the Old Age Insurance Bureau by sending in a card which he can secure from the field office nearest him. He can thus check the record and report any inaccuracies. It will be to the advantage of each registrant to make this check annually.

Tax—The rate of tax for the next three years has been amended to continue at 1% each for employers and employees instead of rising to 1½% in 1940 as was provided under the original law. The effect of the decreased tax collections and the increased benefit payments in the next few years will be to prevent the reserve fund from rising to the large figure formerly anticipated. The purpose of the reserve was to provide for the excess of expenditures over receipts in later years when, because of the increasing proportion of aged in the population, the amount of benefit payments will be much larger. With the present amendments serving to reduce the reserve amount very sharply it will undoubtedly be necessary for the government to supplement the payroll taxes at some date in the future. Labor recommended no reduction in the tax at this time. It recommended that the government make annual payments equal to the amount paid by both employers and employees in order that some of the expense of social insurance should be borne by general taxes rather than payroll taxes. Regular annual payments by the government would avoid the necessity for large special appropriations when the fund's outgo exceeds the payroll tax income, as it will eventually. The necessity for this subsidy in future years should be clearly recognized and accepted now in order that the system shall not be broken down after ten or fifteen years for the lack of these additional funds, leaving helpless those workers who have been building up their equities over a number of years by contributions from their wages.

Present Program—On July 1, 1939, a total of 44,727,520 account numbers had been issued. A breakdown of the taxable wages of persons holding account numbers in 1937 showed an average wage of \$890. This figure included some part-time wages of workers who had other employment not in covered employment and whose total wages were not, therefore, known.

The amendments to the old age benefit program go a long way toward meet-

ing Labor's desires for a more adequate protection. The most important next step is to expand the coverage of the program to take in all workers.

Unemployment Compensation—Unemployment compensation under the Social Security Act is a federal-state system. The law of each state must meet certain administrative standards for approval of the Social Security Board. To states whose laws are approved; the federal government appropriates all the funds necessary for administration of the act. The unemployment compensation funds are collected by the states and turned over to the United States Treasury which maintains, for each state, a separate book account and holds all moneys in a single fund—the Unemployment Trust Fund.

The Secretary of the Treasury shall invest such portions of this fund as are not required to meet current withdrawals. Such investments may be made in interest bearing obligations of the United States or obligations guaranteed by the United States as to principal and interest. Withdrawals must be used solely for payment of unemployment compensation exclusive of expenses of administration.

While the laws of the various states are similar in general outline there is considerable difference in the amounts paid out, in provisions for figuring benefits and in the disqualifications imposed. Many of the laws are complex, expensive to administer, and result in so little security for the unemployed worker that they can scarcely justify their costs. On the basis of the experience to date the American Federation of Labor is even more firmly convinced of the need for federal standards for benefit payments administered, as the law was intended, for the benefit of the workers.

State Amendments—Forty-six states, including Alaska and Hawaii, had legislative sessions this year. Most of them considered extensive revisions of their unemployment compensation laws. Changes were effected to bring the state laws into harmony with the Federal Railroad Unemployment Compensation Act adopted at the last session of Congress.

In response to a persistent agitation for more prompt payment of benefits a number of states reduced their waiting periods. None went below a two-week period, however. Labor believes one week ample time for the administrative operations necessary and will continue to urge a reduction to that period.

Many of the states simplified their benefit structures by reducing the base period to four instead of eight quarters and establishing classes of benefit rates in even amounts rather than paying the exact numerical amount of the benefit. The classes adopted are in 50-cent intervals in many cases. They should reasonably be much larger intervals to get the greatest simplification and still keep a variation of benefits somewhat related to wage differentials.

One form of so-called "simplification" which was opposed to the workers' interests was actively urged in a great many states by an organization of employers well-financed for that purpose. The plan was to abandon the method of determining the benefit rate in relation to the full-time weekly wage and to set up benefit classes related to annual wages. The result would be to average the payless weeks of unemployment with the wages received while the worker was employed, making the benefit amount less than half the normal weekly wage if the worker had been irregularly employed in his base year. This unfair

proposal was defeated in most of the states in which it was made. A few accepted it and Labor will have to fight to eliminate it later and to prevent its spread to other states. In a number of states a compromise was made by scaling the benefit rate to the earnings in the highest quarter of the year. While this is less serious, because a man can more easily have regular work throughout one quarter than throughout the year, it still has the disadvantage of divorcing unemployment benefit from that which it is intended to compensate—the loss of regular wages on a weekly basis.

A serious threat to workers' interests is present in the trend in many state laws toward increasing the severity of the penalties for voluntary quit, discharge for misconduct, and failure to accept an offered job. Under some laws the worker is barred from benefits entirely under these circumstances and his wage credits are canceled so that even after he has worked at another job and has been laid off through no fault of his own, he is not able to receive benefits on the basis of those wage credits. There is no justice in these extreme disqualifications. They are evidence of the defect Labor has consistently pointed out in the "merit" or "experience" rating laws. In their efforts to get favorable rates employers wish benefit payments to be as small as possible and are therefore devising schemes to bar workers from benefits. The purpose of the unemployment compensation laws is thus defeated. Labor will continue to oppose all forms of merit rating and to work for a true sharing of risks in the straight pooled fund with equal tax rates on all employers.

In a few states the obvious complexity and cost of the merit rating provisions persuaded the legislatures to repeal their provisions and substitute instead a plan for study. Others may find it wise to abandon this costly and undesirable tax differential when they try to put it into operation. It has no place in an unemployment compensation system.

Tax Rates—Under the federal-state system a federal tax of 3% of payrolls but not counting more than the first \$3,000 of wages for any person in one year is collected from employers of 8 or more persons for 20 weeks in the year. Against this tax the employer may offset whatever he paid in taxes under a state unemployment compensation law up to 90% of the federal tax. As a result of this provision nearly every state fixed its own tax rate at 2.7% of the payroll. The tax rate was determined not as an ideal figure which would provide adequate benefits but as one which would permit some security without undue hardship to employers. Because the field was new and accurate estimates of the cost of meeting certain benefit standards were not available, benefit standards were set at low figures in order not to bankrupt the funds. The cost estimates proved to be too large. The reserves have increased in many states at an unexpectedly rapid rate.

In spite of the fact that benefits are admitted by every student of unemployment compensation to be too low in every state and so far below reasonable standards in some states as to make a mockery of the promised "security," the increase in reserves has served as the basis for a drive for lower tax rates. The following table shows that except for California and Minnesota and two states, New York and Texas, which made no report of the size of benefit checks in the second quarter of the year, every state which had increased its reserve

*Percent Increase or Decrease in Reserve Account available for Benefits as of April 30, 1939
compared with Average Weekly Benefit Check, April-June, 1939*

State	Percent increase or decrease in reserve account	Average Weekly Benefit
Total, All States.....	+26.1	\$10.13
Alabama.....	+1.0	7.21
Alaska.....	+3.6	15.13
Arizona.....	+14.1	11.20
Arkansas.....	+13.8	7.14
California.....	+80.8	10.92
Colorado.....	+9.2	10.99
Connecticut.....	+36.0	9.85
Delaware.....	+15.2	8.15
District of Columbia.....	+115.0	8.46
Florida.....	+22.9	7.77
Georgia.....	+14.4	6.17
Hawaii.....	+20.5	8.93
Idaho.....	-18.0	9.76
Illinois.....		no payment
Indiana.....	+0.1	11.10
Iowa.....	+13.0	9.12
Kansas.....	+14.4	10.58
Kentucky.....	+12.5	8.62
Louisiana.....	+82.8	8.30
Maine.....	-23.3	7.37
Maryland.....	+39.8	9.22
Massachusetts.....	+41.9	10.09
Michigan.....	-24.9	13.07
Minnesota.....	+39.8	12.18
Mississippi.....	+23.4	5.89
Missouri.....	+18.7	8.49
Montana.....		no payment
Nebraska.....	+17.2	8.70
Nevada.....	+9.3	12.74
New Hampshire.....	+15.1	8.81
New Jersey.....	+15.9	9.62
New Mexico.....	+6.7	9.90
New York.....	+56.6	no report
North Carolina.....	+40.0	5.88
North Dakota.....	+5.5	9.36
Ohio.....	+12.2	10.21
Oklahoma.....	+0.7	10.21
Oregon.....	+5.5	11.72
Pennsylvania.....	+8.3	11.91
Rhode Island.....	-9.5	9.98
South Carolina.....	+38.6	6.31
South Dakota.....	+14.8	9.45
Tennessee.....	+34.4	7.17
Texas.....	+85.5	no report
Utah.....	+11.0	10.13
Vermont.....	+61.5	9.38
Virginia.....	+59.3	7.65
Washington.....	+4.4	10.72
West Virginia.....	-9.1	7.82
Wisconsin.....	+38.0	9.35
Wyoming.....	+5.0	14.01

Source: H. R. Report No. 728. Page 23 and Report of Division of Statistics and Analysis, Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, August 3, 1939.

by as much as 15% over the amount at which it stood when benefits were first payable, was paying benefit checks smaller than the national average. Reserves would be no problem if benefits were liberalized.

An attempt to amend the Social Security Act to permit employers additional credit against the federal tax to allow for reductions in the state tax rate after the state had met specified reserve and benefit standards, failed to pass this session of Congress. Labor is determined that the purpose of unemployment compensation—the payment of reasonable benefits for long enough periods to cover the usual periods of unemployment in a year—shall not be defeated by tax reductions which will keep the funds too small to permit the increases in benefits our system needs.

Appeals—With every state now paying benefits, a considerable body of decisions is growing, shaping the law through administration. It is important that these decisions should be analyzed and that unfair decisions should be taken to higher tribunals. The American Federation of Labor is ready to serve unions and individuals by acting as a clearing center for information on precedents being established by appeals and by advising workers how to obtain their rights under the laws. The need for exchange of information in this field and for developing the body of experience necessary to secure good policy in enforcement will continue to increase as workers become more familiar with their rights, and appeal unfair decisions.

Of the 14,620 appeals brought by workers claiming benefits which were denied by local offices during 1938, 74% were decided in favor of the claimant at the first appeal. Final appeals were taken in 1,273 cases, 39% of which resulted in awards favorable to the claimant. It is probable that other workers had good cases which were not appealed because of the claimants' unfamiliarity with appeal procedures or with his rights. The largest number of appealed cases dealt with wage credits, the rate and duration of benefits based on those credits and the eligibility of the worker to benefits as determined by his past wage credits. As the state laws are simplified and the check on employer reporting becomes more accurate it is probable that a smaller proportion of the cases will be concerned with wage credits. The wage receipts which the employer will be required to give under the new law, will help the worker prove his right to benefits if wage credits are in dispute.

Employment Service—The employment service is the agency through which unemployment compensation benefits are paid. Employment offices make the test of the beneficiary's availability for work. In past years the fact that the United States Employment Service, located in the Department of Labor, made grants to states on a federal subsidy plan matched by state appropriations, while the unemployment compensation administrative costs were paid entirely by federal funds through the Social Security Board, complicated the administration of state employment offices and decreased their efficiency. For that reason and because both employment services and unemployment compensation benefits are of concern chiefly to workers, Labor has urged that both functions be placed in the Department of Labor.

Under the President's Reorganization Order, however, with the approval

of Congress, both functions were placed under the newly created Federal Security Agency. There, under the Social Security Board, has been created a Bureau of Employment Security with four divisions, Employment Service, Unemployment Compensation, Field Service, and Research. The effectiveness of this method of coordinating the functions remains to be seen. In large measure it depends on the personnel entrusted with the management of the various divisions.

These are services of tremendous importance to Labor. It is essential that they should be managed by persons familiar with the problems and needs of Labor and sympathetically alert to reduce the amount of unemployment as well as the suffering it entails. The Employment Service should in no way be subordinated to the operation of unemployment compensation even though the amount of money handled by the latter service is much greater. Our first emphasis must be on finding jobs for unemployed workers. Compensation for loss of wages is only a palliative if jobs cannot be found for a number of weeks during the working year.

A false economy move and anti-labor sentiment in a number of states have found expression in laws injuring state departments of labor and in a movement to obliterate the distinction between the work of the public employment offices both in placements and in paying unemployment compensation benefits and the work of relief offices administering relief grants. The unemployed worker is not asking relief when he registers for the compensation to which he is entitled. He is not required to take work for which he is unfitted or which has conditions of work and pay materially inferior to those for similar work in the locality. The interviewer in the employment office must be trained to discover the man's aptitudes and to send him out only on jobs into which he may well fit. The interviewer in a relief office is charged with a duty of finding the family's needs and resources and getting a relief client some kind of work to earn the grant whether he is really qualified for the work or not. To lose the distinction between relief and relief work and unemployment compensation and the employment service would be a major blow to Labor.

Already one state has attempted to eliminate the public employment offices, delegating their functions to already overloaded relief agencies. The fact that the Social Security Board could not under the laws approve such an arrangement as was proposed in that state and could not, therefore, pay anything toward the expenses of unemployment compensation administration or permit the use of the reserve fund held by the Treasury resulted temporarily in a deadlock. The employers were liable to double unemployment compensation taxation, federal and state, because they could not claim any credit against the federal tax if the state law were not approved. The unemployed workers could get no benefits although they were entitled to them and funds for paying them exist. The state risked losing vastly more in federal subsidies than it would have to pay from state funds to continue the employment service. This deplorable situation must be resolved, however, in such a way as to keep labor's rights clear in the long run. For this year an agreement has been reached to reopen separate employment offices. We will never approve treating the unemployed worker as a relief client or allowing public employment offices to operate as relief offices, losing that emphasis on fair working standards and a decent adjustment of men

to the jobs for which they are fitted which permits self-respecting working people to apply freely at the employment office for the chance to work to which they are entitled. We have opposed the fee-charging employment offices. We will oppose a merger of relief and employment offices which would operate to discourage the use of public employment offices by unemployed persons who want no charity—only the opportunity to work.

Program—Through June 30, 1939 the total benefits paid out since the unemployment compensation laws went into effect was \$625,068,000. In the last fiscal year the U. S. Employment Service had found jobs for 3,134,052 workers, 2,225,175 in private industry and 908,877 in public employment of which about 30,000 were on relief projects. These are valuable services to the economic life of our nation.

The important steps ahead are those connected with improving the efficiency of both services, increasing the amount and duration of benefit payments while reducing the complexity and cost of administration, and extending the system to the thousands of workers not now included, particularly seamen, agricultural and domestic workers, and the employees of charitable and other non-profit organizations.

The difficulties of operation under so many separate systems have already become evident, particularly in applying the regulations equitably to workers who travel regularly from state to state in the course of their employment. Only a federal law can cover such workers satisfactorily. The pressure in many states to keep benefit payments small and to reduce tax rates indicates plainly the need for federal standards to prevent interstate competition from driving benefits to low levels.

Labor believes that proper amendment of the Social Security Act relating to unemployment compensation can be made only on the basis of a thorough study of our present federal-state system and the need for more adequate standards. We need to develop our concept of the part unemployment compensation is to serve in meeting the problem of unemployment. It is clear that if unemployment compensation is to justify itself as a system distinct from relief it must pay adequate benefits promptly and for a long enough time to cover an appreciable amount of the unemployment normally expected in a year. It is equally clear that an unemployment compensation system based on payroll taxes cannot finance indefinitely prolonged periods of unemployment or care of the unemployable. The relation between unemployment compensation and relief and provision for persons temporarily and permanently disabled needs to be defined more clearly and the proper field for each delimited.

The American Federation of Labor supported an amendment to the Social Security Act providing for the appointment of an Advisory Council to study unemployment compensation and to recommend changes in the Social Security Act on the basis of its studies. Such a Council should be composed of representatives of Labor, Business and the Public. This amendment failed to pass. We shall continue to urge the appointment of such a Council to carry out this necessary study. We recommend particularly that such a study include careful consideration of the difficulties of harmonizing the many state systems now operating and the desirability of substituting a federal grant-in-aid system with

appropriate federal standards of benefits for the present credit-against-federal-tax system for unemployment compensation.

Compensation for the man who is normally employed and is only temporarily out of work needs to be supplemented by a program for the worker temporarily or permanently disabled if we are to achieve a full measure of security. The man who is unemployed because he is ill needs as much or more compensation as the healthy unemployed man. Failure to provide a disability program is likely to lead to irregularities in administering unemployment compensation laws as some agencies attempt to cover persons really unemployable in order to keep them from seeking relief aid. The Advisory Council on Social Security found benefits for persons totally and permanently disabled to be socially desirable. The American Federation of Labor believes that immediate steps should be taken to provide for these benefits either through an extension of our system of old age benefits or in some other way. It believes that immediate attention should also be given to providing benefits for persons temporarily disabled, either under an extension of workmen's compensation laws, or as a supplement to unemployment compensation laws. It is important that we recognize disability compensation as a natural and logical complement to our unemployment compensation and old age programs.

Since the unemployment compensation laws relating to benefits are made by the states at present, the American Federation of Labor believes the important next steps in state legislation must be:

1. to decrease the waiting period to one week.
2. to increase the duration of benefits by establishing a flat period within which benefits would be paid. This should be no less than 16 weeks in any state, 20 weeks is preferable.
3. to simplify the benefit structure by paying benefits in round amounts, with not more than five classes of benefit amounts.
4. to relate benefit amounts to the class in which the worker's *full-time weekly wage* normally falls, rather than to annual or quarterly earnings which cheat the worker of benefits he should receive.
5. to establish an adequate minimum payment, no lower than \$5.00 in any state, in order that benefit checks may be for significant amounts.
6. to eliminate all forms of merit and experience rating from the laws in order that the administration may be kept simple and as inexpensive as possible and in order that there may be no incentive to the employer to block the payment of benefits which fairly should be paid.
7. to secure payment of partial benefits at least equal to the difference between actual weekly earnings and the worker's benefit rate for full-time employment.
8. to prevent the introduction of excessive provisions for disqualification of workers from receipt of benefits to which they would otherwise be entitled. No disqualification should take the form of cancellation of wage credits or charging off benefits as if they had been paid when they were withheld. No disqualification for voluntary quit, discharge for misconduct, refusal to take job, or any other cause should be more severe than an increase in the waiting period, not to exceed five additional weeks. The pressure to keep benefit payments low for merit-rating purposes makes it especially necessary for Labor to guard against increases in the grounds for or severity of disqualification provisions.

Health Policy—At the Convention in Houston, Texas, last year a resolution favoring compulsory health insurance was referred to the Executive Council

with instructions to investigate and take such steps as seemed appropriate. The Executive Council put this question into the hands of its Committee on Social Security which has given some study to the problem of public health and health insurance, particularly in relation to the National Health Bill (S. 1620) introduced by Senator Wagner. Mr. Woll, Chairman of the Committee on Social Security, appeared before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, which was holding hearings on the bill and, on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, endorsed the principles of an expansion of our national public health program, of construction of new hospitals and medical centers to improve the service to persons of small means and of both disability insurance and ultimately general health insurance programs.

We recommend that insurance for temporary disability be made effective in the near future to supplement workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation laws and that the federal government be urged to undertake a study of adding a program of insurance for permanent disability to the Old Age Insurance System. We recommend further that any general health insurance program be federal in scope to avoid the confusion and inequity which we have seen resulting from the varying state unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation programs.

We believe that the administration of all the industrial hygiene program should be lodged in the national and state departments of labor. This is peculiarly a service for workers and should be administered by those who understand the complete problems of labor. Failure to follow this procedure often makes it impossible for workers to secure the technical evidence of exposure necessary to prove their claims to compensation for industrial diseases.

While endorsing the principle of compulsory health insurance, the Executive Council believes that the program of social insurance should be developed as a coordinated whole with due regard for the ability of low-paid groups to pay additional taxes from their pay checks. We believe that a considerable part of the program must be financed by other than pay-roll taxes since general health goes beyond the responsibility of industry. The first steps might well be the expansion of the unemployment compensation program to insure against loss of pay to persons unemployed because of temporary disability, and the placing of medical care and health services within the reach of all persons by lowering their expense. Along with these steps should go renewed efforts to find ways of increasing the economic security of the worker in jobs and the income derived therefrom. From that income the worker could then pay something toward a national program of health insurance. We favor the principle of health insurance but urge careful planning for the program on a national basis under competent administration with a system of financing which will fit into the entire social security program before the plan is adopted. We would oppose any plan which would repeat the mistake of workmen's compensation, of allowing private-profit companies to be the insuring agents.

Workmen's Compensation—Although the state workmen's compensation laws antedate the Social Security Act by many years, they are properly a part of the security program. Security for the worker means steady income, protection

against the calamities which threaten that income, whether accident, illness, unemployment or old age. In reorganizing and enlarging the whole program of social security the states need to improve the workmen's compensation laws, especially in expanding their scope to all industrial diseases, in eliminating private-profit companies from the compensation business, and in placing administration of the laws under state departments of labor or industrial commissions on which Labor is represented. The worker affected by an occupational disease needs to have technical information on the conditions of work constituting the exposure to hazard which he cannot secure for himself to prove his claim. If the administration were entrusted to departments of labor the necessary information would be available and the worker would get his just compensation.

We must make renewed efforts in every state to get revisions of the workmen's compensation laws to include all types of industrial disability, from disease as well as accident. The term "injury" should not be confined to accidents and a specific list of occupational diseases but should be inclusive of all injuries resulting from the occupation. If the compensation laws are so revised that the cost of injury properly attributable to industry is compensated by it, the expansion of general disability insurance to care for the other workers temporarily or permanently disabled can more easily be included under the unemployment compensation or old age insurance laws.

We should look ultimately to incorporating the workmen's compensation laws into a coordinated federal-state system with adequate federal standards governing the payment of benefits. It is particularly desirable both in the interests of honest payment of benefits and of economy that a single government insurance agency in each state carry the insurance. It has been sufficiently demonstrated that private-profit companies charge excessive rates and make it difficult for the worker to receive fair treatment. In all parts of the program affecting social security the profit motive should be excluded from operation. The interests of the beneficiaries and reasonable economy in handling the funds should be the dominant considerations.

Committee on Social Security—(Vice President Matthew Woll, Vice President G. M. Bugniet, John P. Frey.) The Committee on Social Security appointed by the Executive Council has done excellent work in studying the proposed amendments to the Social Security Act and in representing the American Federation of Labor before both House and Senate Committee hearings on unemployment compensation, old age insurance, public assistance programs and public health proposals. The American Federation of Labor expects this Committee to study security laws in operation so as to be able to recommend satisfactory principles and formulae and to suggest needed changes.

The members of the Committee on Social Security served as the representatives of the American Federation of Labor on the Advisory Council on Social Security, appointed by the Senate Special Committee on Social Security and the Social Security Board in May, 1937. The final report of this Advisory Council was presented in December, 1938. Its study included Titles II and VIII of the Social Security Act which deal with Federal Old Age Benefits. The recommendations of the Council formed the basis for most of the liberalization in

benefits which have put old age security on a family rather than an individual basis, and the change in the tax and reserve provisions which were included in the amendments to the Act this year. Members of the Social Security Board and Congressmen alike praised the Advisory Council for its painstaking study. We wish to thank our own representatives for their share in that work.

Labor is confident that the Social Security program will be improved further in later sessions of Congress. We need studies of unemployment compensation and of disability as careful and thorough as those made for old age by the Advisory Council. While the public health program is being prepared for its next presentation to Congress, Labor should demand that its provisions, particularly those relating to industrial hygiene, conform to our program.

Social Security is peculiarly Labor's program. We must be prepared to present and urge the interests of workers in every division of the program before it takes final shape as well as watching its operation and proposing needed amendments. In both national and state legislative sessions the American Federation of Labor must help defend the rights of workers against the rising anti-labor sentiment which has manifested itself in proposals designed to hamper unions and reduce the security already won.

COVERAGE OF LABOR LEGISLATION

The laws affecting workers have, for the most part, been drafted to exclude large groups of persons who, for one reason or another, have been considered difficult to cover. The most common exclusions are agricultural workers, domestic workers, employees of governmental units or instrumentalities, employees of schools, churches and other charitable or non-profit organizations, and persons self-employed or working as independent contractors. For unemployment compensation, it has been found difficult to cover workers who continually move from one state to another in the normal course of their employment. That difficulty is not so acute in the case of old age benefits because the latter is entirely federal in administration.

Old Age Insurance—The Advisory Council on Social Security, a committee composed of representatives of labor, employers and the public, after careful study, recommended that the employees of private non-profit religious, charitable, and educational institutions excluded from old age insurance should be brought under coverage immediately; that maritime employment be included; that farm and domestic employees should be covered if administratively possible by January 1, 1940; and that the old age insurance program should be extended as soon as feasible to include other groups not now covered, studies being made of the problems involved in including self-employed persons and governmental employees.

In the current amendments to the Social Security Act, the officers and members of crews on American vessels except those whose contracts are entered into abroad and who never touch at an American port in the course of their employment, are included in the provisions for Old Age Benefits. However, all persons engaged in the fishing industry are exempt from this provision, except persons in salmon and halibut fishing and officers and members of crews of

fishing vessels of more than ten tons. Inclusion of all fishermen will be easier when the program is expanded to cover self-employed persons or independent contractors.

The extension of coverage is important because the old age insurance system is compulsory for workers who are included and no provision is made for refunding payments made by workers who are covered for a few years but not long enough to become fully insured individuals. The present law requires earnings of at least \$50 in each of half the quarters elapsing after 1936 or after the quarter in which the insured person became 21 years of age, whichever is later, up to the quarter in which he became 65 or died. If more than 80 quarters have elapsed he must have had at least 40 quarters of covered employment. Over a period of years an unfair hardship will be created for workers who shift from covered to non-covered employment. Thus, if a man works half the year in agricultural employment he must have industrial work in both the other quarters of the year regularly for twenty years, whereas if all his work had been in industrial employment, ten years of labor would have made him a fully insured individual. If a man worked steadily for 15 years, from age 21 to 36, half the time in industrial and half in agricultural employment, and received industrial wages of \$100 a month for 6 months of each year, his industrial wages of \$600 a year would amount to \$9000. From this he would have paid in old-age insurance taxes from 1% to 3% per year or an amount between \$90 and \$270. Yet if he became incapacitated for further industrial work at the age of 36 or became a farmer full time and had no more covered employment, he would have only 30 quarters of coverage and would not be eligible for the insurance benefits at 65. Another man starting work at the same time at age 21, earning only \$200 a year for total employment for 10 years, if it were so spaced that he earned \$50 in each quarter, would have total earnings of \$2000 in the 40 quarters, on which he would have paid \$20 to \$60 taxes. At the age of 65 he would be eligible for insurance benefits, even though he never worked again after age 31. Such inequities will affect all workers who move from covered to non-covered employment. The only fair solution is to bring all kinds of employment into coverage so that the worker will not lose his equity in the insurance system when he changes his type of work.

The Social Security Board in its proposals for changes to the act stated its belief that it was administratively feasible to extend the coverage of old-age insurance widely. The Board recommended that the exclusion which the original law had of "agricultural labor" be modified by defining agricultural labor so that it would clearly cover only the services of a farm hand employed by a small farmer to do the ordinary work connected with a farm. The Board anticipated that even this exclusion could be eliminated eventually, though perhaps only when the administrative problems of including all farmers and self-employed persons are worked out. In the meantime, however, the Board believed that excluding farm labor on large-scale farms, semi-industrial in character, increased rather than diminished the administrative difficulties.

In spite of this clear statement from the Board and from the Advisory Council which had studied the problem, the industrial farms and employers' groups which mask under the name of farm organizations were successful in

having the term "agricultural labor" defined so broadly as to exclude from coverage many industrial laborers, carpenters, bookkeepers, truckers, etc. whose work is only very incidentally related to bona fide farm labor. The American Federation of Labor must continue to fight this injustice and to secure the extension of coverage to all agricultural workers.

The same problems are involved in the exclusion of domestic labor in which field there is a considerable amount of shifting from covered to non-covered employment. The Social Security Board as well as the Advisory Council recommended the inclusion of domestic service. The American Federation of Labor believes this extension of coverage should be made immediately.

Similar reasons impel us to declare for the extension of coverage to employees of religious, educational and charitable organizations. The argument that these organizations care for their own employees usually applies only to a few persons in the organizations, such as ministers or teachers. The office workers, janitors, and other employees are seldom protected. There is no justification for this limitation of the security program. The system of old-age insurance will fall short of serving the purpose for which it was designed until all types of work are included. The American Federation of Labor believes all workers, not just favored groups, should have security in their old age. We are pledged to work toward that goal. The inclusion of employees of certain government instrumentalities, and maritime employees in this year's amendments is a step in the right direction. The next step should be to include agricultural workers, domestic service and employees of non-profit organizations. The inclusion of all self-employed workers up to the first \$3000 of earnings a year should come as soon as feasible to make the system complete.

Unemployment Compensation—Although the unemployment compensation laws are different for each state, the coverage of the federal tax on employers largely influences the states in their laws on coverage. For reasons of administrative simplicity, and to simplify employers' record-keeping and reporting, the Social Security Board recommended that coverage for old age insurance and unemployment compensation laws be made the same with a few exceptions chiefly relating to types of work in which the status of being unemployed is difficult to define. Particularly the Board recommended that the unemployment compensation tax be applied to only the first \$3000 of wages earned by a person in a year as it was for the old age insurance tax and that the term "employer" be defined for unemployment compensation purposes as for old age insurance purposes as an employer of one or more persons at any time in the year. The Board recognized that changing the amount of wages taxable would reduce the income of the funds but felt the advantages in simplifying administration compensated for this disadvantage. As passed, however, the amendments reduced the tax base but left "employer" defined for unemployment compensation as an employer of 8 or more persons on at least one day in each of 20 different weeks in the year. This leaves the confusion in reports, unreasonably excludes workers in smaller plants who are equally subject to unemployment hazards, and leaves an unfair margin of competition between those who employ just under 8 and those who employ 8 or more persons. Labor in every

state has the responsibility of getting state laws changed to cover all employees whether only one or more works for the employer, and the American Federation of Labor will continue to urge on Congress the necessity of making the definition of employer in the unemployment compensation provisions of the Social Security Act, the same as that for old age insurance.

There is need to extend the coverage of unemployment compensation laws and to define more clearly the degree of responsibility which constitutes an "independent enterprise" in order to prevent chiseling by some employers who wish to escape their fair responsibility for the tax. In a number of cases employers have changed slightly the method of paying employees, hoping thereby to have them appear as independent contractors rather than employees. Labor must be alert to block such unfair treatment of workers. One way in which these practices could be rendered useless would be so to extend coverage of unemployment compensation over all employed persons and so to clarify the meaning of the employment relationship that no employer could avoid taxation by such a subterfuge. We have a task before us to see that the law operates for the protection of workers, as was intended, and is not rendered useless by the many exceptions to its application.

The American Federation of Labor believes coverage of unemployment compensation laws should be extended to domestic labor, to employees of non-profit organizations, to salesmen, and to all agricultural workers except, for the present, those who are truly "farm hands" on small farms whose type of work makes it difficult to define unemployment.

While the inequity of exclusion from unemployment compensation coverage is different from that under old age insurance because the worker pays no unemployment compensation tax and his equity is built up for one year only rather than over a period of years, there is no sound logic for most of the exclusions by occupation, and the system is rendered less effective because of them. Labor wants fair treatment and security for all who are normally employed and temporarily out of employment for no fault of their own. We will continue to urge enlargement of coverage. Particularly our next effort must be to secure federal and state legislation which will bring in the thousands of workers who are engaged in plants employing less than 8 workers.

The problem of providing unemployment compensation for interstate workers was met for the railroad workers last year by the enactment of the Railroad Unemployment Compensation Law, setting up a separate system of compensation on a federal basis. The same problem exists, as yet unsettled, for the seamen. The American Federation of Labor worked with the seamen's unions in an attempt to get the same coverage for unemployment compensation as for old age insurance. Because the jurisdiction of the states over persons plying the inland waterways is limited and the status of workers whose work is partly on the vessel and partly on shore is so confused, most seamen are not covered by state unemployment compensation laws even though their employment is entirely on inland waters. The deep-sea officers and crews would in any case be outside the state jurisdictions. Only federal law can provide security for maritime employees.

Two bills (H. R. 2553 and H. R. 6534) designed to establish a federal maritime unemployment compensation system were introduced in this session of

Congress. They failed to pass. The American Federation of Labor will continue to work for unemployment compensation coverage for seamen through a federal law. Their inclusion in the old age benefit program is a matter of satisfaction to Labor.

Minimum Wage and Maximum Hour Standards—Efforts to establish minimum wage standards through state and federal legislation have often been weakened or altogether blocked by exemptions permitting the employment of special groups of workers at rates lower than the established minimum. Such attempts to exclude important groups of workers from coverage have been frequent in the operation of the state minimum wage laws. Under many NRA codes sub-standard or "tolerance" rates were established for learners, apprentices and handicapped workers. This tendency to circumvent the minimum by means of exemptions was also reflected in the operation of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, where the payment of sub-minimum wage was permitted in the case of learners, apprentices and handicapped workers in several industries.

The concept of the minimum wage as the lowest wage which is to be paid to unskilled workers only, was further weakened by the exemptions contained in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 as it was finally adopted by Congress. Section 14 of the Act authorizes the Administrator, in so far as it is necessary to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment, to issue regulations and orders permitting the employment of learners, of apprentices and of messengers at wages lower than a minimum wage prescribed by the law. Employment of handicapped workers at specified wages below the minimum is also permitted for fixed periods. When exemptions are granted, employment of these classes of employees is permitted under special certificate issued to employers under regulations prescribing the number, proportion and length of service of such employees.

Despite widespread unemployment and the existing surplus of skilled and experienced labor, blanket industry-wide exemptions have been sought for learners in the textile and wearing apparel industries and for messengers in the telegraph communications industry. The American Federation of Labor, through presentation of factual evidence, proving that petitions for exemptions in these industries were without justification, succeeded in blocking these attempts to force large groups of workers to a level below the wage floor. Exemptions have been secured, however, for learners in the hosiery industry and certificates of exemption for learners in individual establishments in various industries have been issued on employer's petitions.

In the case of all exemptions of apprentices under the Fair Labor Standards Act, this is permitted only under certificates of apprenticeship issued in accordance with the regulations set up by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship on which labor is represented. Although this procedure does serve to encourage apprenticeship agreements between employers and employees and to otherwise safeguard the apprenticeship standards, it leaves the power to exempt from the minimum wage wholly within the discretion of the Administrator.

All such exemptions and differentials invariably serve as an effective means of lowering the applicable minimum. Through their operation large

groups of productive workers are placed in employment at substandard wages and in direct competition with regular production workers. Such a condition, given administrative sanction of the Government, cannot help but exert a strong downward pressure upon the wage structure in the entire industry in which such exemptions are in operation.

The American Federation of Labor believes that any minimum wage established by statute as a minimum, should apply to the lowest paid workers. Even beginners are employed as production workers and should be paid not less than this minimum rate to which the least skilled production workers are entitled. We believe, therefore, that every effort should be made to eliminate from the law and from administrative regulations all provisions permitting the payment of sub-minimum wages under the federal and state minimum wage legislation. Apprenticeship standards should be set by collective bargaining and should not be governed by broad regulatory powers vested in the administrator of a minimum wage statute.

Another destructive precedent was set in the Fair Labor Standards Act in the form of broad exemptions of important industrial groups, from both the minimum wage and maximum hour standards. The Act exempts from all standards those employed in agriculture, as well as anyone employed in what Congress loosely termed "area of production" in handling, packing, storing and preparing in their raw or natural state, or canning of agricultural or horticultural commodities, or in making cheese or butter or other dairy products. Large groups of workers in fruit and vegetable packing and canning and in slaughtering of livestock are also exempted from the maximum hours for a period of not more than 14 weeks in any calendar year under the pretext that these groups of industrial workers are related to agriculture. Through these exemptions labor standards in some of the lowest paid industries have not been enforced. At the conclusion of the first session of the 76th Congress, an insistent but abortive attempt was made to deny minimum wage and maximum hour protection to nearly 2,000,000 workers in the agricultural, processing and related industries. Labor is determined to prevent all efforts to change the structure of minimum wage and maximum hour laws in such a way as to turn them into instruments of discrimination used to perpetuate substandard conditions in the very portions of the industry in which rigid enforcement of minimum labor standards is most needed.

General Program—Labor has worked for many years for legislation to protect some groups poorly equipped to bargain for their own rights, and more recently for security and protection of workers generally by legislation against disasters beyond the power even of organized groups to avert for their members. In all protective and security legislation, child labor laws, special regulations for labor of women, general wage and hour legislation and the whole field of social security, there has been a tendency to exclude some groups of labor from the laws. The theory, often unexamined, is that the relationship between employer and employee is particularly close, so that the worker does not need protection from a large, impersonal, exploiting corporate employer, and that these fields of work are

such that administration of the laws would be particularly difficult. Farm and domestic labor are two fields traditionally excluded from protective legislation.

It is time that we examined the theories behind exclusions and exploded those which are hollow. It is time that we recognized the facts and met squarely the situation of the excluded workers. In the large-scale mechanized farms the term agriculture has taken on new meaning. The huge fruit and vegetable ranches, the large beet sugar farms, vast irrigated areas employing mechanics and ditchmen, packers and truckmen, on an industrial scale—these are “farms” whose laborers are exempt from protection of the laws. Social and economic problems are created by the monopolizing of land and the irregular demand for thousands of workers for short periods. Workers are attracted from long distances by misleading accounts of conditions, to be exploited with long hours and low wages during the working seasons and left destitute at its end. There is no justification for exempting the owners of these “factory farms” from the taxes and excluding their workers from the advantages of the various laws designed to bring some measure of social security to workers who have little opportunity to build security individually.

The competition of these industrialized farms, with their underpaid labor in practical peonage, drives down prices and puts small independent farmers out of business. Yet these same small farmers have often been mistakenly persuaded in the belief that their interests lie in opposing social security legislation for “agricultural workers”. Labor should make vigorous efforts to show small farmers and small business men the truth of this matter and to enlist their help in extending the coverage of social legislation. The more stable markets which result from a sound program of social security widely extended, are of immeasurable value to small business men. Many such business men and small farmers would gain more by a broad extension of protective and security legislation even to include self-employed persons, than by helping some large business interests defeat the enactment or operation of such laws.

We must reexamine the exclusions from protective legislation in every field, and work to have these exclusions limited to those which are really necessary because of administrative difficulties too great for present solution and to those groups who can clearly be shown not to need the protection offered. We set as our goal justice and security for all workers as rapidly as it can be attained.

CONSUMER COOPERATIVES

Consumers in the United States are becoming conscious of their common problems and consumer organization has grown rapidly in the last few years. Trade unions have shared in this movement. These years have been a time of sound growth in trade union cooperatives and of increasing interest.

Although our records are far from complete we have information which indicates clearly that well managed consumer cooperatives are growing up under union control in different parts of the country. These cooperatives serve union members and have their employees organized in unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

A few examples of those organized from 1935 to 1938 are: Oakland and Berkeley, California: Three grocery stores and three gasoline stations with sales totalling about \$120,000 annually. These were set up by union members in 1937-1938, and sell chiefly to union members; the grocery stores have paid purchasing dividends up to 5%. Racine, Wisconsin: Organized labor played a chief part in organizing the cooperatives here, which include a grocery store, coal yard, gasoline station and repair shop, credit union, electric appliance sales, library. All employees are members of unions affiliated with the Federation. Sales in the first 21 months amounted to \$112,000. Purchasing dividends of more than \$10,000 were paid to 1,500 members. In Bremerton, Washington, nine union machinists started a buying club in 1937; this expanded to six buying clubs which were combined in a cooperative grocery store in June 1938. The membership of this cooperative is 90% union, control is in union hands and a member of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association is employed as manager. The cooperative has done better than expected in its first year. Two other successful cooperatives in Bremerton are conducted by trade unions: The Metal Trades Council Credit Union and a Cooperative Health Association. There is a good field for growth of trade union cooperatives here, with 40 unions in Bremerton and 15 cooperatives in the Puget Sound area which have combined to open a wholesale cooperative.

Other examples of successful union cooperatives could be cited, but these suffice to show the kinds of service given, the purchasing dividends paid and the sponsorship and control of the union. Cooperatives started by unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the last decade include a number giving good service in Cincinnati, Akron, Los Angeles, Pontiac, Michigan, and other centers. Those organized about 20 years ago, which have operated successfully, returned purchasing dividends to union members and have had their employees organized in American Federation of Labor unions include cooperatives at Waukegan, Illinois, Dillonvale, Ohio, Superior, Wisconsin, and Chicago, Illinois.

These examples show that although the union cooperative movement is not large as yet, it is strong and sound. Ever since our first efforts to organize cooperatives in the World War period, the belief that consumers' cooperation should go hand in hand with trade union organization has been a live force in the American Federation of Labor. Suppressed for a time by the difficulties of our earlier period, the labor cooperative movement is now coming forward with new vitality, showing a gradual growth founded on principles of good cooperative management and a spirit of true cooperative service.

Interest continues to grow. Last year labor groups in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Bismarck, North Dakota, Santa Cruz, California, Providence, Rhode Island, and other cities either launched cooperatives or buying clubs or explored the possibility. Labor representatives have attended a number of cooperative conferences where men with experience discussed cooperative principles, management, accounting, sales policies, education and recreation.

Far more striking than the growth of retail labor cooperatives, however, is the rapid rise of credit union services for trade union members. A questionnaire

to central labor unions this year showed more than 340 credit unions serving unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Because of the advisory services and careful supervision available to trade union members through the Federal Credit Union Section, we urge those interested in consumers' cooperation to start with a credit union. In this way they can get experience in cooperative business management and at the same time render a service to members which is greatly needed.

In nearly five years of existence, the Federal Credit Union Section has chartered 3,335 credit unions up to June 30, 1939. Of these only 239, or 7 per cent, have closed, and in only 12 per cent of the closing were there any losses whatever to members. Thus the chance of a credit union causing losses to membership is less than 1 per cent, and in no case has the loss to any member exceeded \$14.

The relative safety of the credit union together with the important service it renders to union members make it the best agency through which to start consumers' cooperation. We urge local unions and central labor bodies to explore the advisability of providing credit union service for their membership and to consult the American Federation of Labor for advice and instructions as to safeguards and methods of procedure. Cooperative activity should never be permitted to interfere with trade union activities, but there are many unions where organization of consumer activities may well supplement the work of the trade union.

It is important for labor to take its place in the American cooperative movement. We welcome the growth of labor cooperatives, whose employees are organized in trade unions and whose policies adhere to the principles of advancing income and work conditions for employees together with benefits for the consumer. We welcome also the growth of soundly operated credit unions. Only through our own cooperatives and their voice in the councils of the Co-operative League and the Credit Union National Association can labor establish the rightful link between the cooperative and the labor movements. We also advocate organization of employees in all cooperative stores.

JOBS FOR ALL IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY

As the tenth year of serious unemployment draws to its close, we place the problem of getting the unemployed back to work in private industry as our first concern.

The persistence of unemployment, the inability of industry in this country to recover from depression and resume its normal rate of expansion, make it clear that the recovery forces which lifted business out of depression in the past are no longer operating sufficiently to break the present business stagnation. Nor has the Federal Government, with its spending programs and other recovery efforts, succeeded in putting the unemployed to work in private industry. For after almost seven years of partial recovery, we still find ourselves today with 10,000,000 who have no work in private industry; and at no time in these seven years has unemployment been less than 7,500,000.

The American Federation of Labor is not willing to tolerate permanent

unemployment. We know that idle plants can be brought into operation, idle capital can find investment in productive private enterprise and idle men be put to work producing the goods they need for a decent living. Our nation has all the elements necessary to provide an adequate living for every American family; we lack only the proper coordination of effort.

The employment of the nation's work force in private industry depends on the investment of private capital in productive enterprise. In the past century, private capital flowed freely into such enterprises without special measures for coordination of effort. The high profits afforded by developing our country's vast natural resources, building railroads, creating our unequaled industrial plant and equipment were sufficient to draw private capital into long term investment. More recently, the requirements of a world war, the development of the automobile and electric power industries and the building of our modern cities has provided highly profitable investment. In the years 1923 to 1929, private industry invested an average of \$12,000,000,000 a year to build industrial plant and equipment and private housing. The volume of work provided by these investments, the steady increase in workers' producing power by industrial improvements and mass production, resulted in a 23% increase in the average per capita living standard in the United States in the decade before depression (1919 to 1929) and in practically full employment of our working population.

Today, the picture is entirely changed. Now there is no longer opportunity for highly profitable investment in great expansion of the nation's producing plant and equipment, for our industries cannot sell enough goods to keep their present plant in operation. The high profits and huge fortunes of the past can not be made in industry today. The Cleveland Trust Company estimates that the chance of even succeeding in business today is only about half as great as in the past, and the profits rewarding those who do succeed are at least 20% less. The risks are greater, the reward less. Consequently, private capital is not seeking investment in productive enterprise, but instead seeks security in tax free Government bonds. During depression, private investment in industrial plant and in housing shrank to \$3,500,000,000 or less, in contrast to the \$12,000,000,000 invested annually before depression.

It appears from these facts that our problem of industrial expansion today is entirely different from that of the past. High profits to be made by developing natural resources and industrial plant no longer draw private capital into productive investment. Profits today depend on an increasing sales volume of goods produced by mass production. This requires steady expansion of consumers' buying power. Satisfactory profits can be made when consumers' buying power reaches high enough levels, for in 1937 the nation's leading corporations earned more than 10% on their net worth; but except in 1936 and 1937 consumer buying has not reached high enough levels to provide this rate of profit at any time in the past 10 years.

The failure of consumer buying power today is due chiefly to unemployment. As shown elsewhere in this report, the average hourly wage rate has been lifted by trade union action and legislation so that it is 24% above 1929. This higher wage level will provide buying power well above that of 1929 once industry can

be expanded to higher levels of production and employment. There can be no doubt that once a high level of activity is reached, providing profitable investment and reducing risk, private capital will again flow into productive enterprise. This was the case in 1937, when private investment in plant and housing reached \$9,000,000,000, even though production was not yet high enough to put all the unemployed to work or to create the goods necessary to give everyone a decent living.

Our problem then is how to lift production, in the shortest possible time, to levels which will furnish stable profits and put the unemployed to work. We are also concerned with keeping production at high enough levels to provide a steady flow of goods, once the necessary volume has been attained.

The immediate lifting of production and the maintenance of a steady flow of goods can never be accomplished by individuals acting separately. It requires coordinated action.

We have no precedent for action on the problem which now confronts our economy. Coordination of effort can only be accomplished through the cooperation of all concerned in agriculture, industry, finance, distribution, and service, with representation for the functional groups that constitute every industry—capital, labor, management, and consumers. The Congress of the United States is the logical agency to act in behalf of the people, yet Congress has no advisory group possessing the technical knowledge and experience necessary to work out the complex problems of industrial coordination and provide a plan of action.

Many steps are necessary to prepare the way for industrial expansion through profitable private enterprise. Some can be taken by private industry and labor acting in cooperation, some will require action by the Federal Government. Balanced expansion and maintenance can only be accomplished through coordination of effort by all groups concerned.

Federal spending and "pump priming" cannot permanently restore business to healthy activity unless it is coordinated with other action to assist private industry in resuming normal expansion.

Our problem is one of management on a national scale. Although more complicated than the management of any single industrial enterprise, many of the methods used in coordinating the activities of a large company, with branch plants and offices scattered across the continent, are applicable to the national economic problem. Also, our experience in organizing human relations on a representative basis in the political field will provide precedent for developing the agencies for individual government.

Modern industrial management when confronted with a problem of developing new fields for activity, turns first to its division of research and planning. Experts study the situation in all its aspects, then submit to management a plan for action. This plan may be modified, submitted to further study and adjusted by new discoveries—eventually it emerges as a workable project and is put into effect.

It appears to us that our national problems will yield to similar treatment. We cannot believe that American engineering skill, American labor, and the genius of American management, which have developed our unequalled industrial mechanism, will fail to solve the problem of national economic coordination if given a mandate to undertake it.

We emphasize the fact, however, that in the group which undertakes such a task, labor, farmers and consumers must be adequately represented so that their interest will not be neglected. Industrial engineers and persons familiar with the problems of management and its administration of large business undertakings are also essential, for theirs is the particular knowledge of experience needed.

We urge that Congress set up an advisory council of this nature in the coming session with the mandate to develop measures by which private industry can expand production and maintain balanced prosperity. The suggestions of this advisory group should be submitted to Congress for action and made available to the general public.

This procedure follows democratic principles. There is an opportunity for public opinion to be informed and to express itself through its normal agency, the Congress of the United States. The character of the advisory group assures representation of every sector of our population.

We need not be at the mercy of haphazard forces which have governed business expansion during the period of national industrial growth. These forces at best brought about periods of high productive activity followed by depressions; they did not bring stable expansion; they are no longer adequate to meet our needs. During recent years Government controls have been extended over an increasing portion of our economic activity, with a growing danger of bureaucracy. We have need now of a central advisory agency, representing the economic groups concerned, forming a channel for their views and experience, commissioned to coordinate industrial activity.

Such an agency, advisory to Congress, can prepare the way for balanced expansion of private industry and reemployment of the unemployed.

EDUCATION

During the past year the Committee on Education has rendered substantial service in connection with important legislation dealing with education and current educational problems. The committee consists of the following: Matthew Woll, chairman; Thomas E. Burke, John P. Frey, E. E. Milliman, and Irvin Kuenzli.

There is no single field which is more the concern of organized labor than education. We are proud of our continuous activity and constructive influence in connection with educational policies and institutions. Equal educational opportunities freely available to all are essential in a democratic way of living, and the extension of the franchise to all citizens requires that all be prepared for the responsibilities of citizenship. Unions have been leaders in the extension and improvement of educational opportunities. Labor regards our public school system as an agency of the people to be adapted to meet their needs and carry out their ideals, and we have included in the responsibilities of central labor unions representation for Labor on local boards of education and on boards of directors of public libraries. The time has come for broadening this principle of representation so that Labor shall have representation proportional to its needs and its interests at stake. We, therefore, urge every central labor union

to initiate a campaign for adequate representation for Labor on its local board of education. It may require considerable planning and time to carry out this purpose, so plans should get under way as expeditiously as possible. With planning for development of vocational education, revision of the high school curriculum, vocational guidance, juvenile placement and adult education, Labor's concern with education became more compelling. We need to be active and influential in the field for our own welfare and protection as well as for the best interests of Society.

Two major educational proposals are now before Congress: Federal grants to states in support of local education and revision of legislation for vocational education.

Federal Grants—Depression years called attention to a fact that had become increasingly patent—that equal educational opportunities could exist for all citizens when funds available for use for education were more equitably distributed with respect to population. This can be done only through Federal grants to supplement funds derived through taxation of state incomes and wealth. Under the corporate form of financing, incomes from local manufacture or business undertaking are drawn off by financial control in metropolitan centers. Federal taxation can assess wealth wherever produced and by redistribution return to producing communities revenues from wealth produced locally. Those states with the largest population of school age have been the states with the smallest per capita income and the least wealth. Only Federal contributions can equalize educational opportunities for the children of such sections.

Another argument for Federal contributions lies in the mobility of our population and the dependence of metropolitan areas upon rural ones for replacement and increases in the work supply.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly endorsed the principle of Federal grants to state educational funds provided there should not be Federal control or dictation of local educational plans. We, therefore, approved S. 1305 upon which hearings were held. This bill was in the main in accord with the recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Education created in response to the Federation's complaints against abuses in vocational education and later expanded into an inquiry into the whole field of education. S. 1305, introduced by Senator Thomas of Utah, provides grants to states for the improvement of public, elementary and secondary schools, which may be used in educational activities under state and local authorities including teacher training in service; school library services; health, welfare and recreational activities; nursery schools, kindergartens and junior colleges; educational services for handicapped pupils; adult educational and recreational activities conducted by public school systems; text-books and other instructional supplies; transportation of pupils. The basis proposed for appointment by the Commissioner of Education is an index of financial need; the state educational load, its financial ability, and the relation of these two factors to national educational load and financial ability. In addition grants are provided to states for adult education, rural library service, cooperative educational research and

demonstrations and for administration, and for education of children residing in Federal reservations and foreign stations.

The statement of policy under Section 1 agrees with the American Federation of Labor's basic philosophy:

It is the primary purpose of this Act to assist in equalizing educational opportunities, among and within the states, insofar as the grants-in-aid to the states herein authorized will permit, without Federal control over the educational policies of states and localities. The provisions of this Act shall therefore be so construed as to maintain local and state initiative and responsibility in the conduct of education and to reserve explicitly to the states and their local subdivisions the administration of schools, including institutions for the preparation of teachers, the control over the processes of education, the control and determination of curricula of the schools, the methods of instruction to be employed in them, the selection of personnel employed by the state and its agencies and local school jurisdictions, and insofar as consistent with the purposes for which funds are made available under this Act the determination of the best uses of the funds appropriated under this Act.

In the hearings held by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on S. 1305 the American Federation of Labor was represented by Matthew Woll, George Googe and Irvin Kuenzli.

The committee decided to report the measure to the Senate with an amendment which was proposed during the hearings but not presented for discussion at any public hearing. While the report was in print but had technically not been submitted, the President of the American Federation of Labor wrote the chairman of the Senate Committee and its members, asking that the committee be reconvened and the amendment be reconsidered. This amendment proposed that any funds used for vocational education should be under Federal control, thereby contradicting the fundamental underlying policy the bill laid down in the statement of policy.

The Federal Grants bill of the former Congress had included a section on vocational education amending existing law but in view of the basic changes needed in existing vocational education legislation, it seemed best that the subject should be dealt with in separate legislation. The American Federation of Labor Committee on Education drafted legislation amending the Smith-Hughes and George-Deen Acts. At the request of the American Federation of Labor our bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator George and in the House by Representative Larrabee.

In drafting the American Federation of Labor bill the Committee on Education had conferences with representatives of general educators and of the American Vocational Association. Our Committee was not able to reach an agreement with the officials of the A. V. A. as to the basic principles which should underlie administration of vocational education. Our committee recommended local control of vocational education, so those plans should be decided locally. Only by putting into the hands of local authorities opportunity to adjust plans to local needs can there be that integration of the educational program which will assure rounded education needed for life in a democratic society.

One of the reasons why Labor was concerned to have a public school system

was to prevent those group barriers which grow out of unequal educational opportunities and which because of their very nature are unbridgeable. Since the establishment of our public school policy, Labor has been vigilantly on guard against policies that would tend to create classes based upon educational separatism.

When provisions for vocational education were in the making public schools were prepared for only one kind of vocational training—for the professions. We had not at that time succeeded in getting children of wage-earners families to attend high school voluntarily or in getting legislation to make such attendance compulsory. Demand for high school education came from those expecting to enter the professions. Consequently the curriculum was adapted to their needs. Because general educators at that time were not prepared to deal with vocational education for industrial employment with understanding and sympathy, the American Federation of Labor and other sponsors of legislation deemed it wise to create an independent Federal board of vocational education and to give it authority to approve state plans conditional to Federal grants. Vocational work was well done in the first years and general grants stimulated action on the part of states. Vocational education is now firmly established as an accepted division of public education. At the present time more than 60 per cent of the boys and girls of high school age are in school. High school studies that lead to the professions are not necessarily of interest to boys and girls preparing for industrial employment. Though there have been repeated proposals for the reorganization of the high school curriculum there have been obstacles that have prevented such a development. One of the main obstacles to that objective has been the lack of coordination between general education and vocational education. General educators must take the initiative for the reform while the students in vocational education are the worst sufferers. Federal control is maintained over vocational education while general education responds to local self-government. As a consequence of this dual control there has been failure to coordinate educational planning and to consider adapting the high school curriculum to the needs of all students. Labor has insisted upon unitary administration within local public schools but real coordination has been blocked by the control exercised by the Federal Government. Labor has urged that vocational education courses for boys and girls should be coordinated with studies preparing them for citizenship in the community and for intelligent and satisfactory living as individuals. The curriculum should consider the whole boy or girl if it is to succeed in its vocational objectives. Local self-determination of educational policies and unified and coordinated planning and administration are basic in providing equal educational opportunities for all of our citizens.

Vocational education has been accepted by educators generally. That was the first step. The second is coordination of this training with general courses dealing with common problems of life and citizenship in a democracy developed for students irrespective of the profession, trade or calling for which they may prepare. For this purpose it is necessary to end the control given the Federal Government over vocational education in its infancy. Local independence and self-control are necessary for vocational education to develop from swaddling clothes and become an integral part of our educational structure.

From the first the American Federation of Labor opposed Federal control over vocational education and we expected from the Federal Board only wise administrative leadership and constructive suggestions. However, Federal control over vocational education and educators was built up which was effective for a type of discipline but limited fullness of growth. There is, however, a related field in which control, national in scope, is necessary—labor standards. Where students are getting practical training through work in order to safeguard standards for employed adult and protect worker-learners against exploitation, labor standards must be fixed determining maximum hours, minimum pay, safe and healthful work conditions, mutual obligations and responsibilities of management and instructors to trainees, etc. Such standards must apply throughout the scope of industries, that is nationally, and should be determined by representatives of employers and Labor. Such standards apply to work and therefore must square with work standards for adult workers. Their formulation should therefore be a responsibility of the agency responsible for standards of working conditions for adult workers—the Department of Labor. In conformity with these fundamental principles the American Federation of Labor requested legislation amending existing laws on vocational education taking from the Federal Office of Education control over vocational education and returning it to local self-government, providing for a Federal advisory committee on labor standards with equal representation for labor and employers, nominated by the organization they represent whose recommendations when promulgated by the Secretary of Labor become a mandatory condition for allocation of Federal grants by the Commissioner of Education; and a Federal committee on standards of vocational education, advisory to the Commissioner of Education also with equal representation for employers and employees, nominated by the organizations they represent. Information on best practices, exchange of experiences, research, are the most effective means to raise local educational levels. There need be no Federal control.

Labor and Education—Upon the request of the Committee on Education the Workers Education Bureau prepared for the American Federation of Labor the pamphlet *Labor and Education* which is a compilation of the policies and recommendations of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. This is a pamphlet of great value to all trade unionists and the record it contains is an honor to our movement. Labor is concerned for opportunities for the common people who must rely upon their own initiative and efforts to promote their welfare. Denial of education limits the effectiveness of the individual while access to education provides opportunity to increase intelligence in every phase of living. The franchise increases in value as citizens are prepared to use it constructively. This is why education must continue a paramount issue with our labor movement.

Local Educational Responsibility—The effectiveness of any program that the American Federation of Labor may formulate depends upon state federations of labor, central labor unions and local unions for its effectiveness, for education programs are determined locally. Labor has the biggest stake in the public school system, so it is appropriate that Labor should be proportionately represented on local boards of education and among the directors of the public libraries. Every central labor union should have an active committee on education, charged with

the responsibility of watching educational policies and practices. This committee should have the cooperation of committees appointed by local unions to deal with vocational education in its specific jurisdiction.

YOUTH

Our Committee on Education gave special consideration to the problem of youth organizations. We are not unmindful of the fact that opportunities for self-development must be available in the formative years and adapted to successive stages of growth. The most far-reaching consequence of emergencies—whether war or economic depression—is interference with the growth and education of the next generation. The consequences of malnutrition or denial of educational opportunities in youth cannot be remedied by abundance at some later time. In these years of social and political turmoil that have shaken social foundations throughout the world we have seen still worse wrong done to the children of those nations who have organized their defenseless children in their immaturity in support of propaganda based on unsound social principles.

We recognize that the educational institutions of every country are organized in support of national institutions. When this is done through responsible agencies in accord with national opinion freely expressed the results represent the level of social progress at which the nation is living. But when policies are developed arbitrarily and there is imposed upon a growing generation unsound principles of living, a great wrong is done which is irreparable in nature. Responsible citizens seek to protect youth during its period of immaturity rather than harness boys and girls in the promotion of causes however good in themselves. It is we believe a sound principle that we as a nation should disapprove organizations of the immature except for purposes that have to do with their personal development. Youth movements are easy tools to power or revolution when concerned with other purposes.

We find a tendency of the National Youth Administration to deal with the problems of youth as though they were in conflict with the interests of the rest of the community. We believe that the distress of youth in this depression while it has a special appeal is only one portion of the dire distress which befell young and old alike. The remedy for all is the same—to get our economic agencies in action to provide the materials and services for the kind of life we wish to have. As a relief measure we do not believe there should be division based on immaturity. However, we do believe that regardless of the fortunes of the family income, boys and girls should have opportunity to continue their education through secondary schools and through academic work if able and willing to do the work. We, therefore, heartily recommend the program of the National Youth Administration that enables youth to remain in school, and urge its continuance in connection with the Office of Education. That portion of its work which provides services to persons without work experience we believe should be developed in connection with the U. S. Employment Service and a Juvenile Employment Division. Schools themselves should not undertake placement though they need to keep in close touch because of their knowledge of the students and because they should know how effective their training proves itself outside school walls. The transition

from school to job has always involved difficulties but the depression has blocked many normal channels.

That portion of the National Youth Administration's activities concerned with vocational training we hold should be done by existing agencies, expanded as needed, and should be subject to those regulations and safeguards which society has deemed wise. It is socially and economically dangerous to provide potential resources to enable undertakings to be independent of existing agencies charged with performing that function under safeguards provided by law.

Annually 2,250,000 boys and girls come from schools and colleges to the world of work, seeking a chance to earn a living and thus becoming self-dependent members of society. During the past 10 years the number of unemployed reached 15 million, has never fallen below 7 million, and is even now 10 million. Meanwhile, the steady stream of young persons from universities, colleges and high schools has found doors closed to professions, technical work, to apprenticeship for crafts and to positions in commerce and industry where less pretraining was required. During the past 10 years many of these young persons became a part of the great army of unemployed together with other young persons, the middle-aged and the old.

There were in 1937 approximately 3,900,000 unemployed persons between the ages of 16 and 25, or approximately one-third of the total unemployed. More-over one-fourth to one-fifth of those who have jobs worked only part time. Unemployment is certainly not primarily a youth problem but its high proportion among youth gives to young people a special concern for its widespread character amongst their own number.

Young people from the ages of 16 to 25 constitute approximately one-sixth of the population—or 23,000,000 in round numbers. This ratio of youth to adults has not always remained constant. It changes with declining birth rate and increasing longevity. In 1870 there was one youth to every two adults; today there is one youth to every three adults. This means that the competition between youth and adults tends to increase not decrease. It tends to explain much of the difficulty of the young in finding employment. Unless constructive measures are found the situation lends itself to propaganda that would create a spirit of conflict between the young and the mature. Society has steadily increased its educational requirements by strengthening its compulsory school attendance and by prohibiting gainful employment of children. At the turn of the century there were 700,000 in our high schools; today there are 6,000,000. Similarly our colleges have grown five-fold in less than four decades.

Union labor is proud of its record as one of the founders of our public school system. The American Federation of Labor has for nearly six decades made responsibility for improving and expanding educational opportunities available through tax-supported institutions, one of its primary duties. Through child-labor and compulsory school attendance laws we have tried to safeguard our own and all other children from work exploitation during their period of development. We have steadily urged more adequate school structures and their fullest use by the community. We have offered teachers Labor support for academic freedom for sound teaching and union organization for dealing with their economic problems. We have urged enrichment of the curricula for all and their adaptation

to the needs of those preparing for all walks of life. We now particularly urge revision of the curriculum of secondary schools. Before the twentieth century only a small percentage of our population received a high school education and the high school curriculum is still dominated by the needs of those going into the professions. Such a curriculum is pre-vocational training for the professions and does not always interest boys and girls with abilities that fit them for commercial or industrial occupations. Pre-professional training should be recognized as vocational training, so that high schools shall realize the need to plan the common training, fitting those in all walks for citizenship under democratic institutions.

We are convinced that democracy is a way of life and not merely a form of government and that future citizens must be trained for their responsibilities in a democracy. If our citizens are to have a sense of social unity and personal responsibility essential for the democratic way of life, they must learn their first lessons in our public schools. The school should not only prepare pupils for life as workers but also as members of a community. It is this preparation for our common life in the community and in the nation that is the chief responsibility of secondary schools. Vocational training whether for the professions, the trade or general industry is supplementary to this basic preparation for citizenship.

Knowledge of the world in which we live and understanding of individual relationship to community life are essential to a sense of responsibility for democracy. The school has its part to contribute to the discipline which prepares youth for the democratic way of life. The rights and privileges of democratic life must be sustained by corresponding duties and disciplined responsibility. As the high school finds its special educational function and develops a response to the interests of boys and girls in what constitutes our common life, boys and girls will not leave school in order to find something of real interest. Development of secondary schools and organization of the curriculum to give them preparation for living is essential to justify our compulsory school attendance laws.

Because we believe there is a unity in the whole of life and that youth is preparatory for maturity and old age, we think organization on the basis of youth for other than educational or recreational purposes is unwise. Youth cannot solve the problems of maturity nor is it in a position of responsibility. The organizations of youth should fit the young for their responsibilities, not setting them in conflict with those who have had experience and responsibility. Experience and information are necessary to responsibility and to preparation for responsible living with its rights and obligations. Youth organizations are usually deliberately or unconsciously controlled by adults who have purposes to serve. In its own interests youth should be protected against such designs until in position and of a maturity to make its own decisions.

While we make provisions for the mental and physical development of youth, we must not neglect to provide individuals with opportunity for development of the spirit which determines the kind of relations an individual has with his fellow-men and interprets to him his relationship to the universe. What one sees in life will largely determine the value he will attach to other people's lives and fix his sense of responsibility in dealing with others. We believe that the home, the church, and society have a responsibility to provide wide freedom for individuals to seek spiritual growth and discipline. Freedom for individuals must

rest on freedom of speech and freedom of thought with appreciation of the responsibilities and duties that accompany freedom of living. We must assure religious freedom in order to assure social progress for ourselves and our children.

In lands where personal freedom has given way before governmental control of the machinery and rules of life and work, we have watched the governmental development of youth movements in the service of political ends—disrupting homes and those basic ties that develop out of the mutuality of rights and duties. Labor wants to protect the boys and girls of the United States from such a perverted fate and to assure them balanced development. The meaning of life for youth grows out of their relationship to their parents and families and out of their religious training and spiritual development. During their temporary dependence upon their elders is the period for learning responsibilities and rights they will be expected to exercise in maturity. An understanding of basic human relations, developed in youth, makes valuable citizens, prepared to maintain democratic institutions. What society does for its children brings rich rewards in national progress. Protective laws, social services, educational opportunities, are all necessary provisions but they cannot insure honesty, integrity in living, or understanding of the importance of so living that every relationship in life is constructive and that all with whom we come in contact are bettered by that relationship. Character and understanding of the purpose of living are what can make youth and adults contribute to human betterment and progress, and they are the ends which our proposals would serve.

Every age has a responsibility for the young. The American Federation of Labor shares in that responsibility which includes provisions for material well-being and opportunity for physical, intellectual and spiritual development. We as an organization can be responsible only for assuring opportunities and the right to benefit by them, but the development of personality and spiritual capacity in our young lies outside the reach of our organization and devolves upon the home, the church and those teachers whose own personalities give them power to help the young grow in insight and wisdom. In order to conserve influences that are necessary to discipline and ideals in living, the American Federation of Labor declares for freedom of religion and religious training as the most fundamental contribution we can make to the children of the future.

PUBLICITY AND THE LABOR PRESS

Two years ago the American Federation of Labor established a new publicity bureau under the direction of Philip Pearl, a former Washington newspaper correspondent. This bureau has functioned effectively during a period of great stress when public support of the policies of the American Federation of Labor was of vital importance.

As a result of the educational campaign conducted through the media of the daily newspapers, magazines and the radio, the American public today has a better understanding of the democratic principles, structure and procedure of the American Federation of Labor than ever before. Polls conducted by the Institute of Public Opinion, a nationally accredited independent organization, show that the vast majority of the American people prefer the American Federation of Labor to the C. I. O. and favor the policies of the A. F. of L. over those of the C. I. O.

The Labor Press, which supports the philosophy and policies of the American Federation of Labor, has been of inestimable value in countering efforts of the C. I. O. to undermine the loyalty of American Federation of Labor members.

The dual, secession movement flooded the country with false propaganda in an attempt to create the impression that the membership of the A. F. of L. had split on important policies, such as the need for amending the National Labor Relations Act. This deceptive propaganda has been offset in large measure by publication of the truth in the labor press.

Because the labor press refused to be hoodwinked, the C. I. O. shifted to a new tack and through one of its organizations, the American Newspaper Guild, sought to capture and control these papers by offering to co-operate with them. President Green promptly issued a warning against this underhand campaign and the Guild effort failed.

The Executive Council deeply appreciates the loyal support of the labor press and pledges to it in return the full backing of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor and all its constituent organizations.

WORLD CONGRESS ON EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

Our 1938 Convention recommended a Vocational Education Congress in connection with the World's Fair held in New York. Without knowing of our resolution, Columbia University took the initiative in calling a World Congress on Education and Labor. Rather than sponsor two world education conferences it seemed better to relate the two purposes. The American Federation of Labor therefore agreed to cooperate with the Congress for Labor and Democracy and appointed a large participating committee. That congress convened August 15-17, 1939.

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA

The achievements during the past year can be summarized under eight main headings.

Labor Institutes—The Labor Institute program as initiated and carried forward under the general direction of the Workers Education Bureau has had support by the representatives of labor. Acceptance of the technique of the institute testifies to the soundness of the plans as they have been worked out and to the broad objectives which are sought to be achieved.

First and foremost in the institute program was the Ninth Annual Institute of Labor on the campus of Rutgers University at New Brunswick, New Jersey. This Institute was sponsored jointly by the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, Rutgers University, and the Bureau. Some 150 labor delegates were present, together with some 30 members of the Rutgers faculty, 10 industrial observers, and 60 speakers and other invited guests. The topic for the Institute lasting 4 days was "Labor and the Changing World." The Director of the Bureau was made the recipient of the Rutgers University Award for 1939 in recognition of a cooperative project which had been jointly conceived, jointly administered, and for the success of which there was a joint responsibility.

A four-day Training Institute for Officers or Organizers, was held on the

campus of the University of Michigan from August 21 to 25. One feature of this Institute was the cooperative relationship between the State Federation of Labor, the State Board of Control for Vocational Education, and the University. This is the first institute which has been held in cooperation between the University and the labor groups and vocational educators.

The Pacific Coast School for Workers, in connection with its regular Summer Session, held a two-day Labor Institute, where were discussed such topics as "Problems of an Organizer," "Labor and the Law," Problems of Negotiation and Arbitration," and "What Rights of Organized Labor are Protected by Legislation."

Similar institutes have been held in connection with the Wisconsin Summer School for Workers, with the cooperation of the State Federation of Labor.

Regional Conferences—The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, in connection with its legislative program, developed a series of regional meetings throughout the state for the discussion of various legislative and educational matters before the State Federation, in the cities of Fall River, New Bedford, Lawrence, Boston, Springfield, Worcester, and Fitchburg. A representative of the Workers Education Bureau cooperated with the State Federation in carrying on this series of regional meetings.

State Federations and Workers' Education—One of the developments during the year in the State Federations of Labor has been the setting aside a part of their annual convention time for a consideration of the subject of education, or in some cases for a more specific conference on that subject.

Local Unions and Workers' Education—In response to the request of Local 3 of the Electrical Workers of America in New York, the Director has cooperated with their Educational Director, in setting up a program of workers' education for their membership. Launched on June 16, the total enrollment has exceeded 800, from which approximately 250 have been selected for a first group, which will undertake a twelve-week preliminary conditioning. The same procedure will be followed for other groups.

Radio Program—For the seventh successive year the Workers Education Bureau has been concerned in educational programs on the radio. A year ago the "Americans at Work" program was inaugurated by the Columbia Broadcasting System, with the research assistance of the Workers Education Bureau. This program is continued for a second year over a nation-wide network of 85 stations. Among the programs which have been given during the course of the year were:

Bricklayer	Schoolteacher
Fisherman	Carpenter
Pottery Worker	Barber
Coal Miner	Retail Grocer
Auto Worker	Meat Packer
Toy Maker	Road Builder
Pullman Porter	Radio Technician
Shipworker	Cab Driver
Glassworker	Test Pilot
Plumber	

In connection with the program the Bureau has had the active cooperation of many of the national and international unions.

Research—The Bureau has carried forward these research activities: In connection with the development of the Rutgers Labor Institute and the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, a study on trends in Labor legislation and economic changes over the past ten years in New Jersey; studies on the subject of Annual Wages, the Incorporation of Trade Unions, Social Security, and Labor Legislation; together with the completion of a study on Collective Bargaining Agreements.

Publications—During the year the Bureau has prepared the pamphlet on "Labor and Education," which was published by the American Federation of Labor. This and the pamphlet "Democracy and Civil Liberties," reported last year, contain summaries of the actions taken at American Federation of Labor conventions on these two important subjects. The Bureau has sent out widely to the labor press a series of six articles on "The Wage Earner's Stake in Health." A new series of six articles entitled "Short Stories on Economics" is now being distributed.

The Monthly News Letter for members of the Bureau has been a substitute for the Workers' Education News Service.

Affiliation and Support of the Bureau—During the year there have been 76 new affiliations and renewals, with reaffiliation of several International Unions.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

We have continued active participation in the International Labor Organization by (1) sending our representative Robert J. Watt to the quarterly meetings of the Governing Body of which he is a member, (2) providing adequate labor representation on the American delegation to the Annual Session of the International Labor Conference, and (3) keeping our membership informed of the progress of the International Labor Organization through the pages of The American Federationist and through publication of a pamphlet entitled "The New World of Labor: A Panorama of the International Labor Office" which briefly describes the functions of the Organization.

The American Federation of Labor was represented at the 25th Annual International Labor Conference at Geneva in addition to Robert J. Watt by Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and Herbert Woods, Economist for the International Union of Operating Engineers.

The 1939 Conference was the first to be addressed by the new director, John G. Winant, former Governor of New Hampshire and first Chairman of the Social Security Board. Mr. Winant has long been known to our members for his keen understanding of the social and economic problems of the working people. His analysis of world conditions as presented in the Directors' Report was a profound review of the havoc being created by the feverish pace of rearmament and the consequent diversion of human effort from social and economic welfare to the building of the instruments of war. His report cannot be ignored

even by the aggressor nations whose people are already showing the physical effects of overwork and undernourishment.

The deliberations of the 1939 Conference were sorely handicapped by the self-imposed limitations of the peoples of European democracies in their determination to protect themselves against any such aggression as that which trampled over one of the most courageous new democracies of Europe, the member state of Czecho-Slovakia.

Each item on the 1939 agenda was studied, therefore, in the light of its possible effect upon the defense programs of the member states. The Workers' Delegates joined with the representatives of the Governments and Employers in accepting temporary postponement of long desired progress rather than risk any impairment of their national capacities to protect their cherished liberties. These six items were scheduled for formal action:

1. Generalization of the reduction of hours of work in industry, commerce and offices.
2. Reduction of hours of work in coal mines.
3. Regulation of hours of work and rest periods of professional drivers (and their assistants) of vehicles engaged in road transport.
4. Technical and vocational education and apprenticeship.
5. Regulation of contracts of employment of indigenous workers.
6. Recruiting, placing and conditions of labor of migrant workers.

1 and 2. Generalization of the reduction of hours of work in industry, commerce and offices, and reduction of hours of work in coal mines. Both items were suspended by vote of the delegates but were referred to the Governing Body for re-submission as soon as is warranted by the international situation. In both instances the decision was voted with sincere expressions of regret but with almost unanimous agreement because of the obvious relationship to the programs of national defense against aggression. The decision of the workers group to accept the postponement of the two conventions for reduction of hours was reached after thorough discussion and only upon a deliberate and vigorous exposition as to the circumstances and conditions.

3. Regulation of hours in road transport. In the long and difficult conferences of the committee which were necessary before agreement could be reached, Daniel J. Tobin, the American Workers' representative on this Committee, played a substantial part in the negotiation of this agreement. A draft convention and four Recommendations were finally submitted by the Committee and all were adopted by the Conference.

The main provisions of this convention may be summarized as follows: All travelling staff in road transport should be limited to 48 hours per week (except that authorities may permit longer hours for subsidiary workers of those whose work is much interrupted by mere attendance); continuous driving not to exceed 5 hours; daily hours limited to 8 hours; daily rest period 12 hours and a weekly rest period of 30 hours. Certain exemptions are allowable. The usual safety clause is provided to prevent the lowering of any existing higher standards, and the Convention provides for consultation of national authorities with employers and workers organizations.

The Recommendations deal with individual control books, night work, methods of regulating hours of work in the industry, and rest periods for professional drivers of private vehicles.

4. Technical and vocational education and apprenticeship. The Conference adopted two Recommendations on this question, one dealing with apprenticeship and the other with vocational education. The Recommendation adopted by the Conference on apprenticeship provides standards as to age of admission to apprenticeship, medical examination of apprentices, registration, and, when necessary, control over the number of apprentices, and general organization of and supervision over apprenticeships.

The recommendation on vocational education provides that any training programs must be closely linked with the economic and social needs of the community, with the occupational interests of the workers and with the employer's needs for workers. The Recommendation set up general guiding principles with special emphasis upon cooperation of the groups concerned—employers, workers, and young people.

5. Regulation of contracts of employment of indigenous workers. The Conference adopted two Conventions and two Recommendations on this question. One Convention deals with written contracts of employment for native workers and is supplemented by a Recommendation setting various desirable standards for fixing the maximum length of these contracts. The other Convention and Recommendation deal with the abolition of penal sanctions for any breach of employment contract by indigenous workers, and urges the creation of labor inspection services in colonial territories when there is no check on the application of labor or social measures.

6. Recruiting, placing and conditions of labor of migrant workers. The Conference adopted a Convention on migrant workers dealing largely with the recruitment of migrant workers for employment, their placement in the new country and their treatment while employed there. The Convention laid down detailed suggestions as to the recruitment, placement and equality of treatment of migrants and as to cooperation between countries directly concerned.

Resolutions. A Resolution directing further efforts to increase protection for women workers and to assure equal pay for equal work was adopted by the Conference.

Another Resolution adopted by the Conference and referred to the Governing Body of the Organization suggests a study of the methods each country uses and the possible methods which could be used to encourage ratification of the decisions of the Conference and to make the activities of the International Labor Organization better known in the various countries.

The Conference adopted another resolution requesting the Governing Body to consider the placing on an early Conference agenda the question of the establishment of special labor courts for the enforcement of labor legislation.

In addition to the general Conference resolutions the workers' group adopted a resolution expressing their fellowship and sympathy with the valiant people of China and condemned Japanese aggression. By resolution, the workers' group also expressed their sympathy with the people of Czecho-Slovakia and expressed the hope that Czecho-Slovakia will soon be able to resume its place in the inter-

national Labor Organization where it had been an active and loyal member for many years.

The Workers Group unanimously voted to endorse President Roosevelt's plea for an international conference to lay the basis for "an honorable and enduring peace" and urged the governments of the world to meet together for an "honest investigation into, and constructive solution of, the economic difficulties, social problems and nationalistic rivalries which already are depriving hundreds of millions of people of their right to enjoy the fruits of our civilization and which, if not peaceably solved, may destroy the innocent people of many nations."

We heartily concur in the expression of continued support given by our government to the International Labor Organization and hope that the time of a lasting peace will soon arrive. Until that time, however, we should do all in our power to encourage our government to continue its support and to cooperate as closely as possible with the International Labor Organization as the most effective instrument for peace in the world today.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

The Report of the Executive Council to the Fifty-eighth Annual Convention described in detail the composition and activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions with which we are actively affiliated.

The International Federation of Trade Unions continues to represent an active progressive force in international affairs with an influence which is felt even in totalitarian countries. The fact that the free and independent labor organizations of Germany, Italy, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia were viciously destroyed as soon as the dictators obtained control has not prevented the continued relationship of the International Federation of Trade Unions with a vigorous labor movement which persists despite persecution.

The Eighth International Trades Union Congress met on July 5th this year at Zurich, Switzerland. Robert J. Watt attended it as the American Federation of Labor representative, with delegates from twenty-three nations present. Sir Walter Citrine, the President, was able to report that the International Federation of Trade Unions has grown since the last Triennial Congress from thirteen million to nineteen million organized workers. He extended a most cordial welcome to the delegates from the United States and New Zealand whose association with the International Federation of Trade Unions has provided a new impetus in their efforts to maintain and extend the social and economic liberties of workers throughout the world.

This situation was likewise emphasized by the Secretary, Mr. Schevenels, who recounted the loss suffered by the domination by dictators of once free and independent nations. His report was the first subject on the agenda and described in detail the membership and activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Following the affiliation of Norway in 1936, and of Mexico at the London Congress, the United States rejoined in 1937 and New Zealand affiliated in 1938. The organizations in Danzig, Memel and South West Africa have fallen out,

and South Africa and Greece have been struck off the list of affiliated National Centers by the Executive.

The "Report on Activities" which declared that the International Federation of Trade Unions now consisted of twenty-three National Centers and during the past few years had developed in the direction of an international rather than a European organization, was unanimously approved by the Congress.

An important item on the Agenda dealt with "Economic Policy, Reduction of Hours of Work, Unemployment and the Fight Against Slumps." On the question the Congress adopted three resolutions, i.e. (1) The Study of the Problem of Industrial Councils. (2) Resolution on Hours of Work. (3) Resolution on Economic Policy and Prevention of Slumps.

The resolutions in general were based on the idea that the structural transformation of industry, which would largely preclude the possibility of slumps, cannot be secured all at once, and it is the task and responsibility of Trade Unions to meet the dangers and difficulties of the slumps and depressions by "suitable measures" within the limits of our present economic systems.

The Congress declared that "an economic policy of the democratic and peace-loving nations organized and coordinated in an effective manner would constitute the most adequate basis for an international policy of combating the slump, which must be applied energetically if the world and mankind are to be saved from another economic catastrophe."

Two resolutions were adopted by the Congress on the question of a "Plan of Action for Peace." The first resolution "Against Racial Persecution" was unanimously adopted but the second one dealing with the "Defense of Peace" was objected to by the Scandinavian and United States delegates because it contained a paragraph implying that "peace" could be secured on the basis of the Anglo-Franco-Russian Pact. The resolution was amended and adopted with several delegates from the National Centers abstaining from voting.

Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden proposed that the "Congress appoint a committee, consisting of two members appointed by the Executive and three members by the Congress, to draw up and submit proposals regarding the future form of activity of the I. F. T. U."

Another proposal by the same four countries requested that "the Executive of the I. F. T. U. be instructed to appoint an expert to direct the activities of the I. F. T. U. in the social field. It would be the function of this comrade to deal with all social questions, to prepare, direct and coordinate the activities of the workers' group in Geneva, and to devote the necessary attention, in the intervals between the meetings of the Governing Body and the International Labor Conferences of the International Labor Organization, to all the questions dealt with there."

These two proposals were unanimously approved by the Congress on the understanding that a study will be made of the two proposals by a special committee of five, three members to be appointed by the Executive, and two by the Congress, and a report to be submitted to the next session of the General Council.

Resolutions were moved at the Congress by the British and Norwegian Trade Unions urging the reconsideration in the light of changed conditions the affiliation of the Russian Trade Unions to the I. F. T. U., a question on which the general

Council Meeting in Oslo, Norway, in May 1938 decided not to continue negotiations.

The whole subject matter was referred to a committee where many different motions were made. The first one by the British delegate to approve the British Resolution was lost by nine votes to four. The next motion by the Norwegian delegate to approve the Resolution submitted by Norway was lost eight votes to four. The French delegate and the delegate from Luxembourg moved similar resolutions in an effort to conciliate the different viewpoints the first being lost by nine votes to three and the second by eight votes to one.

A proposal was then made by the Swiss delegate confirming the efforts of the I. F. T. U. for "unity" and approving of the decision of the General Council at the Oslo meeting. The delegate from the United States proposed as a substitute that the Committee recommend to the Congress "that the Congress approve of the decision of the General Council at the Oslo meeting." This motion was carried by 10 votes to 1 with two abstentions.

The Report of the Committee was then submitted to the Plenary Session of the Congress. Great Britain moved for a vote on the British Resolution to extend an invitation to the Russian Trade Unions to affiliate, the Norwegian Resolution having been withdrawn in favor of the British Resolution. The British motion was defeated by 46 votes to 37, with Great Britain, France, Norway and Mexico voting for the resolution.

The Congress then voted on the recommendation of the committee as proposed by the United States delegate "to approve the decision taken by the General Council at the Oslo meeting." The vote was carried by 60 votes to 5 against and 18 abstentions. Mexico voted against (5 votes) and France (14 votes) and Norway (4 votes) abstained.

During the course of the debate a protest which had been lodged by the Mexican delegates against the validity of the decision taken at Oslo was withdrawn.

The President, the General Secretary, the four Vice-Presidents and the Assistant Secretary were all re-elected. Martin Meister, the Swiss delegate, was elected to fill the vacant seat of the fifth vice-president.

The Committee on Elections proposed that the Congress vote to increase the number of vice-presidents from five to six, and the Congress voted to approve this change which necessitated a modification of the statutes (Article 10, paragraph 1). National Centers will be consulted so as to make the decision definite. Then the four affiliated National Centers of North and South America, the United States, Canada, Mexico and the Argentine will be asked if they desire to nominate candidates for this seat. If only one candidate is nominated within the time limit, this candidate will be considered as being elected. If more than one candidate is proposed, the names of the candidates will be sent to all the affiliated national centers who will vote on the question. This procedure will be arranged so as to enable the Executive of the I. F. T. U. when it meets in the United States during October 1939 to confirm officially the election of the sixth Vice-president and to enable the newly elected vice-president to attend the Executive Meeting in the United States.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

In accordance with recommendations of the last Convention and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, President Green called a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor which was held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor last May. The following officials were present: William Green, President; Luis N. Morones, Vice-President; Matthew Woll, Treasurer, and Santiago Iglesias, Secretary.

The Committee held two sessions to give consideration to the distinctive problems of each country and the situation of the labor movements in the Western Hemisphere. Consideration and study were given to all matters concerned with the well-being of all those peoples.

The paramount question, most carefully considered, was to ascertain what were the best methods to pursue to effect the reorganization of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The organized working people of the United States are firmly convinced that cordial and friendly relations can be established and maintained between all countries represented in the Pan-American Federation of Labor through the development of a perfect and sincere understanding of all the labor movements of the Western Hemisphere.

The working people in the Pan-American countries should be guaranteed the right to organize and to cooperate within their respective countries in the furtherance of their legitimate, social, industrial and economic interests. The right of free speech, free assemblage and free press should not be abridged. Liberty, democracy and justice should triumph over autocracy and unfreedom in any form.

After careful consideration and discussion of the aforesaid subject it was recommended by President Green and unanimously approved that a general and careful survey should be carried on throughout the most important labor centers of the twenty South American republics to know their actual standing on the principles and activities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. The work is to be started by correspondence and followed by a representative commission to those countries.

After such a survey has been made a call will be issued to hold the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, either in Havana or in Washington, to perfect the organization, to improve fundamental and important cultural standards of life and labor of the masses of the people, in all those countries.

All suggestions were approved by those present, giving President Green the power to decide regarding the proper time and best way to carry out the recommendations adopted.

JAPANESE WAR ON CHINA

The conflict in China still continues. Japan has been carrying it on in a most ruthless and destructive manner all during the past year. We reported upon developments which had taken place one year ago to the Houston Conven-

tion of the American Federation of Labor. At that time the Council stated, "All were shocked at the recital of the atrocities which were being perpetrated upon the Chinese people."

The destruction of life and property in China by the invading armies of Japan has steadily increased. Aerial warfare has been carried forward in cruel and destructive proportions. Cities have been destroyed, territory made waste, men, women and children killed by the hundreds and thousands. A scene of desolation has been created. Panic, confusion, fear and distress prevail throughout the Chinese nation.

We deplore these tragic events, and as heretofore, place the blame squarely upon the Japanese nation and the rulers of the Japanese people. There is no doubt but that Japan is the aggressor nation. It invaded China, seized its seaports and adjoining territory and has held them by sheer force of arms. Our sympathies go out to China and to the Chinese people. For that reason, we reaffirm and reiterate our position in favor of the application of a boycott against Japanese goods and services. The Council urges that the convention declare itself in favor of the continuation of the boycott against Japanese goods and services so long as Japan persists in the prosecution of a war against China and the Chinese people.

GERMAN BOYCOTT

Pursuant to the action and instructions of previous conventions, an official communication was addressed to all national and international unions and to all state federations of labor, central labor unions and directly affiliated local unions, calling upon all to continue to apply the boycott against German goods and German services until Dictator Hitler ceased his persecution of minority groups in Germany, including the Jews, the Catholics and Protestants. The response to the appeal made was most gratifying. Many organizations created committees for the special purpose of calling upon merchants, friends, and working men and women to cooperate in the application of the boycott declared by the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council renews its recommendation that the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm the declarations previously made in conventions of the American Federation of Labor, in favor of a boycott against German goods and German services, until Hitler and his totalitarian government in Germany ceases persecution of Jewish people because of racial hatred and because of their minority position, and of the Catholics and Protestants who seek to exercise freedom to worship in accordance with the dictates of conscience.

CONFLICT BETWEEN EUROPEAN NATIONS

The Executive Council shares with all the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor their feeling of apprehension over the European war which menaces the peace of the world. A year ago, the Council reported upon relations between nations. At that time we referred to the cloud of fear

which hung like a shadow over Europe because of war preparations in totalitarian nations. This increase in armament, in armies and in war preparation spread until now practically all the world powers have concentrated their efforts in the development of war preparations equal to that which prevailed during the World War.

These preparations involve an increase in the number of men trained and prepared for war, an increase in the artillery forces, the air forces and in the navies of all the nations. Even our own country became disturbed over war preparations in European nations, and embarked upon a very large national defense program.

Since the submission of our last report, the war in Spain was terminated. That bitter conflict resulted in the loss of thousands of lives and in the destruction of millions of dollars worth of property. The horrors of war in all its extreme phases during the Spanish conflict were brought home to the people in all nations throughout the world.

Mussolini, the ruler of Italy, in addition to the seizure of Ethiopia several years ago, invaded helpless Albania during the past year and through force of arms compelled that nation to submit to the dictatorial control of his Fascist government.

Germany, under the leadership of Hitler, invaded Austria, destroyed its independence and subjected it to German control. In like manner, Hitler led his armies into Czecho-Slovakia, seized that country, took over the boundary fortifications, and substituted Nazism for democracy. Czecho-Slovakia is now a German-controlled nation. Next, Hitler turned to Danzig and invaded that territory. Poland called upon Great Britain and France for military aid against the invasion, as promised in their treaties. Great Britain and France made protests and exhausted every diplomatic resource for peaceful adjustment, and only then issued ultimatums preceding a declaration of war against Germany.

No one can adequately appraise the state of mind caused by fear, anxiety and uncertainty among the masses of the people of European nations at the present moment. The Council feels that it can with perfect propriety repeat what it stated in its report a year ago. It is of the opinion that war preparations and war grow out of the substitution of dictatorial and autocratic control of government for democracy and democratic procedure in the administration of governmental affairs. We are confident that if the people who reside in totalitarian nations were in control of their government, if in these nations there were a rule of the people, by the people and for the people, that war and the threat of war would no longer disturb the peace of the world. We cannot help but believe that the masses of the people in Germany and other autocratically controlled countries are peace-loving people, men and women who abhor war as the masses of the people do here in America. We are confident their state of mind is similar to that which exists here. We are certain there would be no threat of war if the final decision regarding war were vested in the peoples of these nations.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently and repeatedly declared itself against Nazism, Fascism and Communism. Dictators who control under these autocratic forms of government shape the destinies of the nations they

control and of the people who are subject to their will. Freedom, democracy and democratic forms of government mean international peace; while dictatorship, autocracy and totalitarian forms of government mean war, territorial aggression and chaos and confusion in international relationships.

The President of the United States has issued two proclamations, one establishing our neutrality under international law and the other putting into effect the arms embargo made mandatory by the Neutrality Law. The embargo lists the goods prohibited and lists the nations affected.

The President has declared his intention to call an extra session of Congress to consider neutrality in the light of European developments.

The American Federation of Labor protests against the aggression which precipitated war among the nations in Europe. We protest against the persecution of minorities in totalitarian nations. We protest against racial persecution and the development of racial hate. We plead for the substitution of freedom, democracy and tolerance among all people and in all nations throughout the world.

We are unalterably opposed to our own nation becoming involved in European conflicts. We favor the exercise of neighborly and mediatorial influence by our government in all efforts to promote peace and to compose differences between nations. But, in doing this, we insist that our government shall pursue a judicious policy, exercising care and caution and a firm determination to avoid involvement in European conflicts or in European wars.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the fifty-ninth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor should emphatically and decisively declare itself against autocracy in government, let it be Nazi, Fascist or Communist. We call upon the nations of the world to utilize the instrumentalities of peace in the settlement of international disputes. We plead for the substitution of conference, negotiation, and the settlement of controversies in the conference room, in place of war and war preparations. We as a part of the institutional life of the nation, declare that it is our firm and unalterable purpose to serve in every possible way in the preservation of our democratic form of government, the protection of our free institutions, the enjoyment of the right of free assemblage, free speech, free press and religious freedom. We call upon all people who share this point of view to join with us in the protection of our liberties and in the achievement of these honorable purposes.

We as an American people have a responsibility for peace that will test our capacity for self-government. Maintenance of neutrality in the promotion of peace will not be a simple matter but will be complicated by propaganda and by pleas in the interests of many causes. Nevertheless the American Federation of Labor believes that at this time we should take a firm stand for peace and against involvement in European wars. To demonstrate our belief in liberty, peace and self-government, it is our inescapable duty to observe scrupulously the spirit and letter of neutrality and to think, act, and live the spirit of peace, and to do all in our power to cooperate with men of good will to bring hope and understanding into relations between all countries.

Despite propaganda or persuasion to special partisanship, Labor in the United States appreciates its responsibility in this national emergency to do

its full part in maintaining neutrality. Continuance of this policy in good faith by all is our immediate duty. Many of the forces shaping situations we shall have to meet are quite beyond our control, but it also is possible for each citizen to direct his activities and influence so that practices of freedom and democracy shall be honored and strengthened. Our allegiance to principles of democracy shall remain dominant. We favor our nation offering our mediation services for peace, and hope that warring countries may be prevailed upon to accept them. But with that we refuse to go farther. As for our own country we demand that it stay out of the European conflict, maintaining neutrality in spirit and in act.

CONCLUSION

Our report on the year's work covers a wide range of activities and represents a very considerable volume of constructive work. Our increase in membership represents increased strength and a wider basis for future work. Increases in unions and in union membership bring problems of education and discipline, for the new union recruit has much to learn and achieve before he becomes a seasoned trade unionist. This problem of workers education is one of the main responsibilities of national and international unions and the American Federation of Labor. Periods of rapid growth make educational work proportionately urgent.

The future will present opportunities and demands. Our convention must plan so that we may be ready to advance the cause of Labor under all circumstances.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN, President.
FRANK DUFFY, First Vice-President.
T. A. RICKERT, Second Vice-President.
MATTHEW WOLL, Third Vice-President.
JOHN COEFIELD, Fourth Vice-President.
ARTHUR O. WHARTON, Fifth Vice-President.
JOSEPH N. WEBER, Sixth Vice-President.
G. M. BUGNIAZET, Seventh Vice-President.
GEO. M. HARRISON, Eighth Vice-President.
DANIEL J. TOBIN, Ninth Vice-President.
HARRY C. BATES, Tenth Vice-President.
EDWARD J. GAINOR, Eleventh Vice-President.
W. D. MAHON, Twelfth Vice-President.
FELIX H. KNIGHT, Thirteenth Vice-President.
GEO. E. BROWNE, Fourteenth Vice-President.
EDWARD FLORE, Fifteenth Vice-President.
FRANK MORRISON, Secretary-Treasurer.

Executive Council American Federation of Labor.

The Chair will now call upon the Secretary to submit the names of the convention committees. Please note the report of these convention committees, so that those appointed thereon may be prepared to serve when the Chairmen of the committees call the meetings of the committees.

Secretary Morrison read the following lists:

Executive Council's Report

Harry C. Bates, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Robert Byron, F. A. Fitzgerald, John M. Gillespie, Henry F. Schmal, Leo J. Buckley, George Q. Lynch, Charles M. Rau, William Campbell, Frank Coleman, Irvin Barney, Arthur Higgins, Henry Ohl, Jr., M. D. Cox, Harvey W. Brown, George S. Counts, George L. Berry, Edward McMorrow.

Resolutions

Matthew Woll, John P. Frey, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, Thomas L. Hughes, John Posschl, P. J. Norrin, M. J. Gillooly, John B. Higgerty, L. P. Lindelof, R. G. Soderstrom, Thomas H. O'Donnell, John J. Mara, Fred Baer, Henry W. Strickland, M. A. Hutcheson, Michael J. Collieran, W. C. Birthright, Joseph P. Ryan.

Laws

Daniel J. Tobin, Joseph N. Weber, Dennia Lane, William Quirk, J. J. Farnan, John R. Stevenson, John O'Malley, James L. Kelley, William Tracy, William J. Gorman, Edward J. Volz, Albert G. Hunt, J. J. Fitzgerald, Herbert Rivers, Jasper N. Davis, J. P. McCurdy, William McCarthy, John J. Egan, R. A. Olson.

Organization

Frank Duffy, V. O. Gardner, John P. Burke, Florence Marston, Patrick H. Reagan, Jess Fletcher, Edward Canavan, James Bove, Chris Lane, John J. Scully, John B. Prewitt, Earl W. Jimerson, A. Philip Randolph, Joseph Schmidt, J. W. Buzzell, Joe Ozanic, George S. Bennett, George Kiebler.

Labels

Edward Flore, Joseph Obergfell, Chauncey A. Weaver, H. G. Cozens, Peter Beisel, An-

thony Merlino, M. S. Maxwell, I. H. Goldberg, George C. Slater, W. G. Desepete, Matthew Burns, James A. Taylor, Walter C. Moeller, E. L. Wheatley, John Zittello, Mary G. Morley, Charles B. Wolfe, R. E. Van Horn, Charles E. Sinnegan.

Adjustment

T. A. Rickert, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, Othmer Mischo, F. H. Fljozdal, E. J. Brock, Frank Brewster, D. W. Tracy, D. J. Mahoney, Al. Armbrust, W. R. Robinson, George W. Lawson, William Mohlman, Joseph F. Kelley, Harry Nacey, Joseph J. Delaney.

Local and Federated Bodies

Felix H. Knight, George E. Browne, C. C. Coulter, Joseph M. Marshall, A. Adamski, James C. Quinn, R. E. Woodmansee, Joe A. Wilson, William J. Moran, Frank B. Powers, Alfred Rota, Lawrence Foley, Raymond E. Rodgers, Jacob Goldstone, Nat Messing, George Renz, P. J. Cullen, Matthew Dushane, Thomas C. Cashen.

Education

George M. Harrison, E. E. Milliman, Arthur R. Wallace, Thomas E. Burke, Max Zaritsky, L. E. Swartz, William I. Horner, Kenneth I. Taylor, A. Rex Riccardi, W. M. Rea, John J. Dempsey, Wm. L. McFetridge, Charles Sumner, James A. Campbell, Irvin Kuenzli, Lawrence E. Ernst, Homer Martin, Harry Lundeborg, Fred W. Rose.

State Organizations

G. M. Bugniazet, Wm. E. Walter, John Woods, Adolph J. Fritz, Joseph A. Mullaney, John Clinton, Leo Abernathy, Bernice B. Heffner, Thomas Donnelly, Charles T. Crane, W. S. Cross, George Meanv, Frank C. Snyder, Phil E. Ziegler, Gust. Anderson, Roy Brewer, Louis Koenig, E. H. Williams, Bernard Quinn, Thomas Hutson.

Industrial Relations

John Coesfield, Charles D. Duffy, Joseph S. Fay, Charles J. Case, John I. McAuliff, Albert G. White, John O'Rourke, Joseph J. Kehoe

H. F. Nickerson, Charles N. Paulsen, Robert Morgan, W. W. Britton, John Lundergan, John R. Owens, William Donovan, Thos. Cairns, Samuel Reinlib, George L. Warfel, Louis Krouse.

Building Trades

John P. Coyne, Wm. J. McSorley, Joseph V. Moreschi, F. B. Comfort, Bert Swain, John H. Lyons, James J. Ryan, George Masterton, John J. Mulligan, Paul A. Givens, John Oliver, Edward Hayde, J. M. Gavlak, M. J. McDonough, John J. Conway, George Wilson, James L. McDevitt, D. E. Nickerson, C. A. Fink.

Shorter Workday

E. J. Gainer, Jos. Tremblay, James P. Moehan, Harry Stevenson, Helen Caren, L. E. Keller, Harry Bayes, George Scallise, Joseph Hauser, Louis P. Marciano, Sal B. Hoffman, Wm. C. Ripberger, Milton P. Webster, W. T. Burnett, Harry J. Hagen, Elmer P. Meinz, John M. Fewkes, Patrick E. Gorman, W. J. Kenefick.

Legislation

I. M. Ornburn, Leo E. George, Emanuel Koveleski, B. M. Jewell, O. L. Rosemund, J. F. Bennett, James M. Duffy, Richard J. Gray, James T. Moriarty, John Donlin, Cecil B. Custer, Thomas V. Green, Eppa Honey, M. T. Finnan, Arnold S. Zander, Don H. Burrows, Christian Madsen, David Behncke, William Leishman.

International Labor Relations

Thomas E. Burke, Matthew Woll, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Wm. J. Bowen, John Coefield, Edward J. Gainer, Albert Adamski, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, E. E. Milliman, J. A. Franklin, John P. Frey, Christian M. Madsen, Michael J. Colleran, Edward Flore, Henry F. Schmal, Dennis Lane, Wm. J. McSorley, Edward Canavan, W. C. Birthright, John B. Haggerty, P. J. Morrin, Felix Knight, James Maloney, William Green.

President Green: That completes the reading of the convention committees.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move that the name of William Green be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The motion was seconded and carried and, President Green's name was added to the committee.

President Green: Mr. A. J. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board, will address the convention in the morning at 10:00 o'clock. I will appoint a reception committee to meet him and escort him to the hall. I appoint Henry Ohl, President of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; Brother Joseph McCurdy, President of the District of Columbia and Maryland State Federation of Labor, and Arnold S. Zander, President of State, County and Municipal Employees, as a Reception Committee. I ask you to meet Mr. Altmeyer when he arrives in the city in the morning and bring him to the convention for the purpose of addressing the convention.

It has always been customary for the American Federation of Labor convention to present to our fraternal delegates specially prepared and appropriately engraved badges. I will present one of these badges to the one fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress who is here. You will then know him and become acquainted with him. You will be able to distinguish him by his badge.

The other fraternal delegate from Great Britain was unable to come because of the disturbed war situation in Europe. The fraternal delegate from Canada has not yet arrived. When he arrives we will present him his badge, which has been prepared and properly engraved. I take great pleasure in presenting you Brother Herbert Henry Elvin, of the National Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers of Great Britain. He comes as a fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. This is a specially prepared badge, properly engraved, "Presented to Herbert Henry Elvin, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress to the American Federation of Labor Convention, 1939."

Brother Elvin, I present this badge to you as the official badge of the fraternal delegates, prepared especially by the committee representing the delegates in attendance at this convention.

Fraternal Delegate Elvin: President Green and delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention—Let me say on this occasion that I appreciate very much indeed the gift which your President has just passed to me. I am very sorry indeed that two others who intended to be with you are not able to be here. As the President has remarked, my co-delegate Mr. Brown, of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, was not able to come along with me.

There is another person, the wife of Brother Elvin. We were ready to start when Hitler intervened and she, like a good woman and true mother, felt her place was at home and let me do my duty here. I make this explanation because I thought it is usual to expect something is wrong if the wives do not come along with the delegates, so I assure you there is nothing in the way of a divorce or anything else happening.

I say to you again, Mr. President, that I appreciate your gift and I thank you.

President Green: The Chair will now call upon Secretary Morrison for the assignments of subjects in the Executive Council's report. The Secretary will read the subjects assigned and the names of the committees to which they have been assigned.

Secretary Morrison read the following assignments:

SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Referred to Committee on Executive Council Report

Harry C. Bates, Chairman

United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers
International Union

Seafarers International Union of North America

United Textile Workers of America

International Union United Automobile Workers of America

Printing Trades—Lithographers

Research and Information Service

Trade Union Benefits

Building and Construction Trades Department

Metal Trades Department

Railway Employees' Department

Conclusion

Referred to Committee on Resolutions Matthew Woll, Chairman

Introduction

International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees

Teamsters—Brewery Workers

Chartering of Central Boies within Jurisdiction of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada

C. I. O. and Peace Negotiations

National Legislation:

Social Security

Works Financing Act of 1939

Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1940

Fair Labor Standards Act

Pernicious Political Activity

Canal Zone Legislation

Civil Liberties Investigation

Employers Liability Act

Public Salary Tax Act of 1939

Firefighters Legislation

Alaska Railroad Employees Retirement Legislation

Reorganization of Government Activities

Civilian Conservation Corps

Amortization of Home Loans

Department of Labor

National Labor Relations Act

Work Relief

The Prevailing Wage Problem

Labor Standards Under Government Contracts

Wage and Hour Administration

Minimum Wages

Maximum Hours

Exemptions

Enforcement

Future of Wage and Hour Regulation

Social Security

Old Age Provisions

Unemployment Compensation

Health Policy

Workmen's Compensation

Committee on Social Security

Coverage of Labor Legislation

Old Age Insurance

Unemployment Compensation

Minimum Wage and Maximum Hour Standards

Consumer Cooperatives

Jobs For All in Private Industry

Publicity and the Labor Press

Japanese War on China

German Boycott

Conflict Between European Nations

**Referred to Committee on
Organization**

Frank Duffy, Chairman

Organization Work
Office and White Collar Workers
Beet Sugar Workers
Cement Workers
Aluminum Workers
Fabricated Metal Workers
Textile Workers
Agricultural, Cannery and Citrus Workers
Chemical Workers
Distillery Workers
Commercial Telegraphers
Miscellaneous

**Referred to Committee on Labels
Edward Flere, Chairman**

Union Label Trades Department

**Referred to Committee on Education
George M. Harrison, Chairman**

Education
Federal Grants
Labor and Education
Local Educational Responsibility
Youth
World Congress on Education and Democracy
Workers' Education Bureau of America.

**Referred to Committee on State
Organizations**

G. M. Bugniazet, Chairman

State Labor Legislation
State Department of Labor
Workmen's Compensation and Occupational
Disease
State Labor Relations
Wages, Hours, Industrial Home Work,
Child Labor
Aliens
Convict Labor
Child Labor

**Referred to Committee on Building
Trades**

John P. Coyne, Chairman

National Legislation
Low-Rent Housing
Federal Housing Administration
Housing Census

**Referred to Committee on Shorter
Work Day**

E. J. Gainor, Chairman

Wages and Hours
Employment and the Shorter Work Week
Employment Changes 1929 to 1937
Analysis of Figures
Summary

**Referred to Committee on Legislation
I. M. Ornburn, Chairman**

National Legislation
Settlement of Disputes with United States
Walsh-Healey Act Amendments
Public Education
Oppressive Labor Practices
Immigration
Maritime Legislation
Motion Picture Film Distribution
Facts on Productivity and Labor Costs
Exportation of Douglas Fir Peeler Logs
and Port Orford Cedar Logs
Legislation for Government Employees
Discrimination Against Graduates of Cer-
tain Law Schools
Aid for Blind Persons

**Referred to Committee on Inter-
national Labor Relations**

Thomas E. Burke, Chairman

International Labor Organization
Resolutions
International Federation of Trade Unions
Pan-American Federation of Labor

ASSIGNMENT OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Subject	Committee
Introduction	Resolutions
United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union ..	Executive Council Report
Seafarers International Union of North America	Executive Council Report
United Textile Workers of America	Executive Council Report
United Automobile Workers	Executive Council Report
Printing Trades—Lithographers	Executive Council Report
International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees	Resolutions
Teamsters—Brewery Workers	Resolutions
Organization Work	Organizations
Office and White Collar Workers	Organizations
Beet Sugar Workers	Organizations
Cement Workers	Organizations
Aluminum Workers	Organizations
Fabricated Metal Workers	Organization
Textile Workers	Organizations
Agricultural, Cannery and Citrus Workers	Organizations
Chemical Workers	Organizations
Distillery Workers	Organizations
Commercial Telegraphers	Organizations
Miscellaneous	Organizations
Research and Information Service	Executive Council Report
Wage Negotiations	Executive Council Report
Social Security	Executive Council Report
Other Information Services	Executive Council Report
Trade Union Benefits	Executive Council Report
Chartering of Central Bodies Within Jurisdiction of the	
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	Resolutions
O. I. O. and Peace Negotiations	Resolutions
Building and Construction Trades Department	Executive Council Report
Metal Trades Department	Executive Council Report
Railroad Employees' Department	Executive Council Report
Union Label Trades Department	Labels
National Legislation	Legislation
Social Security	Resolutions
Works Financing Act of 1939	Resolutions
Low Rent Housing	Building Trades
Federal Housing Administration	Building Trades
Housing Census	Building Trades
Work Relief	Resolutions
Settlement of Disputes with U. S.	Legislation
Walsh-Healey Act Amendments	Legislation
Fair Labor Standards Act	Resolutions
Pernicious Political Activity	Resolutions
Canal Zone Legislation	Resolutions
Public Education	Legislation
Civil Liberties Investigation	Resolutions
Oppressive Labor Practices	Legislation
Immigration	Legislation
Maritime Legislation	Legislation
Employers Liability Act	Resolutions
Motion Picture Films Distribution	Legislation

Subject	Committee
Public Salary Tax Act of 1939	Resolutions
Facts on Productivity and Labor Costs	Legislation
Firefighters Legislation	Resolutions
Alaska Railroad Employees Retirement	Resolutions
Reorganization of Government Activities	Resolutions
Exportation of Douglas Fir Peeler Logs and Port Orford Cedar Logs	Legislation
Legislation for Government Employees	Legislation
Discrimination against Graduates of Certain Law Schools	Legislation
Civilian Conservation Corps	Resolutions
Amortization of Home Loans	Resolutions
Aid for Blind Persons	Legislation
Department of Labor	Resolutions
National Labor Relations Act	Resolutions
State Labor Legislation	State Organizations
State Departments of Labor	State Organizations
Workmen's Compensation and Occupational Disease	State Organizations
State Labor Relations	State Organizations
Wages, Hours, Industrial Home Work and Child Labor	State Organizations
Aliens	State Organizations
Child Labor	State Organizations
Convict Labor	State Organizations
Wages and Hours	Shorter Workday
Employment and the Shorter Work Week	Shorter Workday
Work Relief	Resolutions
The Prevailing Wage Problem	Resolutions
Labor Standards Under Government Contracts	Resolutions
Wage and Hour Administration	Resolutions
Minimum Wages	Resolutions
Maximum Hours	Resolutions
Exemptions	Resolutions
Enforcement	Resolutions
The Future of Wage and Hour Regulation	Resolutions
Social Security	Resolutions
Old Age Provisions	Resolutions
Unemployment Compensation	Resolutions
Health Policy	Resolutions
Workmen's Compensation	Resolutions
Committee on Social Security	Resolutions
Coverage of Labor Legislation	Resolutions
Old Age Insurance	Resolutions
Unemployment Compensation	Resolutions
Minimum Wage and Maximum Hour Standards	Resolutions
General Program	Resolutions
Consumers' Cooperatives	Resolutions
Jobs for All in Private Industry	Resolutions
Education	Education
Federal Grants	Education
Labor and Education	Education
Local Educational Responsibility	Education
Youth	Education
Publicity and the Labor Press	Resolutions
World Congress on Education and Democracy	Education

Subject	Committee
Workers Education Bureau of America	Education
International Labor Organizations	International Labor Relations
International Federation of Trade Unions	International Labor Relations
Pan-American Federation of Labor	International Labor Relations
Japanese War on China	Resolutions
German Boycott	Resolutions
Conflict between European Nations	Resolutions
Conclusion	Executive Council Report

President Green: That completes the assignments of the Executive Council's report to appropriate committees.

Now it seems that we have reached the end of what I consider a pretty perfect day. The hour for meeting in the morning and adjourning in the evening will be included in the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

The Chairmen of various committees an-

nounced the time and place of meeting to take up the work of the committees.

President Green: If there are no further announcements, the convention will stand adjourned until 10:00 o'clock tomorrow morning.

At 5:30 o'clock, p. m., the convention was adjourned to 10:00 o'clock, a. m., Tuesday, October 3.

RESOLUTIONS

Under the provisions of the A. F. of L. Constitution, Article III, Section 6, all resolutions must be received 30 days prior to the opening of the convention, **EXCEPTING** resolutions adopted after the expiration of the 30-day period, by a convention of a national or international union or of a state federation of labor. Such resolutions shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention.

Any resolutions or proposals received after the expiration of the time limits shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance thereof is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

Resolutions of state federations of labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

Resolutions of city central labor unions must first have received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of the organization.

Resolutions received from directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions are to be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council in turn to report to the convention as to the disposition made of these resolutions.

The following resolutions were received within the prescribed time limits and conform to constitutional requirements:

Provision for Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The present national administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representation, and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location a long way from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes; and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure, and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act specifically gives the Federal employees the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention

assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave or quarters status.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Application of Apprenticeship Standards Recommended by Federal Committee on Apprenticeship

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The education and training of employed young people is of paramount concern to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor unequivocally supports the program of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, Division of Labor Standards, U. S. Department of Labor, which requires equal representation of labor and management on all approved national, state and local apprenticeship councils and committees; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has expressed its recommendations on the development of a consistent national ap-

prenticeship policy through resolutions unanimously adopted at the 56th, 57th, and 58th national conventions; and

WHEREAS, During the past year legislation has been enacted through the efforts of State Federations of Labor providing for co-operation between labor and employers in the supervision of apprenticeship in California, Nevada, North Carolina and Minnesota; and active State apprenticeship councils, having equal representation from labor and employers were established in the Labor Departments in Florida, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Kentucky; and

WHEREAS, The Administrator of The Fair Labor Standards Act, and the Secretary of Labor, under authority of the Walsh-Healey (Public Contracts) Act have recognized the intent of Congress, through Public 308, to set up a uniform national system of apprenticeship, by designating the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship as the agency to approve all apprenticeship agreements, subject to those acts where part of the wages are to be less than the established minima; and

WHEREAS, The work being carried on by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship meets with the high standards of public service expected of a public agency by the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all Federal Agencies which employ, or which regulate the employment of, young workers in skilled trades be urged to formulate apprenticeship standards which meet those recommended by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship; and be it

RESOLVED, That State Federations of Labor be requested to continue their constructive efforts to secure sound apprenticeship legislation, administered by State Departments of Labor, with adequate appropriations for administration, and establishing uniform standards and terminology; and be it further

RESOLVED, That because of the growing volume of apprenticeship work and its great importance to labor, management and young people, the Congress of the United States be requested to increase the appropriation for the administration and field work of the Federal Apprenticeship Service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Organization of Union Committees to Promote Industrial Safety Program

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Industrial accidents in the United States during the last year alone caused 16,500 deaths and 1,350,000 injuries; and

WHEREAS, These deaths and injuries represent an economic loss amounting to about \$650,000,000; and

WHEREAS, This economic loss represents a staggering sum, it is a trivial amount when compared with the suffering and human misery which results from work accidents; and

WHEREAS, Because of numerical exemption, industry exceptions and elective workmen's compensation acts, only about 40 per cent of the workers in the United States have the protection intended by workmen's compensation laws; and

WHEREAS, Workers will continue to be killed and maimed by accidents unless and until organized labor takes a definite hand in stopping this human waste; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby urge all affiliated labor groups, including local units, to immediately organize safety committees within their organizations and to actively engage in the promotion of safe and healthful work practices; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this safety work be undertaken along the following specific lines:

(1) study and analysis of the safety and health problems of each trade or industry and the preparation of recommendations for the prevention of accidents and occupational diseases,

(2) inclusion in union agreements of clauses requiring the provision and maintenance of safe and healthful working conditions,

(3) exertion of pressure on State and local authorities for the adequate regulation of industry through specific safety and health requirements to the end that industrial accidents and occupational diseases may be prevented; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the benefits of workmen's compensation laws be extended to all workers and that exclusive State funds be set up so that injured workers will receive the full benefits due them, and at the same time bring about reduction in compensation insurance cost.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring A. F. of L. Establish Tribunal to Adjust Jurisdictional Disputes

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Mary E. Ryder, Trades and Labor Union, St. Louis, Missouri.

WHEREAS, Frequent labor disputes have become a menace and detriment to organized labor movement, resulting in bitter strife in the ranks and serious loss of time to all involved, this appealing to jurisdictional disputes; and

WHEREAS, Such disputes and strikes are generally condemned by both the press, the public and our organized labor movement as

a nuisance interfering with the rights of others. We believe it is about time that some remedy be promptly applied to solve this serious problem; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the officers and delegates of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis and Vicinity in meeting assembled this 27th day of August, 1939, do hereby respectfully suggest and earnestly request that the next convention of the A. F. of L. will take some action by creating the office of High Commissioner or some other adequate means to suppress and eliminate jurisdictional disputes and that no strikes shall occur or be permitted when a jurisdictional dispute exists until a verdict has been rendered by the supreme authority of the A. F. of L.; be it further

RESOLVED, That copy of this resolution be forwarded to the A. F. of L. for its consideration and action at the convention to be held at Cincinnati, Ohio, beginning October 2, 1939.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Painters-Upholsterers Agreement Covering Furniture Workers

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Joseph F. Kelley, James M. Meehan, Christian M. Madson, John Oliver, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

WHEREAS, The convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Denver, Colorado (1937), in the decision rendered in the controversy between the Upholsterers and the Brotherhood of Painters, recommended that the trades involved meet with the object in view of working out an agreement of common interest to the Internationals involved, and

WHEREAS, Such meetings were held with the approval of President Green and an agreement was entered into between the Upholsterers and the Brotherhood of Painters in the month of June, 1938, and

WHEREAS, This agreement entered into between the two Internationals—in good faith—has not been approved or recognized by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America protest the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor denying the Brotherhood of Painters the right and privilege to negotiate and carry out the agreement with the Upholsterers' International when such agreement was adopted by the two Internationals involved.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Enforcement of Provisions of Wages and Hours Act in the Fur- niture Industry

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Wages and Hours Bill is a forward step in the right direction; and

WHEREAS, There is a need for improvements of its present provisions; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor go on record as urging the necessary appropriation of sufficient funds to carry on and enforce this Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor to the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to introduce this resolution to the National Convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Research Department be requested to make a thorough study of this Act with respect to Wages and Hours in the furniture industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Annual Wage System

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Hamilton, Ont., Canada Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, the fluctuation in employment in industry has brought tremendous hardships upon the working people, resulting in a challenge to our democratic system of government with its freedom of speech, assembly, and worship; and,

WHEREAS, the uncertainty of permanent employment and income is greatly retarding our progress toward recovery; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of a living annual wage, and be it further resolved, that the National and International Unions, affiliated with this Federation, be requested to attempt to negotiate all new agreements with the employers for an annual wage, based upon their prevailing or improved wage rates.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Endorsement of Patman Bill for Taxation of Chain Stores

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, William J. Moran, Thomas H. O'Donnell, John

J. Mulligan, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

WHEREAS, There is pending in Congress the so-called Patman Bill, designated to destroy the power of the Chain Store organizations, which have long fought the building trades, forced down wages in factory trades, through the abuse of their immense purchasing power, discriminated against union-labeled products, and increased unemployment by driving friendly neighborhood stores out of business; and

WHEREAS, Beginning with the Houston Convention of the American Federation of Labor in October, 1938, a lavishly financed campaign has been under way to make it appear that by weight of money, labor had been lined up with the Chain Store interests in opposition to the Patman Bill, a campaign that has deceived many honest men, some local unions and at least one State Federation by mendacious misrepresentation of labor's actual position on the measure: be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go squarely on record in favor of the Patman Bill, or any other bill of like interest and meaning, to the end that Chain Store abuses be abated and the country placed squarely on notice that the power and influence of the organization is not for sale; and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Green, and the Legislative Committee, be directed to give every possible aid and assistance to any movement in Congress, looking to an investigation of the activities of the Chain Stores, and the various agencies employed by them, in their attempts to defeat desirable legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Increase in WPA Schedule to 130 Hours a Month

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, An increase of the WPA schedule to 130 hours a month will result in a reduction of the hourly scale beneath the American level of fairness and decency, will increase the cost of administration and will increase the financial burden of the state, counties and cities; and

WHEREAS, This is definitely a move of those who would increase the competition and supply of labor for their own selfish ends and will jeopardize the wage-hour structure in private industry; and

WHEREAS, We recognize the similarity of interests between organized labor and the WPA workers and labor's responsibility to WPA; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we strongly protest the curtailment of WPA work and the departure

from the prevailing wage requirements; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that a special session of Congress be called to remedy the errors made; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Delegate from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor to the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to present this resolution to that Convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Program of Government Projects as a Continuing National Policy to Correct WPA Deficiencies

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present program of the Works Progress Administration seems to fall short of its primary objectives—rehabilitation and recovery—for the following reasons:

FIRST, The WPA worker is becoming discontented and discouraged with having his or her social and economic horizons limited by a \$55.00 a month or less pay check;

SECOND, Organized Labor is becoming legitimately concerned with the mushrooming of WPA into fields in which labor has always been employed at standard wages and under regular working conditions;

THIRD, Non-Federal governmental agencies, such as Counties and Cities are finding it increasingly difficult to finance WPA activities to which they are required to make approximately a twenty per cent contribution in materials, supplies, etc.;

FOURTH, Communities in need of improvements which they are well able to promote and finance have failed to go ahead with those improvements in a normal way because of the expectation that sooner or later the WPA would do the work for them without assessment against their properties;

FIFTH, The WPA set-up as it is, on a month to month or, at best, Congress to Congress basis, does not permit either the worker or business to project any reasonable plans for their own future against this background;

SIXTH, The WPA worker, attempting to support a family on earnings of \$55.00 a month, is no great economic asset to the community. He may be able to pay a part of his bills and may put his small amount of cash in circulation, but these losses incident to the bills that he cannot pay, such as medical and dental attention, rent and other items that are the easiest to let go, more than offset the economic gains incident to his being able to pay for his family's groceries; now, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED: That there exists a need for a continuing program of government "enterprise" as distinguished from "re-

lief" sufficiently broad to provide employment for workers who are properly qualified, who are willing and able to work, decently diligent in the pursuit of a job and diligent in their application to the job after they have been successful in getting it. Such a program could and should involve the establishment and construction of a super highway system for the Nation, flood control and reclamation work where such projects are feasible and necessary, construction of needed air traffic facilities and air traffic safeguards, reforestation, proper housing for government agencies, construction and modernization of schools, slum clearance and other activities in which the government has a legitimate and recognized interest, such programs to be set up as a continuing national policy and to involve cooperation on the part of the state and local governments with the Federal Government, such a program to pay standard wages and observe standard working conditions in the communities in which such works are undertaken and to be carried out on the basis of contracts competitively arrived at where this type of project is most likely to be advantageous, or under properly supervised Government force account work.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled endorse a program along this line and use their best efforts to secure legislation to accomplish the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Endorsement of Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal Across Florida Project

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate E. O. Valentine, Central Labor Union, Jacksonville, Florida.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of War have formally transmitted to Congress recommendations that the Federal Government proceed with the completion of the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal; and

WHEREAS, In hearings before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors of the House of Representatives, the Committee has had evidence submitted to them that as a protected route for the movement of troops, munitions and supplies . . . the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal will serve as a major element of National defense in time of war; and

WHEREAS, The building of this canal will shorten by many hundreds of miles the distance between the farming, stock raising, lumbering and mining sections of the Mississippi Valley and the West, and the industrial sections of the East, thus reducing the cost of many of the vital necessities of life; and

WHEREAS, The construction of great public works, when such projects are found to be economically justified and in the pub-

lic interest, represents one of the fundamental policies of labor, and has been the means of providing many thousands of workers with employment during times when employment in private industry was at low ebb, and

WHEREAS, The construction of the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal has been found, after a very thorough investigation to be of "unusual merit" and that "its benefits will increase with time and will accrue to a larger portion of our country and its population than those of almost any other Federal project," and that "its construction is needful and in the public interest; and

WHEREAS, The construction of this canal, contemplating as it does, the expenditure of nearly two hundred million dollars (\$200,000,000) would create a demand for almost every class of construction labor as well as to act as a stimulant to trade and industry in supplying the needed supplies and materials used in its construction, and come at a time when there are millions of workers praying for employment; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as approving and endorsing the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal project and that this convention request the Executive Council to further by every reasonable means, the passage of this legislation in the National Congress authorizing its completion at the earliest possible date.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Extending Immigration Laws to Admit Bata Shoe Company of Czechoslovakia for Industrial Operations in U. S.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has been presented to the Forty-seventh annual convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor that the Bata Shoe Company of Zlin and Prague, Czechoslovakia, has announced its intention of establishing a shoe manufacturing plant in the United States, providing the government would be willing to grant extensions to the existing immigration laws; and

That the Bata Shoe Company "has made formal application in this regard to the United States Immigration Authorities to import 100 citizens of Czechoslovakia, as skilled workers or instructors, for the purpose of training help along the system employed by the Bata Company in the production of boots and shoes;" and

That "there is at this time a serious condition of unemployment prevalent in the United States, including an abundance of available highly skilled shoe operators and technicians—more than sufficient to supply present needs of industry;" and

That "authentic information from the British Trades Union Congress to the effect that this company, now operating factories in Great Britain, has shown hostile tendencies against dealing with Organized Labor for the redress of grievances and other conditions of employment, which position has been confirmed in a recent statement made by Thomas Bata to newspaper representatives;" and

That it appears to be "the intention of the Bata Company, if they are successful in starting operations in the United States, to build on their premises a dormitory system of housing the employees, where all of the activities of the workers would be subject to the surveillance of company officials, and in all respects would be a company-owned town;" and

That "the Bata plan of determining rates of pay and other conditions of employment has always been imposed by dictatorial policies and not through the democratic principles of collective bargaining by free and independent trade unions;" and

That "the system employed at established Bata plants is highly mechanized through the conveyor system of routing the shoes through the various operations and by reason of the excessive pace used and of mechanical compulsion, results in monotony and fatigue and has been responsible for many complaints on the part of the workers;" and

WHEREAS, The establishment of the apparently proposed plant or plants in the United States by the aforementioned Bata company is not only objectionable because of the present deplorable economic condition of our country, with its accompanying joblessness of many millions of our people, but because the type of plant or plants sought to be established is repugnant to the American idea of free labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor from its inception has protested against and striven for the elimination of domination of the workers through a vicious system of paternalism, which is merely another form of slavery; and

WHEREAS, The nature of such menacing encroachment as here set forth would affect the standards and welfare of all of our people, and involves the departmental functions of our Federal Government, and thus warrants the attention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the officers be directed to make the necessary investigation of the Bata Company's plan and purpose and take such steps as may be found necessary to prevent an encroachment on our standards.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting A. F. of L. Activity to Secure Legislation to Protect Workers in Sugar Industry

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Roy M. Brewer, Nebraska State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many of the workers in the beet sugar industry of the United States and of the State of Nebraska are members of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, the beet sugar industry and its prosperity are of the greatest importance to the workers and farmers of the State of Nebraska and of many other States in the Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation go on record as favoring the principles contained in the following paragraph:

That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, as evidence of their allegiance to the many workers in the beet sugar industry of the United States, hereby pledge their assistance and help in securing the legislation, and the proper administration of such legislation, as is necessary to maintain the domestic sugar industry and to protect the livelihood and prosperity of the workers engaged therein.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Establishment of A. F. of L. Marine Trades Department

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, It has long been the object of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, both directly and through the American Federation of Labor, to foster the establishment of a Marine Trades Department, to operate in the same manner as does the Metal Trades and the Building and Construction Trades Departments, and

WHEREAS, The lack of such a department in the maritime industry is a serious handicap to the advancement of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union Marine Division, and of the American Federation of Labor in this industry, and

WHEREAS, It is acknowledged that before such a department could function in normal pursuits much preliminary work and organization will be necessary before a full-fledged functioning department is realized, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record for the establishment of this department as soon as practicable after the close of this convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing that Canadian Trades and Labor Congress be Instructed Not to Issue Charters to Central Labor Unions in Canada Except With the Approval of A. F. of L.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Hamilton, Ont., Canada Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, a regrettable condition still exists within the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress due to the infiltration of both the C. I. O. and the Communist Party, and

WHEREAS, The officials of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress in complete violation of Section 5, Article V of their own Constitution are still granting the Communist-dominated C. I. O. Organizations representation in City Central Bodies in Canada, and

WHEREAS, The failure of the said officials of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to expel KNOWN COMMUNISTS from the ranks of City Central Bodies, Provincial Federations of Labor and National Unions chartered by the Canadian Congress, has resulted in the practical impossibility to secure the consideration of labor legislation in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec; and

WHEREAS, The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress has and still is chartering National Unions in conflict with the jurisdiction of existing International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall issue instructions to the Executive Council that they SHALL IMMEDIATELY issue instructions to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress that every Central Labor Union in Canada MUST hold a charter from the American Federation of Labor in addition to any charter they may hold from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, with further instructions to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress that it CANNOT issue charters of any kind without such application for charter first having received the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and with the further understanding that all charters heretofore issued by the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress or those hereafter to be issued may be suspended or revoked at any time by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Subsidies to Commercial Transportation Companies

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Hamilton, Ont., Canada Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The continued high taxes on real estate is still causing stagnation in the Building Trades; and

WHEREAS, the enormous subsidies paid to Commercial Highway, Waterway, and Airway Transportation Companies, in the form of Canals, Harbors, Deepened Waterways, Streets, Highways and Landing Facilities, is one of the chief causes of high property taxes; and,

WHEREAS, the large majority of those on relief in most cities are connected with the Building Trades, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to petition the American and Canadian Governments, as well as State and Provincial Legislatures, to compel all forms of Commercial Transportation to pay for all right-of-way services and other necessary facilities, in order that there may be a reduction in property taxation, which would again permit the Building Trades to function in a more normal capacity, bringing greatly increased purchasing power to our country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Federal Legislation to Prohibit Public Bodies from Offering Inducements to Industry to Move to Their Communities

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Kenneth I. Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Thousands of workers in Massachusetts have been left stranded through the migration of industry to other states and even within the state; and

WHEREAS, This migration is artificially stimulated by the uneconomic and anti-social practice of offering inducements, including tax exemption, free rent, guarantees of freedom from "labor trouble", cheap power, and free factory buildings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor go on record as urging federal legislation to prohibit the offering of inducements, directly or indirectly, by any public body, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a resolution to this effect be presented to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor from this body.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Appointment of Army and Navy Officials in Administrative Positions in Civil Activities of Government

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Kenneth

I. Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Ours is a civilian government, and all other agencies of government are subordinate to this civil authority; and

WHEREAS, The trend at the present time is to appoint in administrative positions officers of the armed forces of the United States, in control of purely civil activities of our government; and

WHEREAS, This is contrary to all principles of government by the people, as we understand it; and

WHEREAS, It is common knowledge that these officials by their very training, have little sympathy for the rights of the workers; and

WHEREAS, Such officials have been guaranteed high salaries for life, too often have been used by big business and the politicians to throttle the liberties and the rights of the workers, and their being placed now in control and supervision of civilian activity is detrimental to the rights and continued liberties of the organized, as well as the unorganized workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, call upon Senator Walsh and Senator Lodge and each of the congressmen from our commonwealth to seek legislation which will prevent any army or naval official being placed in control of civilian activities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention be instructed to present to that convention a resolution requesting that the American Federation of Labor seek legislation which will prevent army or navy officials being placed in control or supervision of any governmental activity performed by civilian workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Appreciation of Assistance Extended to Marine Division of the Commercial Telegraphers Union

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Through the understanding and assistance of President William Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; President Joseph P. Ryan and other officials of the International Longshoremen's Association, and President Harry Lundeborg and other officials of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, the Marine Division of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union progressed in waterfront and maritime organizational work, and

WHEREAS, This understanding and assistance has proven to be of invaluable aid to the healthy continuance and growth of the Marine Division of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the appreciation of the convention be expressed to the individuals and organizations aforementioned for their work in protecting American shipping from control of any but recognized and acknowledged American radio officers without suspicion of being controlled by foreign agencies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Commending Support of A. F. of L. Against Racial Discrimination

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its various conventions has condemned and declared against various racial and color discriminations in the trade unions which is slowly but surely bringing the Negro and white workers to realize that they have interests in common and that they should work and unite with each other and not fight each other; and

WHEREAS, President William Green, and the Executive Council have readily responded to the call to speak out against the lynching evil from time to time, with President Green, especially, joining in condemnation of the notorious discrimination against the internationally known and celebrated Negro singer, Marion Anderson by the D. A. R.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officials and members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters through their delegates herewith express in resolution in the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, their sincere appreciation and profound gratitude for the fine and constructive spirit of the American Federation of Labor and its leadership in constantly going on record for the principle of equality among the workers and the high and noble ideals of democracy and the Brotherhood of Man without regard to race or color.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Anti-Lynching Bill

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, In the last half century, some 5,000 or more persons have been the victims of lynching in the United States of America, some of whom have been white and women; and

WHEREAS, Lynching harks back to the brutal methods of the barbarian and savage, and constitutes a blot, a stigma and a shame and disgrace upon a so-called civilized country, and earns the condemnation and scorn of all civilized peoples; and

WHEREAS, Convention after Convention,

together with the Executive Council and President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, has made definite and sharp declarations against this national evil and inhuman practice, and that there is a growing enlightened sentiment in the South against this horror; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor express its unqualified condemnation of lynching and mob terror, and denounces the Southern filibuster in the United States Senate against the Wagner-Van Nys-Gavan Anti-Lynching Bill, as opposed to and in contravention of all democratic procedure and practice, preventing, as it were, through physical force and a blocking process, the will of the people from being heard and registered, and calls upon the Congress to enact a Federal law to wipe out lynching.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Poll Tax

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Poll Tax and White Primaries discriminate against the poor whites and blacks in the Southern States, denying them the right to vote in utter violation of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Federal Constitution and only serve to entrench corrupt and prejudiced political machines, thereby, arresting the growth and development of real democracy and the enactment of sound and constructive social and labor legislation in the Southern area of the Nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Cincinnati, Ohio, go on record as condemning White Primaries and the Poll Tax as un-American, unfair and unjust, and against the principles of sound trade union organization as represented by the American Federation of Labor, since White Primaries and the Poll Tax divide and weaken the workers, and calls upon all national, international, city and state bodies, to work for and support legislation which seeks to abolish the Poll Tax and White Primaries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Racial Discrimination

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Negro people are the victims of varied forms of discrimination which result in limiting their rights in the purchase and use of property; and

WHEREAS, Race discrimination serves to deny their right to certain types of employment, thereby creating the unfair and un-American practice known as "white man's

jobs," regardless of merit and ability, which makes for the economic impoverishment of the Negro people; and

WHEREAS, Hotels, restaurants and theatres, colleges and universities, hospitals and recreational facilities, together with railway carriers and other means of transportation and places of general public convenience, licensed by city, state or federal agencies, refuse the Negro people accommodation on account of race or color, or humiliate and exploit and rob them by segregation or Jim-crow practices that are extremely despicable and offensive to Negroes of a similar plane of culture and education of the white people that have access to such conveniences; and

WHEREAS, The denial of these elemental and necessary privileges of accommodation to the Negro people, involves their basic civil rights, guaranteed by the Federal Constitution; and

WHEREAS, Negro blood, brain and brawn have helped to make these United States of America what they are today; and yet the Negro people are disfranchised by various unconstitutional devices, and are held in peonage; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, go on record in harmony with its past declarations for the abolition of all forms of discrimination on account of race or color, and call upon the Executive Council, State and City bodies, as well as federal locals, national and international unions and the various departments to express their definite moral opposition to this sinister and destructive practice of race discrimination, and to support the fight for legislation which purports to secure for the Negro people their civil and political rights.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Scottsboro Boys

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Court trials and investigations have demonstrated that the nine (9) Scottsboro boys were the victims of an infamous frame-up, having been tortured almost a decade in jail; and

WHEREAS, Rescued from Alabama judicial and mob terror by the United States Supreme Court, at different strategic times, the stricken conscience of Alabama, under the pressure of an aroused public opinion, was forced to set free four (4) of the Scottsboro boys charged with the very same crime the five (5) boys are charged with that are still held in prison awaiting their doom; and

WHEREAS, It is clear and obvious to friend and foe of the boys that if it was fair and just to give four of the Scotts-

boro boys their freedom, when the State of Alabama contended that the nine (9) boys were guilty of the same crime, then it is just and fair to release from the Alabama prison dungeons the remaining five boys, some of whom have suffered from the brutal assaults of prejudiced prison guards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, in agreement with its past declared policy, call upon the State of Alabama, in the name of justice and humanity and fair-play, to let the other five Scottsboro boys go, and cleanse the hands of Alabama from the blood of the innocent Scottsboro boys.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Ethiopia

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Ethiopia, one of the most ancient kingdoms of Christendom, has been cruelly betrayed and "sold down the river" by her alleged allies, and, especially, England, with a smirk and genteel hypocrisy, resulting in the murderous usurpation of the sovereignty of a free and peace-loving people by the barbarous legions under the pompous dictator, Mussolini of Fascist Italy, in contravention of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the various declarations of the League of Nations, the Good Neighbor policy of President Roosevelt's Administration and all principles of international law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, in compliance with previous positions, go on record as condemning the ruthless policy of aggression by Fascist Italy against an orderly nation, expelling and exiling its great Ruler, Haile Selassie, the Lion of Judah, the heir of King Solomon, and demand the restoration of Ethiopia to the people of Ethiopia, and urge the United States, the League of Nations and civilized society never to recognize the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Kohler Company, Kohler, Wis.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The strike against the Kohler Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, is now in its sixth year, and is being prosecuted by Federal Labor Union No. 18545 as determined as when Kohler engineered a fatal attack on a group of defenseless men and women, who peaceably protested the cor-

poration's paternalistic enslavement of thousands of workers and opened its arsenal in the Kohler plant to mow down nearly a half a hundred persons, killing two and wounding forty-three, all in answer to the American Federation of Labor local's insistence upon the right to organize and their peaceable effort to establish a bargaining relationship; and

WHEREAS, At the 1938 convention of the American Federation of Labor, the delegate from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, because of overtures by men prominent in the American Federation of Labor, sincerely desirous of bringing about an adjustment of the controversy, refrained from introducing a contemplated resolution providing for an even more vigorous prosecution of the strike against Kohler domination and defiance; and

WHEREAS, The Kohler Company has apparently mistaken our desire for peace as an indication of lagging interest, and has, through its representatives, falsely broadcast the end of the strike even while the courageous pickets of Federal Labor Union No. 18545 were treading the walks before the Kohler plant which five years previously were drenched with the blood of numbers of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Kohler of Kohler, manufacturers of bath tubs, sinks, pottery ware, plumbing fixtures, lavatories, heating plants, radiators, electric light plants, brass plumbing fittings, etc., in order to make their product saleable, have, at great expense, by letters to our unions and to prospective patrons, through invitations for pilgrimages to feasts in the Kohler clubhouse, and various other schemes, endeavored to impress large numbers of people that the Kohler Company, and not our slain brothers, are the martyrs; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the officers give such continued and further support to Federal Labor Union No. 18545 as in their judgment the situation merits, and to continue its efforts to bring about a reversal of this corporation's hostile attitude.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting A. F. of L. to Support President Roosevelt's Administration

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the Connecticut Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, expresses its confidence in the principles and ideals of President Roosevelt's New Deal Administration, and expresses the hope that the President will press forward toward his enlightened, liberal, and humanitarian objectives. While the New Deal and Labor are not one, no previous Administration has been as friendly to labor, and la-

bor must support the New Deal and oppose the conservatives of both parties who, in the last session of Congress combined to defeat New Deal measures and thus injure such groups as the unemployed, men, women and children who work for sub-standard wages in shop, field, and factory; the business men whose profits depend upon greater buying power; and the underprivileged who live in the slums; be it further

RESOLVED, This convention take notice of the fact that similar A. F. of L. conventions in such states as Ohio, Iowa, Missouri, and Tennessee, have already spoken out vigorously and without hesitation on these crucial issues of 1940; be it therefore finally

RESOLVED, That this convention, for the reasons given above, recommend to the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it give its full support to the New Deal and to President Roosevelt, and that our delegate to that convention be hereby instructed to present to the convention, and vote for, the sentiments contained in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Increase in A. F. of L. Per Capita Tax for National and International Unions

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, Elmer P. Meinz, Matt Slater, James S. Killen, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has greatly increased its membership in recent years; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is now called upon to render more service to its affiliated unions than at any time in its history; and

WHEREAS, The present per capita tax of one cent a member a month paid by affiliated international and national trade unions does not give the American Federation of Labor sufficient funds to carry on its widespread activities; and

WHEREAS, The magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor must not be retarded by any lack of finances; and

WHEREAS, The Denver and Houston conventions of the American Federation of Labor found it necessary to levy an assessment of one cent a member a month, which, unfortunately, resulted in much confusion and misunderstanding among the members of affiliated unions as to the purpose and the necessity of this assessment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That that part of Section One of Article Ten of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor pertaining to per capita tax from national and in-

ternational trade unions be amended by striking out the word "one," cent a member a month and substituting therefor the word "two" cents a member a month.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Organization of Workers in Furniture Industry

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the General Executive Council be directed to make a study and give careful consideration to the problems of the workers in the furniture industry and endeavor to work out a plan to eliminate conflicting jurisdictions of various unions with a view of effecting a thorough organization of the workers in this industry so that better and more uniform conditions may be established.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Organizing Pen and Pencil Workers

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Pen and Pencil Workers' Union No. 19593 is working under an all union contract but are hampered by cheap labor in other pen and pencil factories throughout the United States who are not members of organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention commend the efforts made to organize this industry and authorize the officers of the American Federation of Labor to continue in this effort.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Requesting that A. F. of L. Finance Organizing Campaign in Textile Industries

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized Textile Workers in the United States have become demoralized through the disorganization of its union members because of the C. I. O.-A. F. of L. controversy, and

WHEREAS, We, the Narrow Fabric Textile Federal Union No. 21577 of Middletown, Connecticut, reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor with the understanding that the A. F. of L. would use every effort at their command to help us by organizing the Narrow Fabric Textile Industry, and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America, having recently had their char-

ter reinvested by the A. F. of L. have no funds sufficient to conduct any extensive organizing campaign, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Connecticut Federation of Labor at this 54th Annual Convention do everything in its power to see that the American Federation of Labor take immediate steps to finance a large scale organizing campaign in the Narrow Fabric and all other Textile Industries, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be referred to the 59th National Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Cincinnati, Ohio.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Requesting Appointment of A. F. of L. General Organizer for Hawaii

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Territory of Hawaii has a large number of local unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, It is most difficult for International Unions to maintain a representative in the Hawaiian Islands; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to give every consideration to the appointing of a General Organizer who will be stationed in Hawaii.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Calling Upon National and International Unions to Consider Revising Constitutional Provisions Where They Bar Negro Membership

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The color bar and various subtle forms of race discrimination, some open and others disguised, operate to curtail the right of Negro workers to various jobs, without regard to skill, training and experience; and

WHEREAS, Race discrimination by trade unions tends to divide the workers upon a basis of race and color, thereby playing into the hands of the employer who fundamentally cares no more for a white worker than he does for a black worker; and

WHEREAS, Whenever a trade union excludes a worker merely because of race or color, such exclusion weakens the entire labor movement, and lessens its power to

fight for decent wage rates, humane hours of work and improved working conditions that will assure living standards commensurate with health, comfort and decency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Annual Convention, assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, in harmony with past declarations, go on record calling upon all national and international unions and departments, to eliminate the color bar and all forms of discrimination which serve to exclude workers from membership on account of race or color; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor again call upon the conventions of national and international unions whose constitutions have color clauses and that practice discrimination against Negro workers, to create a committee to report on the question of the color bar and various forms of race discrimination to their next convention, for discussion and abolition.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Requesting Continued Assistance of A. F. of L. in the Organizing Campaign of the Commercial Telegraphers

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The Eighteenth Regular Convention of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union has taken note of the favorable progress which has been made in organizing the Western Union Telegraph Co., resulting in certification by the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D. C., and in the granting of charters in many of the large cities of the nation, and

WHEREAS, President Green and Director of Organization Frank P. Fenton deserve the thanks of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union for the manner in which they have encouraged and assisted in the work of organizing the Western Union Telegraph Co., and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union, in convention last month has given careful consideration to ways and means of accelerating this organizing work, but requires the continued aid of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the continuance of all possible efforts on the part of its officers, organizers and affiliated national, state and central bodies to the end that the telegraph employees of the nation may be organized under the banner of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen vs. State, County and Municipal Employees

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, Approximately fifty engineering employees of the City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, former members of Local No. 54 of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions, refusing to be bound by the action of the National Convention of said organization and being in disagreement with the national officers of the same, have dropped their membership; and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned group has sought asylum under the American Federation of Labor by joining the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and

WHEREAS, All technical engineering employees clearly come under the jurisdictional grant of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions according to action taken by the 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct that the officers of the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees immediately drop these engineering employees from their membership; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these same officers be instructed to confine their organizing efforts to those employees allocated under their charter grant.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Technical Engineers Protests Issuance of A. F. of L. Charter to Federal Labor Union No. 21870, Brooklyn, N. Y., Representing Supervising Professional Engineers

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1919 directed that all technical engineers and architectural workers in field and office belong under the jurisdiction of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions; and

WHEREAS, Fully thirty per cent of the present membership of the I. F. T. E. A. & D.

Unions is comprised of duly qualified professional engineers with supervisory experience; and

WHEREAS, On December 27, 1938, a Federal charter was issued to a group of professional engineers of Brooklyn, New York, known as Federal Local Union No. 21870; and

WHEREAS, Four members of said union are known to be employers; and

WHEREAS, The granting of said Federal charter is in direct violation of the action of the 1919 Convention of the American Federation of Labor and trespasses on the jurisdiction of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the immediate revocation of the charter of Federal Local No. 21870, Supervising Professional Engineers of Brooklyn, New York; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this group be informed that their 'employees' members come under the jurisdiction of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Painters Protest Issuance of Charter by Blacksmiths to Ship Scalers and Boat Yard Workers Union No. 589, Seattle, Wash.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Joseph F. Kelley, James M. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, John Oliver, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers has issued a charter to an organization known as the SHIP SCALERS AND BOAT YARD WORKERS' LOCAL 589, whose principal work is painting; and

WHEREAS, Such scaling is preparatory work to painting and comes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of this Scalers and Ship Yard Workers' Charter is disrupting the conditions within our local unions and the Metal Trades Council in Seattle, Washington; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor notify the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers to reject and relinquish any jurisdiction over men coming within the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Masters, Mates and Pilots vs. Longshoremen

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate John J. Scully, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots.

WHEREAS, The jurisdictional dispute which has been hanging fire between the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America and the International Longshoremen's Association, is still unsettled despite four (4) years of strife; and

WHEREAS, The three preceding conventions of the American Federation of Labor ordered this settlement made by mutual conferences under the direction of President Green; and

WHEREAS, Innumerable fruitless conferences before President Green, and petitions to the Executive Council have left the matter in the status-quo; and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that our jurisdiction has been confirmed repeatedly, no move has been made to penalize the illegal issuance of charters dual to ours; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of said dual charters has been supplemented by raids upon our membership by coercive methods; and

WHEREAS, Closed-shop contracts held by our group have been raided and abrogated by this coercive policy of the International Longshoremen's Association; and

WHEREAS, These raids of jurisdiction formerly confined to New York are now being perpetrated in other ports, notably Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and New Orleans; and

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor definitely discourages vertical unions, yet the International Longshoremen's Association is permitted to operate such a marine union which includes longshoremen, engineers, firemen, oilers, cooks, etc., into which our licensed officers are herded without regard for their needs or desires and naturally, are submerged and ignored therein; and

WHEREAS, Many of our members carry two cards; one with us and one with the International Longshoremen's Association, since they cannot work unless they carry an I. L. A. card although they have no need for an I. L. A. card since they are already American Federation of Labor men through our organization; and

WHEREAS, More tragic than the two-card monte system, which the men resent, many are so disgusted that they have suspended all labor affiliation and pay no dues in any group and as this state continues, labor gets a real black eye in complete disorganization; and

WHEREAS, Previous experiences too bitter to ignore, have taught us that there has been no hope that a just settlement can ever be had by the methods laid down by the three previous conventions, since Presi-

dent Green and the Executive Council have booted our case back and forth; admitted our claims, but lacked either courage or inclination to discipline the International Longshoremen's Association. It is merely the case of "Hitler" versus "Czechoslovakia" and "Poland" being enacted in America. It is a firm conviction of many experienced mariners that funds from the shipowners legislate against us and keep this matter in a state of inertia. The proofs cannot be photostated for you, but sure conviction and a series of happenings place the seal of suspicion on the activities directed against our group which has never accepted bribes or let our men down, and never will; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Convention as supreme authority, direct this petition, for the release of our members from the International Longshoremen's Association, be ordered and that our jurisdiction of marine deck personnel be made absolute as provided by the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Longshoremen's Association be enjoined from any further encroachment upon our jurisdiction and penalties be outlined for any avoidance of the recommendations of this Convention; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor in session at Cincinnati, Ohio, direct the Executive officer or officers of the International Longshoremen's Association to cooperate with the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America as a sister organization within the fold of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Wall Paper Craftsmen vs. Pulp and Sulphite Workers

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate, United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, by virtue of the charter issued to the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, gave jurisdiction of all the employees in the Wall Paper Manufacturing Industry, to said United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada has infringed on that jurisdiction, by organizing the employees in the Bailey Wall Paper Mill, Cleveland, Ohio, which Company manufactures wall paper exclusively, and which company's employees come under the jurisdiction of the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America; and

WHEREAS, Repeated efforts have been

made by the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America to arrange and consummate a transfer of the employees of the Bailey Wall Paper Mill from the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, to the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America; and

WHEREAS, Even though the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers International recognizes and concedes the jurisdiction of the Bailey Wall Paper Mill employees to the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, said Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers have not made any earnest effort to consummate the transfer of these employees, after approximately two years of said jurisdictional infringement; and

WHEREAS, The United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America feel that sufficient time has elapsed since this infringement, and sufficient negotiations have taken place with the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers to warrant a transfer, if it is the intention of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers to make the transfer; and

WHEREAS, Because no transfer has been effected, the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America feel that the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers International is not sincere in its efforts to effect the transfer of the employees of the Bailey Wall Paper Mill; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America International Union goes on record protesting to the American Federation of Labor, the jurisdictional infringement of and practiced by the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada International Union, and petition and request the 1939 Convention of the American Federation of Labor to take action at its sessions, ordering the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers to relinquish all jurisdiction and to arrange and effect an immediate transfer of the employees of the Bailey Wall Paper Mill, Cleveland, to the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event a transfer of these employees can not be made immediately, the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America petition and request that the 1939 Convention of the American Federation of Labor order the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada to immediately revoke the charter it issued to the Local Union formed by the employees of the Bailey Wall Paper Mill, Cleveland. We stress and urge that the American Federation of Labor order the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers to either arrange an immediate transfer of the Bailey Mill Employees to the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, or in the event such a transfer is not made, to order the revocation of the charter issued

to the Bailey Wall Paper Mill employees, by the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Calling for Reorganization of Virginia State Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate W. D. Anderson, Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, It is the belief of a large number of the members of the trade union movement of the State of Virginia that the Virginia State Federation of Labor has best been functioning for the best interests of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, At the last convention of the Virginia Federation of Labor, which was held in May, 1939, in the City of Newport News, Va., approximately 75 delegates, representing approximately 8,000 union members, arose en masse and left the convention in protest to the biased and unparliamentary ruling of the officers of the Virginia Federation of Labor and gathered at the Warwick Hotel at Newport News, Virginia, to discuss ways and means as to the best method to pursue in trying to get the American Federation of Labor to take action; and

WHEREAS, This group of trade unionists selected five international representatives, namely Mr. C. E. Haury of the Operating Engineers, Mr. Thomas O'Brien of the International Teamsters and Chauffeurs, Mr. C. V. Ernest of the International Pressmen's Union, Mr. W. H. Garrett of the Painters and Decorators, Mr. Walter Hegeman of the Butchers and Meat Cutters, as a committee to call on President William Green and protest against the tactics that were being pursued by the officers of the Virginia Federation of Labor and request him to call a special convention of the organized labor movement in the State of Virginia for the purpose of reorganizing the Virginia Federation of Labor so that it would function for the best interests of the workers of the State and not be used for a political football; or to send one of his special representatives into the State and take over the offices of the Virginia Federation of Labor to conduct it under the laws of the American Federation of Labor for a period of not less than 12 months; and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned representatives were promised some relief in the matter after this matter had been placed before the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and to date we have not heard anything more in the matter; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, October, 1939, expresses itself as approving this request of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Richmond,

Va., consisting of 44 local unions representing approximately 20,000 members, and instruct the President of the American Federation of Labor within 60 days after the adjournment of this convention to either call a special convention of all of the local unions in the State of Virginia to set up a State Federation of Labor in the place of the one that is now holding charter, or for him to send one of his personal representatives into the State to take over the offices of the now existing State Federation of Labor and conduct it according to the laws and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

Application of Molders to Place the Premier Furnace Company, Dowagiac, Michigan on the "We Don't Patronize" List

Resolution No. 41.—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, William Leishman, William Rapiet and Al Armbrust, International Molders Union.

WHEREAS, The International Molders' Union of North America after a strike at the Premier Furnace Company, Dowagiac, Michigan, reached a settlement with the company which to all appearances meant the establishment of a union shop; and

WHEREAS, Shortly after the settlement the company started to disorganize the men by laying off active members and other unfair tactics which resulted in another strike being declared during the course of which several men were sent to prison; and

WHEREAS, This company has consistently refused to meet the representatives of the union or a committee of the men; and

WHEREAS, The International Molders' Union has placed this company on the "We don't patronize" list of the union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled do hereby endorse the action of the International Molders' Union of North America in placing the products of this company on the "We don't patronize" list and recommend that all city, central and state bodies and individual local unions be notified of this action.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Application of Molders to Place Rudy Furnace Company, Dowagiac, Michigan on the "We Don't Patronize" List

Resolution No. 42.—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, William Leishman, William Ra-

pier and Al Armbrust, International Molders' Union.

WHEREAS, For many months the International Molders Union of North America has been conducting a strike against the Rudy Furnace Company, Dowagiac, Michigan, because of the refusal of the company to operate a union shop; and

WHEREAS, The company refused to negotiate with the representatives of the union or with a committee, but closed its foundry and are now getting their castings from the Homer Foundry and Furnace Company, Coldwater, Michigan, another non-union shop, which action caused the International Molders Union of North America to place the products of this company on the "We don't patronize" list; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, do hereby endorse the action of the International Molders Union of North America in placing the products of this company on the "We don't patronize" list and recommend that all city, central and state bodies and individual local unions be notified of this action.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Application of Molders International Union to Place Round Oak Stove Company, Dowagiac, Michigan on the "We Don't Patronize" List

Resolution No. 43.—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, William Leishman, William Rapiet and Al Armbrust, International Molders' Union.

WHEREAS, The International Molders Union of North America had organized the employees of the Round Oak Stove Company, Dowagiac, Michigan, after it had operated an open shop for years; and

WHEREAS, After an agreement was reached between the union and the company to operate a union shop the union took this firm off its "We don't patronize" list; and

WHEREAS, This firm through its supervisory forces began to discriminate against the committee and active members; and

WHEREAS, After several conferences between the union and the company, and no effort was made to correct this situation, the union informed the company they would be forced to again place them on the "We don't patronize" list which was carried out; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled do hereby endorse the action of the International Molders' Union of North America in placing the products of this company on the "We don't patronize" list and recommend

that all city, central and state bodies and individual local unions be notified of this action.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Request to Place Williamson Heater Company, Cincinnati, Ohio, on "We Don't Patronize" List

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, For many years the International Molders' Union of North America and the Sheet Metal Workers International Association have made every effort to bring about organization at the plant of the Williamson Heater Company of Cincinnati, Ohio; and

WHEREAS, Because of the antagonism shown by officials of this company towards organized labor their efforts have been unsuccessful; and

WHEREAS, The 31st Annual Convention of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., held in Cincinnati, Ohio, beginning September 25, 1939, placed the Williamson Heater Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, upon the "We don't patronize list"; be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be hereby authorized to notify all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Bodies and Local Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor of the action taken by the convention of the Metal Trades Department, and the action taken by this Convention of the American Federation of Labor on the subject.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations

Government Employes Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National

Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government service; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers, notably in the Postal Service, have gained through legislation curtailment of working hours without loss of pay, thus not only benefiting them but also more firmly establishing the principle of shorter hours for industrial workers and creating greater work opportunities; and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers; and

WHEREAS, All these unions have recently reaffirmed their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions of Government workers in this 58th Convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Extension and Improvement of U. S. Civil Service System

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International

Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers, Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, We believe an equitable merit system for all Government employes, as exemplified by the classified civil service, to be the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this 59th Annual Convention, reaffirms its unqualified endorsement of the extension of the merit system to all employes of the United States Government except those in positions which the President may determine to be policy-determining in fact; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to continue cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employes in their efforts to secure, through legislation and Executive orders, such extension of the classified civil service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

U. S. Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The administration of the laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States,

the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923, and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of Federal Government employes; and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law; and

WHEREAS, Many decisions had under these laws are quasi-judicial ones; and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of Federal Government employes should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be the agency charged with the administration of the laws and regulations affecting civilian personnel within the classified civil service of the United States including the administration of the Civil Service Retirement law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bipartisan commission; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission shall be selected with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Legislative Program of the American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees at its convention held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, September 11 to 14, 1939, adopted the following objectives as its legislative program:

1. Optional retirement at full annuity after 30 years of service; optional retirement at proportionate annuity after 15 years of service; increased annuities to not less than 50 per cent of the average compensation for those receiving compensation in excess of \$2,400 a year; immediate life annuity after 15 years of service at 55; unqualified disability retirement after 55 years

of age; joint survivorship annuity privileges for present annuitants; continuance of persons who have recovered from disabilities on the annuity rolls until reinstated; and additional deductions from compensation if necessary, to secure more liberal retirement benefits.

2. Establishment of a Board of Appeals to hear and render decisions on appeals of employees herein determined with authority to enforce its decisions so as to fully protect the rights of employees.

3. Minimum compensation of \$1,500 a year for all full-time employees.

4. Five-day week distributed over five consecutive days with no decrease in pay.

5. Extension of the provisions of the Civil Service Act and Rules to the entire executive civil service.

6. Extension of the Classification Act to the field services desiring the same.

7. Elimination of so-called average clause and the substitution thereof of statutory automatic increases in compensation.

8. Compensation for overtime either in the form of salary or leave, with the provision that an employee shall be required to work overtime only upon authorization of the Chief of a major unit of an agency, such authorization being given direct or through the immediate supervisor of the employee. Unlimited accumulation of leave credit as a result of overtime with the provision that it shall be available until used.

9. Equitable application of the night differential to all positions requiring night shifts.

10. The defraying, by the Government, of the cost of travel by employees and their dependents, and the cost of transportation of household effects whenever an employee is transferred from one duty station to another for the benefit of the Government.

11. Shorter hours, adequate compensation, and improved working conditions for custodial employees, employees in the Veterans Administration Facilities, and employees in Federal penal institutions.

12. Optional quarters, subsistence and laundry with provision of applying cost uniformly to all positions wherein it is customary to supply such services; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, endorse the aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees, that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Higher Standards in Government Employment

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Al-

bert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels F. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Fire fighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements, the establishment of a Civil Service Employees Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employee representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and extension of the civil service system with respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for establishments in private industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher Government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Govern-

ment employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Court of Appeals in Federal Civil Service

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks has as one of its major objectives, the establishment of an impartial court of appeals in the Federal Civil Service; and

WHEREAS, There is no law in the Federal Civil Service which makes positive provision for granting to Civil Service employees the right of a fair hearing before an impartial body in event of charges leading to dismissal, demotion, or suspension; and

WHEREAS, The inadequacy of the existing provisions of law may give use to arbitrary or capricious action by officials or react against organization by intimidation of aggressive union activities; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Cincinnati, October, 1939, instruct the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to draft a bill designed to accomplish this purpose and make every effort to secure its introduction and passage at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Thirty Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George

Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, This act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation; and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after 30 years of service and provisions made for widows of deceased annuitants; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its declaration made in previous conventions and instruct its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a 30-year optional retirement law and a widow's annuity.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Correction of Annual and Sick Leave Laws

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The Acts of March 14, 1938, (Public No. 471 and 472, 74th Congress), establishing for Government employees 26

days annual leave and 15 days sick leave annually with pay, contemplated in the opinion of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who sponsored this legislation, that the absences referred to meant days upon which employees would otherwise work and receive pay; and

WHEREAS, This interpretation of the law was in effect for all per diem 40 hours, five day week employees, and many others until January 1, 1938; and

WHEREAS, The executive orders issued by the President on March 21, 1938, which were retroactive to January 1, 1938, provided that in case five-day week employees were on leave and a non-work day occurred within such period of leave, the non-work-day would be charged against the annual leave due such employees; and that in case any employees were off on sick leave, included within which period occurred a non-work day and a Sunday, such employees would have the non-work days and the Sunday charged against the sick leave due them; and

WHEREAS, The decision of May 4, 1938, No. A-94536, of the Comptroller General of the United States, held that these executive orders were in conformity with the law; and

WHEREAS, The Attorney General of the United States has advised the President that he has no authority under the law as enacted, to exclude non-work days and Sundays, as the case may be, from being charged against annual and sick leave due employees under the conditions specified in the President's order of March 21, 1938; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Cincinnati, Ohio, express its disappointment and disapproval of the manner in which the leave laws of March 14, 1938, have been interpreted in the instances cited, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor render every assistance possible to the affiliated organizations interested, to secure the enactment of the Ramspeck-Bulow bills now pending on the House and Senate calendars which will entitle employees to 26 days annual and 15 days sick leave, exclusive of Sundays, legal holidays, non-work days, and other time for which employees would not otherwise receive pay.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Application of Seniority Principles to All Federal Employees

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther N. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. P. Bennett, Henry

Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trades and industries; and

WHEREAS, Seniority principles are recognized and operate successfully in several post offices; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of similar seniority principles among all Federal employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in accord with this endorsement support be given legislation pending before Congress which will establish a general seniority standard.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Appreciation of Fair Labor Policy of U. S. Post Office Officials

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Postmaster General James A. Farley and other policy forming officials of the Postal Service have repeatedly declared themselves as recognizing the right of organization by the employees and of spokesman through their duly elected representatives; and

WHEREAS, This policy is one inaugurated by the present administration of the Post Office Department and is a marked improvement from previous personnel relations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Con-

vention of the American Federation of Labor extend its appreciation to the officials of the Post Office Department for this liberal reform; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that these officials take energetic steps to impress upon their subordinates in the field the duty and responsibility of observing and furthering recognition of the unions and the sincere practice of collective bargaining with respect to administrative matters; and, be it still further

RESOLVED, That we express the sincere hope that this example will be followed by the extension of the above principles to all Government establishments in which they do not now exist.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation to Provide for Pay Increases on Longevity Service

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The principle of longevity pay is recognized and its practice well established in many industries and employments, including the military and naval establishments of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, Postal employees in top automatic salary grades have few opportunities for advancement, and economic world where living costs and standards are continually rising is equivalent to a steady reduction in pay; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle of longevity pay for postal employees as embodied in a bill introduced by Honorable James M. Mead, Senator from New York, and instruct the Executive Council to support the efforts of the affiliated postal organizations to secure its enactment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Legislation for Postal Employees Granting Reduction in Hours Progressively with Length of Service

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The principle of longevity pay for postal employees has been an ac-

cepted part of the legislative program of the National Association of Letter Carriers for many years; and

WHEREAS, Under this longevity pay program, the National Association of Letter Carriers has requested an increase of \$100.00 per year upon completion of 15 years service and an additional \$100.00 per year upon the completion of each five year period until 30 years of service had been completed; and

WHEREAS, Under present economic conditions it is more advisable and more in keeping with economic trends to reduce hours, thereby spreading employment opportunities; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Cincinnati, October, 1939, go on record as favoring legislation which will grant to postal employees who have been in the service 20 years the following: seven-hour day, those who have been in the service 25 years, a six-hour day; and those who have been in the service 30 years, a five-hour day; and be it further

RESOLVED, That when a "Thirty Year Optional Retirement Law" is placed upon the statutes—any special reduction in hours for those who remain in the service more than 30 years be cancelled.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the Postal Service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions; and

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department has cooperated in an effort to reduce the employment of temporary, non-certified employees; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its 59th Annual Convention assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the Postal Service except during bona fide emergencies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Post Office Department be commended for its efforts to eliminate the use of temporary employees in the postal service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council

be instructed to cooperate with the affiliated organizations of postal employees in securing from the Congress of the United States appropriations sufficient to make possible regular appointments in adequate numbers to meet the service needs.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposed Legislation To Restrict Use of Temporary Employees by Post Office Department

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks is opposed to the use of temporary employees other than during the Christmas rush periods; and

WHEREAS, In view of this fact, many post offices employ temporary employees regularly; and

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department's ruling governing the use of temporary employees is so vague and elastic that an emergency can be said to exist at any time and temporary employees may be used for an unlimited period; and

WHEREAS, The only way to eliminate the indiscriminate use of temporary employees is through national legislation restricting and limiting their use, and to accomplish that end it is necessary that a bill be passed in Congress which will define an emergency as a condition which can exist for only a specified duration of time; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Cincinnati, October, 1939, request the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to draft a bill designed to carry out this purpose and have it introduced in the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Substitute Postal Employees

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. L. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association

WHEREAS, Substitute postal employees must qualify to perform the same duties as regular postal employees, but must be available for duty at any time, day or night, 365 days a year, having no regular schedules and being paid only for the actual hours worked; and

WHEREAS, The period of substitution, in many instances, extends over many years; and

WHEREAS, Substitute postal employees receive no higher rate of hourly pay, regardless of length of service; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor record its endorsement of legislation to grant these employees a graduated scale of hourly pay commensurate with the hourly rates of pay of regular employees based upon length of actual service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to support the efforts of the affiliated postal employees to secure appropriate legislation to correct the condition brought about by restrictive rulings of the Comptroller General on the law granting annual and sick leave to substitutes.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Legislation To Improve Standards of Employment of Rural Mail Carriers

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Senate Bill S-1663 by Senator LaFollette and House Bill H. R. 4588 by Congressman Sweeney, are now pending in Congress, providing an 8-hour limit workday except in an emergency, with pay for overtime; a 5-day week; the basic salary paid by the time required to complete duty instead of by the present unfair mileage system; no reduction in basic salary for any carrier now in service, and a 6 cents per mile per day equipment maintenance according to the length of the route; and

WHEREAS, Now there is no limit as to hours rural carriers can be required to work and as a large number are now required to work hours far in excess of 40 hours per week within 6 days; and

WHEREAS, Bill S-1663 has had a Senate Post Office Subcommittee hearing, but has not yet been reported out; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist and further this legislation to have it passed during the coming session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Civil Service and Seniority For Substitutes in the Rural Mail Delivery Service

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Substitutes now in the Rural Mail Delivery Service have no opportunity of obtaining appointment as a regular carrier, except by competing in a civil service examination to fill the vacancy on the route which they may have been serving on for years; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist and endeavor to have enacted legislation that will be before the next session of Congress, which will provide for appointment of Rural Carrier Substitutes from a Civil Service Roster, which will later entitle them to appointment as a regular carrier according to seniority when a vacancy exists at the post office to which they are assigned.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Providing Compensation for Rural Mail Carriers According to Number of Mail Boxes Served

Resolution No. 62.—By Delegate Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Carriers in the Rural Mail Delivery Service serving heavy patronized routes do not receive equitable compensation for the hours of work compared to carriers serving light patronized routes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse proposed legislation, compensating Rural Carriers additionally if they are serving over a certain number of boxes per mile, and that no such carrier shall have a route of a greater length than can be served in 40 hours per week within six days.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Requesting Endorsement of Legislation to Include Special Delivery Messengers in Postal Service Under Civil Service

Resolution No. 63.—By Delegate George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.

WHEREAS, It is our belief that an equitable merit system for all Government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, is the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees; and

WHEREAS, The members of the Brotherhood of the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers of the United States Postal Service remain unclassified; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its 59th Annual Convention, unqualifiedly endorse such legislation as will extend the civil service so as to include the members of this Brotherhood, as Special Delivery Messengers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Committee be instructed to continue to co-operate with the National Association of Special De-

livery Messengers in their efforts to secure through legislation or Executive Order, such extension of the classified civil service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

To Extend Provisions of Act (Public No. 391) To Regulate Government Employment on the Panama Canal Zone

Resolution No. 64.—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has spent vast sums of money in the construction and operation of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Funds are appropriated yearly to provide for operation and maintenance of the Canal, and

WHEREAS, At this time employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad approximate 13,000 and of this number 3,000 are citizens of the United States while 10,000 are alien subjects of European nations, an approximate ratio of one United States citizen to three aliens; and

WHEREAS, There are more than 3,600 aliens in the service of the United States Government on the Canal Zone, occupying skilled or semi-skilled positions, which should be held by United States citizens; and

WHEREAS, There are now millions of workers in the United States who are unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal is an important part of our system of national defense, vastly increasing the sailing radius of our naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, Now that a state of war exists, attempts may be made to injure or destroy the canal, it is therefore essential that all positions of responsibility be filled by American citizens; and

WHEREAS, A law (Public No. 391) was enacted in the last session of Congress which, at the request of the American Federation of Labor, was amended to provide for the payment of the prevailing rate of pay and for the employment of American citizens in all positions of a skilled, technical, clerical, administrative and supervisory nature; be it

RESOLVED, That we approve of the progress made and that our officers be instructed to introduce a resolution in the 1939 convention of the American Federation of Labor with the request that that convention instruct its officers to extend the provision of the above amendment to the operation and maintenance of the Panama Canal, the operation and maintenance of the Panama Railroad, the operation and maintenance of the Panama Railway Steamship Line and other positions occupied by civilians under the Army and Navy on the Panama Canal Zone.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Shorter Work Week For Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Section 23 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1935 (Thomas Amendment), provides a 40-hour week with no reduction in salary for certain employees of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Railroad, not being considered employees of the United States Government, have not been allowed the advantages of the 40-hour week; and

WHEREAS, Less than half of the Panama Canal employees receive the 40-hour week, less than one-third of the total number of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and

WHEREAS, Realizing the limitation placed on the application of the shorter work week, legislation has been proposed providing for the shorter work week for all Government employees alike; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, make every effort to have a shorter work week, not to exceed 40 hours per week, and with no reduction in salary, applied to all the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Twenty-five Year Optional Retirement and Widows' Annuity for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous, due to the high temperature, great humidity and the actinic rays of the tropical sun; and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undetermined; and

WHEREAS, Congress during the last session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of sixty-two; and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement and extending certain benefits to widows; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provision of the Civil Service retirement acts but have a special retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code June 19, 1934; and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, twenty-five years of service, and with full annuity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That officials of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to support during the next session of Congress any measure supported by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union providing for an earlier retirement age with full annuity and extension of these benefits to widows.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Wage Differential for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Existing law provides for employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad of a differential up to 25 per cent over rates paid for similar work in the United States; and

WHEREAS, All of the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad except policemen, firemen, school teachers, postal employees and pilots receive this differential in pay; and

WHEREAS, There seems to be no satisfactory reason why these employees should not receive equal consideration for their labor with the other employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, be instructed to assist in every way possible in obtaining the full differential for all employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Endorsement of Ramspeck Bill H.R. 1981 To Regulate Employment Conditions of U. S. Navy Yard Custodial Service Employees

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Navy Yard wage sched-

nles do not now cover employees in the custodial service; and

WHEREAS, These employees were excepted from the general provisions of the Classification Act of 1923, which excluded the skilled trades from the operation of that Act; and

WHEREAS, It is now proposed to extend the Classification Act to the field service; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That an effort be made to remove these employees from the purview of the Classification Act of 1923 as amended, and to have them placed under a schedule of wages not less than that prevailing in the Navy Yard service, and to confer upon them the benefits of the 40-hour week without reduction in weekly earnings; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the principles of the Ramspeck Bill H. R. 1981, introduced January 9, 1939, and endeavor to secure its enactment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Navy Yard Employees Substituted in Supervisory Positions Should Receive Standard Wage Rates

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government Navy Yards, Arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions; and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken; and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J.

Gainor, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Schwartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the Workmen's Compensation Law covering Government employes and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's Compensation laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia, and the large body of workmen employed on Federal emergency projects; and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in a humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of Workmen's Compensation legislation by an independent bi-partisan commission; and

WHEREAS, the increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal Workmen's Compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within Federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its approval of the Commission and the manner in which it has administered the laws under its jurisdiction; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal Workmen's Compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Opposing S. 2460 Involving Federal Board for Vocational Education

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is pending before the United States Congress a bill known as S-2460, which proposes to amend the Smith-Hughes and the George-Dean Acts to abolish the Federal Board for Vocational Education; and

WHEREAS, This Federal Board of Vocational Education is representative of industry, labor and agriculture, and is vitally and directly concerned with the results of state programs for Vocational Education, the approval of which is one of the Board's main functions; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly gone on record in favor of representative board of education to act not only in an advisory capacity as is the case with the present Federal Board of Vocational Education, but also to have administrative powers; and

WHEREAS, If the Federal Board is abolished it will remove the only safeguard the labor movement has for assurance that the trade and wage-earning occupations taught in schools will be taught by qualified practical tradesmen, and that Vocational Education will not be used to supply chiseling employers with half-trained, low-wage help; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as opposing Bill No. S-2460 in so far as it does not provide for a representative Federal Board for Vocational Education as a policy determining body.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Endorsement of H.R. 7312 To Amend Tariff Act

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, Elmer P. Meinz, Matt Slater, James S. Killen, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers; Matthew J. Burns, Arthur Huggins, Frank P. Barry, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

WHEREAS, European countries, because of low wages, depreciated currency, and subsidized industries, are able to dump commodities into the United States at prices below the cost of production here; and

WHEREAS, The Anti-dumping Act of 1921 does not give American industry and American labor adequate protection against such ruinous competition; and

WHEREAS, Congressman Martin Smith of the State of Washington, at the last session of Congress, introduced a bill known as H. R. 7312 to amend the Anti-dumping Act of 1921; and

WHEREAS, H. R. 7312, if enacted into law, would amend Section 202 of the Anti-dumping Act of 1921 so that it would read as follows:

"(a) If the United States Tariff Commission should find in its report that the charge of dumping is sustained, the appraising officer of the Bureau of Customs forthwith shall levy and collect, in addition to the duties imposed thereon by law, if any, a special dumping duty on the imported merchandise or raw materials which was subjected to the order of suspected dumping.

"(b) The special dumping duty levied and collected as provided for in section 202 (a), shall be determined by the difference between the sale price, or the price for which the imported merchandise or raw materials was offered for sale, and the manufacturer's or producer's cost of production in the United States of the same kind or class of merchandise or raw materials."

and

WHEREAS, If the Anti-dumping Act of 1921 were strengthened by the enactment into law of H. R. 7312, it would prove of immeasurable benefit to American wage earners, not only to those employed in non-dutiable industries, like pulp and newspaper paper, but also to all the workers employed in industries that have to meet what is tantamount to subsidized competition from European countries; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Fifty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby go on record as endorsing H. R. 7312; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to urge upon Congress the enactment of this legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Tariff Legislation To Protect American Wood Pulp Industry From Foreign Competition

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, the manufacturing of wood pulp has become an important industry in the Pacific Northwest; furnishing employment to thousands of union men, and normally bringing prosperity to many communities; and

WHEREAS, the prosperity of this industry is at present jeopardized by the dumping of European wood pulp on the United States market at a price with which the American manufacturers cannot compete; and

WHEREAS, This dumping of foreign wood is made possible by the low wage rate paid in the European mills, together with subsidies granted the foreign mills, in the na-

ture of low timber costs, low interest rates and low freight rates on the foreign ships in which the pulp is brought to the United States; and

WHEREAS, This situation is further aggravated by the fact that the depreciated currencies of these foreign countries give them an advantage in selling on the American market; and

WHEREAS, At the present time the United States Treasury Department is making an investigation of the dumping of foreign wood pulp in the United States, and its effect on the American market; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing this investigation, and recommending that legislative action be taken by the Congress of the United States to protect the American wood pulp industry from ruinous foreign competition.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Enactment of Federal Legislation To Regulate Importation of Foreign-Made Pulp and Paper

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the pulp and paper mills of the United States many mills are operating but two and three days per week, and

WHEREAS, The United States consumes enough pulp and paper to keep all mills running full time if pulp and paper made in the United States were used before any foreign made pulp and paper were used; and

WHEREAS, Pulp and paper is brought into the U. S. duty free from Canada and the

Scandinavian countries where much of this product is produced by low paid labor, and

WHEREAS, Much of the imported pulp and paper is not labeled so that its origin is unknown; and

WHEREAS, The unemployed and part-time employed men in the pulp and paper industry present flagrant example of this sabotage of national recovery; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record to petition the Congress of the United States to set quota on the importations of pulp and paper into the U. S. to the extent that local mills can operate at full time; and be it further

RESOLVED, That foreign-made pulp and paper shall be labeled, stating place of origin.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Legislation To Prohibit Government Agencies Purchasing Products Made in Foreign Countries

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are some public agencies who are approving of purchasing goods made in foreign countries; and

WHEREAS, This is against the best interests of the citizens of this country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposing this practice and request this Federation to draft suitable legislation to prohibit this practice.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 3, 1939.

The convention was called to order at 10:00 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bech, G. E.; Bell, W. D.; Bernd, Edward F.; Bordages, Andrew S.; Bower, A. P.; Braden, Jack; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, Mace M.; Brown, R. J.; Burr, Redmond; Cahir, Elizabeth M.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Demko, Frances; Eldred, Lester M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Gross, John E.; Hansen, H. I.; Heymann, Charles; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly, Tom; Kearney, J. J.; Kelly, John P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Osborn, J. M.; Patterson, C. L.; Powers, Jos.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slich, Clyde S.; Shuman, Delver; Smith, Earnest S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wade, J. F.; Welch, C. B.; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. Ray.

President Green: I now call upon Dr. Edwin A. Brown, pastor of the Madison Methodist Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, to deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION

Dr. Edwin A. Brown

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, before the mountains were brought forth, before Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, Thou art God. A thousand years in Thy sight are but yesterday when it has passed as a watch in the night. Thou art the same yesterday, today and forever, with no variables nor shadow.

Thy concern, O God, for the children of men is more eternal than the stars in heaven, and in Thy shadow the prophets, known and unknown, of the church and of labor have ever turned to Thee for strength.

Grant this morning, our Father, that the delegates to this great convention of American labor here assembled shall not forget the high calling and mission for which they are here. Above all the divisions and strife that may come within the various groups and classes within our ranks, may we ever see beyond. We represent the great mass of the American working men who toil day by day for bread. Back of this convention stand millions of toilers with their wives and millions of little children who know not their right hand from their left hand.

May it ever be, our Father, that this great group of American labor shall keep always

before them that life and liberty, opportunities for childhood rest tremendously within their hands. Heal all the strife that may emerge from time to time in the ranks of labor, so that the enemies of labor shall not seize upon these to destroy the good that these men have done.

Grant Thy blessing this morning especially upon the wives and children of these delegates here assembled. Watch over them in the absence of the husband and father.

Bless the officers of this convention that in a strange way the divine guidance may rest upon them, and we will give Thee all praise for ever and ever, world without end, Amen.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Woll: The Committee on Resolutions will meet at 10:30 o'clock this morning at the Mirror Bar. I am advised that the hall is right around on the third floor. Delegates will please consult their book of resolutions, and anyone interested in appearing before that committee will please make arrangements accordingly and immediately.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Chairman Kugler, of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business for a report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Kugler: Mr. Chairman and delegates, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business met and elected Delegate Alifas, of the International Association of Machinists, Secretary, and he is ready to submit the report for your consideration and approval.

Delegate Alifas, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greetings:

In conformity with the instructions of your President and this convention, we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in Cincinnati, Ohio, October 2, 1939, beg leave to make the following report for your approval:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a.m. and remain in session until 12:30 p.m., reconvene at 2:30 p.m. and remain in session until 5:30 p.m. on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday of this week. This convention, however, will meet on Saturday of next week if the business of the convention is not completed.

Rule 2. Any delegate failing to fill in his attendance card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 3. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 7. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 8. At the request of five delegates, the mover of a motion shall submit it in writing.

Rule 9. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 10. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 11. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 12. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 13. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 14. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate form.

Rule 15. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

Rule 16. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 17. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 18. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the results have been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

Order of Business

1. Reading of minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,
A. J. KUGLER, Chairman
N. P. ALIFAS, Secretary
W. R. BROOKS
J. T. FITZPATRICK
CHAS. E. WINESBURG
JOHN B. ROBINSON
JOHN C. MACDONALD
WILLIAM HARDING, Jr.
J. J. GLENN
H. W. SULLIVAN
GEORGE W. JONES
THOMAS J. BURKE
JACK B. TENNEY
CHARLES B. GRAMLING
EDWARD J. WINTER
H. E. GREENWALD
JOHN P. REDMOND
JOHN E. ROONEY
JERRY P. COUGHLIN

Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Delegate Alifas moved the adoption of the report as read.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Committee on Rules and Order of Business has completed its work and is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Bates of the Committee on Executive Council's Report for an announcement.

Vice-President Bates: Members of the Committee on Executive Council's report will kindly report to Room 713 immediately after adjournment of this session for the purpose of taking up the portions of the Executive Council's report referred to that committee.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

New York, N. Y.
October 2, 1939.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio:

With profound sorrow and deep regret we announce the death of our International President, Andrew J. Kennedy.

ROBERT BRUCK,
International Vice-President,
Lithographers International.

Geneva, Switzerland,
October 2, 1939.

William Green,
Convention American Federation of Labor,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Please convey delegates your convention my warmest greetings and sincerest wishes success of your deliberations. Continuation your powerful cooperation for maintaining I. L. O. S. activities in support of social justice of great help and service in these tragic times.

WINANT.

Cincinnati, Ohio,

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Dear Sir and Brother:

We welcome you and your delegates to our wonderful city. Trusting the services of all of the waitresses of Local 276 will be of such value to you, your delegates and visitors that the convention in Cincinnati will be well remembered.

Respectfull and fraternally,
LOUISE COCHRAN,
Business Manager,
Waitresses' Union Local 276.

President Green: No doubt you will all recall our old friend, President Kennedy of the Lithographers' Union. He attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many years. I know we are profoundly sorry over the death of this distinguished leader of an International Union, and if there are no objections the Chair will send a suitable telegram to the bereaved family.

I am pleased to announce to the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention that our old friend, A. J. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Federal Social Security Board, accepted the invitation I extended him in your name and in your behalf to attend and address the convention of the American Federation of Labor. You will recall that he delivered most interesting and inspiring addresses at previous conventions. We are deeply interested in the administration of the Social Security Act. It touches very closely the lives and well being of our great constituency.

Developments have taken place during the past year in connection with the administration of the Board which of course are of very deep interest to all of us. For that reason I know you will listen with exceeding great interest to the address which Mr. Altmeyer will deliver this morning. He is here. We are glad to welcome him and have him address our convention.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you our good friend, A. J. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Federal Social Security Board.

MR. ARTHUR J. ALTMAYER (Chairman, Social Security Board)

Mr. President, delegates and friends — This is the fourth time in as many years that I have had the high privilege of addressing your annual convention, and I am beginning to feel like a bad penny that returns at intervals. I hope I am not a bad penny, however. In fact, I think I am bringing news that is of extreme importance to you and your members, news that means not only pennies but dollars of security.

It might seem to some that after appearing on your program for three years there was little left to be said on the subject of Social Security. However, as you well know, it is a very big subject and, as your President has just said, the last Congress has passed amendments of transcendent importance, amendments that have completely revolutionized the old age insurance system and have turned it into an old age and survivors' insurance system. I am going to mention that particularly and in some detail a little later.

There are other important changes, too, that I want to call to your attention. Of course, these changes that occur from year to year are changes that are inevitable as we learn more about problems of insecurity and as we learn more how to meet these problems. In other words, social security is a long-time and ever-evolving program. Social security

must always be a goal and never an achievement. And so I hope you will feel as we feel in the Social Security Board, that there has been real progress in the past year and that we may look forward to increasing progress.

On August 10th last these two amendments became effective. They were passed. Some did not become effective until January 1st. These amendments build upon the programs established in the Act of 1935. There we have a good foundation and it was built with labor's help. But nobody has felt we should leave the job as soon as we had laid the foundation. In the law itself was a clause requiring the Social Security Board to study the workings of the Act and recommend necessary changes. We obeyed that instruction and found many changes to recommend.

We have also had the benefit of the findings of an Advisory Council on Social Security, which was created by Congress. This was a representative body of twenty-five members. It included representatives of organized labor, of industry, and the general public. Mr. Matthew Woll, Mr. G. M. Bugniet and Mr. John P. Frey represented the American Federation of Labor on that Council.

That demonstrates, as I see it, the great efficiency of collaboration and cooperation with representative advisory committees, such as this Advisory Council. We still have a long way to go and I am hopeful that we may continue in the development of amendments to the Social Security Act and have the close cooperation of labor, as we have had in the past.

Most of the changes affect the federal old-age insurance system, but there were changes also in the provisions for unemployment insurance, for needy old people, the needy blind, and for dependent children. Likewise, more liberal provision than before was made for the re-training of disabled workers, for child welfare, and for the public health.

Let me outline the most important changes, beginning with those in the federal old-age insurance provisions. OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE: What we all want to do with our old-age insurance system is to extend it to more people and pay more adequate benefits. We want social security for all workers, whatever their occupation. We have to keep in mind, however, the cost. The worker and his employer each pay a percentage of the workers' wage to build up a fund out of which old age benefits are to be paid. So our study, and the Advisory Council's study, were largely a process of estimating the size and potentialities of that fund, now and for the time to come, in order to see how it could be used for the greatest good of the greatest number.

We wanted to do three things especially:

1. Provide an old age income which would have some relation to the worker's average wage in his working years and thus to some extent compensate him for his wage loss when he retired, following the time-honored prac-

tice and principles of workmen's compensation.

2. Protect the worker's family as well as himself.

3. Put the purchasing power of the old-age insurance taxes to work as soon as possible.

You will recall last year that one of your delegates asked some questions about this \$47,000,000,000.00 reserve fund, and I am glad to say that that problem has been solved in the process of working out a new and more effective pattern of benefits. I see the gentleman who interrogated me last year smiling. I think he made a point last year.

Our actuaries and statisticians found a formula which gives us at least a long start toward our goal. If the changes do not go as far as we could wish, it is important to remember that it is better to be safe than to be sorry. We have here a huge insurance problem. To operate any insurance system with 45 million potential beneficiaries to whom the government itself is responsible needs all the wisdom and prudence we can command. Thanks to the careful consideration of the Committee of Congress and all concerned in preparing the amendments, it was possible to advance the date of benefit payments, to liberalize the benefits in the early years, and to broaden the reach of the benefits to include the workers' families. At the same time it was possible to avoid an increase in taxes—all these changes without endangering the financial soundness of the system.

The first change you will feel in the old-age insurance system—the first thing that will come home to many of your members, is the new date for the beginning of monthly benefits—January 1, 1940, instead of January 1, 1942.

Under the old law, the most that workers becoming 65 years of age prior to January 1, 1940, could have received was a lump sum equal to a percentage of their total pay from the last day of December, 1936, to the day they became 65 years of age. Now they may receive monthly benefits after they are 65, or at any later date when they retire, provided they have earned as much as \$50 a quarter in each of any six calendar quarters since 1936. This is true even if they are now past 65 and have already received a lump-sum payment. The one stipulation is that wages earned after age 65, to be counted toward old-age insurance benefits, must have been earned in 1939 or later. Thus a worker who was 65 years of age before 1939 and is still at work can qualify for monthly benefits in the spring of 1940, if he has earned as much as \$50 in each quarter of 1939 and the first two quarters of 1940.

The amount of monthly benefits will depend upon the worker's past wages, but not as under the old law, on his total wages. It will be figured on his average monthly wages. This results in a considerable increase in the monthly benefits to workers now of middle age and over. It brings, in 1940, a monthly benefit of \$30.90 to the retired

worker who has had, let us say, an average wage of \$150 a month since 1936, if he is single. If he is married, there are additional benefits for his family.

That brings us to the most fundamental change in the Act—provision for the worker's wife or widow and dependent children, and in some cases, his dependent parents. The man's wife, if or when she is 65, will get a monthly benefit equal to half of his. If his amounts to \$30, she will get \$15, and the two will have \$45. A widow's benefits is three-quarters of her husband's monthly payment, a child's benefit is one-half until he is 16 years old, or 18 if he is regularly in school. If, for example, a man with a \$30 monthly benefit dies leaving a widow and two dependent children, the family altogether will have \$52.50 a month until the oldest child is 18, when the child's benefit stops.

You will probably want to know much more about these family benefits, of course. I shall not attempt more examples here, however, because I think you will find it easier if you actually see the figures in print. This you can do if you ask for one of the leaflets which you will find in the lobby near the Social Security Board exhibit.

And incidentally, in the annual report of the Executive Council there is a splendid explanation of all of these changes, including the ones that I have just mentioned.

From what I have said, however, you will realize that the new provisions for old-age insurance give protection not only to the worker himself, but to his family when he dies—more benefits, more protection than we could possibly buy anywhere with the amount of his social security tax. It provides an income for him and an additional benefit for his wife when they are old. It provides for his widow and children until the children are out of school and can presumably help to take care of their mother. And when that mother reaches 65, if she has not married again, she receives three-fourths of her husband's monthly benefit as long as she lives.

These provisions are so fundamental that Congress changed the title of this part of the Social Security Act to "Old Age and Survivors Insurance."

Another change which will be welcome to you is an amendment to the law requiring employers to furnish receipts for social security taxes taken out of the workers' pay. Those receipts will show the amount of the tax and also the amount of the wage. They must be furnished at least once a year, and in any case, when the worker leaves a job. They may be furnished oftener.

If the worker saves these receipts, he can keep track of his social security account. He can also check up by asking the Board what his wage credits are. We are now replying to many thousands of requests of that kind, which are coming in on postcards we have issued for the workers' convenience. Any union can obtain a supply of these cards for

its members. Many unions have already done so, and others can, by asking the nearest Social Security Board field office.

Another change in the old-age insurance system affects what the old law called the Old-Age Reserve Account. The new law provides that social security taxes shall go into a fund to be known as the "Federal Old-Age and Survivors Trust Fund" which shall be managed by a Board of Trustees. The trustees are the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Labor, and the Chairman of the Social Security Board. This fund will be drawn upon to pay benefits when they come due, and is expected to provide, in addition, a reserve for contingencies.

The new law also extends the coverage of the social security system by more than a million men and women in jobs not covered before. It brings in the crews of American ships, the employees of national banks and State banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System, and employees of building and loan associations.

Labor asked for extension also to agricultural and domestic workers, and to employees of religious and other non-profit organizations. The Board is on record as recommending this. However, Congress apparently believed that this extension should not be undertaken, at least for the present.

I have already referred to another important change which will affect labor materially. Congress kept the old-age insurance tax rate, for workers and for employers, down to the present one per cent of wages for another three years. Under the old law it would have gone up to 1½ in 1940. That change amounts to a swing of some \$400,000,000 in workers' taxes during that time.

We have, then, with the amendments Congress adopted in August, a very different old-age insurance system from what we had before. It protects the workers' families, thus reaching millions of people not covered under the old law. It enlarges the benefits for men and women now middle aged or more. It reduces taxes. At the same time, however, it brings monthly benefit payments nearer, and puts to work next year the purchasing power represented in the taxes the workers and their employers have paid into the old-age insurance and survivor's fund.

The great related hazard which still remains unprotected is that of permanent disability. A person who becomes permanently disabled prior to age 65 suffers as real and permanent a wage loss as a person who retires from gainful employment at age 65 because of old age. With the single exception of Spain, every other country which has a system of old-age insurance has made provision for permanent disability. The Board recognizes that the administrative problems involved are different although it does not believe them insuperable.

Unemployment Insurance

Coming now to unemployment insurance, we have fewer and less fundamental amend-

ments to discuss. Congress left the system virtually unchanged, except as to employers' taxes, and some easing of the provisions about delinquent taxes.

The employers' tax of 3 per cent of pay roll—the Federal tax which is levied by the Social Security Act—will now no longer be applied to that part of anybody's wages or salaries over \$3000 a year. That means a saving to employers of about \$65,000,000 a year.

In addition, the new law permits refunds and adjustments of taxes of employers who were late in paying their 1936, 1937 and 1938 contributions to the state unemployment funds. This may be good news to some of you, but there was some uncertainty in the beginning, I believe, as to whether or not union pay rolls were taxable for old-age and unemployment insurance. Now it is clear that they are, and if you have not already secured any adjustments that may have been necessary, I think you can do so if you take the matter up with your nearest collector of internal revenue.

Although few changes were made in the unemployment insurance provisions, several important proposals were considered at length by the committees of Congress in charge of the bill. Most important was the proposal offered by Representative McCormack of Massachusetts. This would have permitted a state to make a state-wide reduction in the employers' rate of contribution to the state unemployment fund provided the accumulated funds amounted to more than a specified minimum and employers in that state could still obtain the full 90 per cent offset in their federal unemployment compensation tax. As I do not need to tell you, this proposal was vigorously opposed by the American Federation of Labor. President Green protested that our experience was far too short to determine just what the future demands upon any state's unemployment fund would be over the next few years, and, in any case, he urged, if the fund was more than sufficient it should be used to increase benefits, rather than reduce taxes. This was also the position taken by the board and will continue to be the position taken by the board.

The Social Security Board recommended that in any event, before any reduction in taxes shall be permitted, certain minimum standards for benefit payments should be established. Rep. McCormack therefore included in his amendment a provision that no state could put into effect a state-wide reduction which would enable employers in that state to obtain the full 90 per cent offset against their federal tax unless the state met certain minimum benefit standards contained in the Federal Social Security Act. The McCormack amendment was passed by the House of Representatives but not by the Senate and therefore is not a law.

Except as the states have amended their own unemployment compensation laws, the principal change in the unemployment insurance system is administrative. As you will remember, Congress approved the President's

Reorganization Order No. 1, which included provision for consolidation of the United States Employment Service and the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation in the Social Security Board. That consolidation has now been made, and I am glad to be able to tell you that hereafter, throughout the United States, employment offices and unemployment insurance offices are one and the same, wherever they are. You can do business at one place, whether you are looking for a job or filing a claim for out-of-work benefits. In the Social Security Board the two services now constitute what has been called the new Bureau of Employment Security.

So far as the future of unemployment compensation is concerned progress lies along two lines. The first is greater simplicity in the benefit provisions of the state unemployment compensation laws and in their administration. The second is more adequate benefits within reasonable financial limits. In writing the benefit provisions in the original state unemployment compensation laws, an attempt was made to keep the cost down to 3% of the payroll. If actual experience demonstrates that the cost of providing these benefits is less than 3% then there is great need for giving consideration to providing more adequate benefits.

Public Assistance: You have realized, of course, the many-sided benefits provided in the Social Security Act. There is old-age insurance for wage earners, and there is old-age assistance in the form of monthly cash allowance for the old people who do not qualify for wage earners insurance, but who have nothing of their own to live on. Under the amendments there is now insurance protection for the children of insured wage earners, as well as public assistance for dependent children whose breadwinner is gone and whose family cannot support them. There is also aid for the needy blind at any age if they are in need.

Under all these programs, the monthly allowances are paid to make it possible for the needy old or blind person, or the child, to live at home.

All the public assistance plans, as you know, are State-administered plans, with the Federal Government sharing the cost. In view of the wide variation in monthly allowances paid to these needy groups in different states—sometimes as low as \$6 a month in some states—the Social Security Board recommended that Congress provide for variable grants of Federal money to the states. This would mean determining the amount of the grant to each state, within certain limits, of course, according to the financial capacity of the state to provide for its own needy people. Such a plan would, of course, require some objective standard for measuring the state's capacity to pay, such as the per capita income of the people of the state. This proposal was not adopted by the Committees of Congress, however.

The problem still remains to be solved of making a little more certain that the needy states can pay more adequate assistance to

these people in need than they have been paying in the past.

The amendment finally accepted increases the possible grant from the Federal Government to as much as \$20 a month if the state contributes \$20—instead of the present maximum grant of \$15 from the Federal Government if the state contributes \$15.

For aid to the blind also, the maximum Federal grant was increased to \$20 a month instead of \$15.

For dependent children, the law heretofore has provided a maximum Federal contribution of only one-third of the total allowance for each child. This has been amended to provide the same 50-50 basis as for old-age assistance and blind assistance.

The children for whom such payments are allowed are those in families where there is no parent to support them. A parent or responsible relative may receive, if the state so decides, as much as \$18 a month for the first child in the family and \$12 for each other child. The purpose, of course, is to make it possible for these children to grow up at home, instead of in an institution.

The amendment providing for 50-50 matching will be of great assistance to the states in furnishing more adequate assistance to dependent children. However, since in the great majority of cases the mother as well as the child must be supported out of the state grant the limitation of \$18 a month for the first child results many times in inadequate assistance being granted.

Health and Welfare Services

I have been speaking, so far, of social security programs with which the Social Security Board is directly concerned. There are five of those. There are five other programs which are under direction of other government establishments. All but one of those establishments, however, are now, like the Social Security Board, a part of the Federal Security Agency, created by the President's Reorganization Order No. 1. For all of these programs Congress provides additional funds for the next fiscal year. You will be glad to know that the appropriation for re-training disabled workers under the Vocational Rehabilitation Service of the Office of Education, which is now in the Federal Security Agency, has been almost doubled, bringing it up to \$2,500,000. For the maternal and child health services there is an additional two million; for care of crippled children a million more, and for public health three million more—a total of 7½ million dollars more a year for the health and welfare services provided for in the Social Security Act.

A great lack—and let me emphasize this—in the field of health is provision for insurance against loss of wages during disability not arising out of a worker's employment. The present workmen's compensation laws furnish some protection against loss of wages resulting from industrial acci-

dents and disease. State unemployment compensation laws furnish some protection against wage loss due to lack of work. The Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance system will provide protection against permanent loss of wages due to death or old age. But no compensation protection yet exists against loss of wages due to ordinary sickness or accident.

A still greater lack in the protection of health is the failure to provide adequate medical care for a large proportion of our population. Our latest estimates show that between 40 and 50 million persons are in families with less than \$800 a year annual income. These families are able to purchase essential medical services only at a risk of curtailing food, clothing, shelter and other essentials to health and decency. Another 30 or 40 million persons are in families with annual incomes between \$800 and \$1300. Impartial studies show that there are serious deficiencies in the medical services received by these people. In fact, in many instances, the recipients of public assistance and those in the border line groups are more adequately cared for than the self-supporting persons with low incomes. These self-supporting persons are not used to seeking public charity and their sense of pride prevents them from going to a physician for free medical treatment. A similar problem, though of lesser severity, exists in families with incomes up to \$3000 a year, and 90% or more of the people of this country are in families that have an income of less than this amount.

The great tragedy is that there is the greatest volume of sickness and the greatest need for medical care among those who have the least income and the least ability to pay for service.

Because of the unequal and unpredictable incidence of illness, if adequate care is to be made effectively available to all people with small or modest incomes at cost they can afford, the costs must be spread among groups of people and over periods of time. Some arrangements must be worked out so that people can make regular periodic contributions into a common fund out of which the costs of medical care will be paid for those who are sick. The Government and the State Government have a responsibility in this field that cannot be shirked.

I have tried to give you as briefly as I can the main outlines of the amended Social Security Act and the great unmet needs still confronting us. You will agree, I think, that most of the changes made by the amendments of 1939 are good. But we must continue with the building of the social security program. The Social Security Board will continue to study the workings of the Act, and will undertake to discharge its responsibility of recommending changes as the need develops and as opportunity comes.

Through direct communication with your offices and the Social Security Committees which have been established in city central bodies and local unions throughout the United States we hope to be kept informed as to

labor's experience under the new law, and labor's view in regard to it. We want your recommendations. As you know, we have a special division—the Labor Information Division of our Informational Service—which was established to serve you, and to bring to the Board's attention any situations, complaints, or problems of interest to or affecting organized labor.

And now let me say a word of thanks personally and officially to your Committee on Social Security. Mr. Woll, Mr. Bugniet, Mr. Frey, and last but by no means least in helpfulness to the Social Security Board, your President, Mr. Green, and Miss Florence Thorne.

Thank you very much.

President Green: Mr. Altmeyer has delivered to you this morning a most interesting and highly educational address. He dealt with a subject in which you are all interested, and more than that, those whom you have the honor to represent. His address will be included in the report of the proceedings of today's convention. We appreciate the information and educational value of this address.

I thank Mr. Altmeyer in your behalf for coming from Washington to our convention this morning and for the fine, highly educational address which he delivered.

The Chair recognizes the Committee on Credentials for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Noxon, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

We, your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union—Frank C. Burke, 1 vote.

Charleston, West Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union—Volney Andrews, 1 vote.

Seafarers' International Union of North America—R. D. Thompson.

Beet Sugar Workers' Union No. 20748, Santa Ana, Calif.—W. B. Casey, 2 votes.

Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—Joseph Sefani, 1 vote.

In accordance with telegram received from Robert Bruck of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association—we request the seating of Francis P. Slater in place of Andrew J. Kennedy, who passed away.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: Our good friend, Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, is here, and I have called upon him to deliver his annual address to this convention. You all know, I am sure, that he has attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor for years and he has delivered his addresses in a most interesting and convincing way each year.

We are deeply interested in the work of the Workers' Education Bureau. We have been cooperating with Mr. Miller and those associated with him for many years. I doubt that any of us can adequately and fully appraise the value of the educational work done by this Bureau. It is a character and kind of work that is carried on without fanfare, if you please, without noise, and perhaps without adequate advertising. Nevertheless, the work is being done constantly and continuously, and no one can very well appraise the value of our educational work.

I know you will be pleased to receive that address this morning, and I am pleased at this time to present to you Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau.

LABOR EDUCATION AND THE WORLD CRISIS **SPENCER MILLER, Jr.** **(Director, Workers' Education Bureau of America)**

This is the third time during the lifetime of our Education Bureau that I traveled down into the Valley of the Ohio to attend a Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Each time there has been an opportunity to make a report of a service performed. On the first of these two occasions the convention gave recognition to the value of these services and its pledge of cooperation for the future. I trust this year will be no exception. In this spirit I have come again to Cincinnati at a period of grave World Crisis to make my annual report and to learn from you what problems loom as the most urgent for American labor in the year that lies ahead. For around these problems must our educational program be built.

In the pages of the Executive Council report there is embodied a chronicle of work done by our Bureau; I shall not repeat what is there stated. In my address this year I shall rather underline some of the points which your Council have deemed important and project some plans for the future. In doing so I am reminded of the words of the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the

United States Supreme Court when he said, "It is more important at times to underline the obvious than to elucidate the obscure."

To what tasks, then, have we addressed ourselves during the past year? What has been the fruit of our labor? These are the two questions that you men of labor have a right to ask and expect an answer of me. I propose to present within appropriate time limits the answer to these questions. To begin with, I take it that after these many years it is no longer necessary for me to argue as to the necessity of the education of labor to perform the many responsibilities which develop upon labor in our complex social order. As long ago as 1922, when I first came to Cincinnati in behalf of our Education Bureau, your Committee on Education stated: "With the vast increase in the size and power of organized labor, the education of the adult workers has become one of the fundamental demands of the labor movement. Constant progress is achieved through the increasing intelligence of the rank and file of the membership. The worker must know the relation of the industry in which he works, not only to the labor movement, but also to the structure of our modern society. He must be conscious of the spiritual forces which direct and shape the course of the labor movement and inspire the willingness to stand by the movement. Workers' education is the very basis of a permanent and responsible workers' organization; it must be co-ordinated with the labor movement and therefore should be regarded as an integral part of the trade union itself."

The truth of this assertion has been proved beyond peradventure of a doubt in these intervening years. Show me an organization that has grown in numbers and service and consolidated its gains and I will point out to you that the methods which have been employed by that organization were in essence educational. Labor may not always use the word educational to define its aim or methods but the intention is no less clear—they are using the tools of intelligence to achieve a social objective.

May I go further and say that the Federation today is more educationally minded—more disposed to recognize the importance of educational methods and more prepared to back up such methods by trade union funds than ever before. American labor today could hardly be said to be with the dilemma of the Western cattleman who said he was unable to determine whether it was best to know so much that it made you sick or be so healthy that you did not need to know anything.

How then has our Bureau helped you to translate your will to understand into practice? I reply by the spoken word, the written word, by the recorded word, by the broadcast word, by the visual word. We have used all methods and all agencies for the diffusion of knowledge and the increase of understanding. We have carried forward mass education as well as leadership train-

ing; we have interpreted the story of labor both to labor within and to the public without.

Let me be specific. The training of the officers and business representatives of the unions in an understanding of their rights and duties under the vast array of social legislation that has been passed in recent years has become a prior responsibility for all organizations. We have addressed ourselves to that task. For the past nine years on the campus of Rutgers' University in New Jersey, the State Federation of Labor with the cooperation of our Bureau have brought together leaders of labor of that state in a four-day labor institute. These conferences are conducted under the most competent university instructors and provide for a systematic study of those problems which the State Federation think are of the most vital concern to labor. In the past nine years we have trained over 1,250 leaders in this one institute alone. The approval of the State Federation has been complete and wholehearted by their increasing financial support and widespread commendation of this institution. Labor today is better informed and more alert to its tasks in New Jersey because of the Rutgers' Labor Institute. A similar institute at the University of Michigan for state and local officials under the sponsorship of the State Federation of Labor with the cooperation of the State Board of Vocational Education and the Workers' Education Bureau has been equally effective. And the leaders in that state testify to the value of such a method of leadership training.

In New England, where for so many years we have carried on an active educational program, some 900 leaders and representatives from the six states were brought together under the leadership of Director of Organization of the Federation with the cooperation of the State Federation of Labor and our Bureau for a week-end conference last March. It gave not only a new impetus to organization in New England but also brought to the leaders of that section a new contact with the sources of information and support within that entire area.

On the Pacific coast, in the Southland, in Wisconsin, Colorado, in this very State of Ohio, as well as in many other sections of the country, our Bureau, with the help of international unions and state federations, have developed conferences for the training of officers and business representatives on current problems which have been most effective.

Our Bureau has set up some of these; has cooperated in the conduct of others; has outlined programs for still others and has given an impetus to others.

The Central bodies of the Federation have always been important links in the machinery of the Federation of Labor; their educational function has been increasingly developed by the Bureau with the promotion of material for Forums, the planning of special educational hours, or the sponsor-

ing of local study classes. During the last year the Baltimore Federation of Labor which pioneered in the preparation of material on the Social Security Act is continuing its activities with the cooperation of the research adviser of the Bureau. In Denver, Milwaukee, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, to mention but a few, lectures on topics of local interest are given from time to time. A number of these bodies have sponsored labor colleges or educational conferences as the best method of meeting their local needs. In much of this we have been consulted.

But the Bureau is serving local unions as well. In the City of New York, Local No. 3 of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, is one of the largest in the Building Trades, numbering upwards of 15,000 members. Under the vigorous leadership of that local it was decided that side by side with their campaign for a 30-hour week, they would launch an educational program for their members. They turned logically to the Bureau for advice. An educational director was employed, a program of study worked out and some 1,127 of the members enrolled in the training course. Of this total number, a first group of 182 started their work in the midst of a torrid New York summer. They carried on without interruption. The results already have been surprising. It is my judgment that this program will pay good dividends for the union and its members. I am sure the impact of the work will be felt in both the building trades and other branches of the labor movement of New York.

In addition to the development of these institutes, conferences and classes the Bureau has developed the printed word—its Books for Workers. Through our press we have been able to provide workmen and women with both books and pamphlets interpretative of labor in relation to our political, economic and social development. Let me be specific. A year ago I informed you of a research study which we had made about Labor's concern for Civil Liberty. It revealed the fact that Labor has over a period of a half century passed no less than 243 different and specific resolutions dealing with the question of Civil Liberties. And you added to that number at Houston! More than 20,000 copies of that pamphlet have been published and sent to schools, colleges, public libraries, and newspaper editors as a part of the record of labor achievement. It has been placed in the hands of every organizer of the Federation of Labor as a manual for reference and for speeches.

This year I present another record as a part of the written word. It is entitled **Labor and Education**, copies of which will be available for every delegate. In this pamphlet there is set forth for all to see what has been the record of Labor's support of our system of free public education. It is a glorious record of which every man of labor should be proud. Recently one of the foremost educational leaders in America after examining this report said: "No other group in this land could compile such a record." There it is so

all who run may read. And may I remind you of the fact, that long before Horace Mann was urging free schools for the people in Massachusetts a little over a hundred years ago labor in Philadelphia, Boston and New York were voicing their demands for such schools. For they knew that it would not be possible in this land to erect a government by the people without education of the people. And for more than a century the public schools of this land have had no more consistent friends than labor. If there were no other thing which labor had done in the building of our American Republic for which it would deserve an historic place its service to the cause of public education would be sufficient.

We have been conscious, moreover, of the fact that at this juncture in our national life it is important that labor should be kept informed about current economic changes. Toward that end we have been sending out regularly each month an economic service to all the members of our Bureau, so that they can have a source of factual data upon which to formulate policy. For labor's opinions, in the last analysis, will be no better than their facts.

Nor have we rested with the printed word alone. Today the radio has become a mighty, almost awesome instrument for the diffusion of knowledge. For ten years now we have been utilizing this instrument to tell labor's story both to labor and the public as well. During the past 17 months we have developed with the cooperation of the Columbia Broadcasting Corporation a program entitled "**Americans at Work**." Week after week we have brought workers from the mills, mines and factories to the microphones in their places of work to tell their story in their own way on what they are contributing to building America. This program has won for itself a unique reputation. According to the latest report it is being listened to by between six and eight million people each week. It is the second most popular education program in the education service of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and one of the two or three most popular educational programs in this country. A few months ago "**Americans at Work**" was awarded honorable mention by a distinguished jury of award for its outstanding merit. I mentioned this fact because it is important that you should understand how widespread is the interest in the story of labor as unfolded in the lives of working men and women.

In addition to these other services to which I have referred, the Bureau has carried on for some time a varied research program. We have made researches not only into methods and materials for our educational work but also for labor organizations. More recently we have been working with the New Jersey State Federation of Labor in a series of research undertakings dealing with the trend of wages, hours, legislation and business prospects of that state. Results of these studies have proved of very great help to the officers of the

Federation in developing their programs and outlining a policy for the future.

Our research adviser has been carrying on her researches with the Baltimore Federation of Labor. We have also been able to respond to requests from several of the National and International Unions. Moreover, we are now bringing to a conclusion some important studies made on the question of collective bargaining. It must be evident to the men of labor that the test of effective leadership will be determined in part by the skill which they employ in collective bargaining.

From one standpoint collective bargaining is democracy applied to industry. It is a device for resolving differences through the method of negotiation. To some leaders the methods to be employed in a collective bargaining experience will come naturally. But for younger leaders who have not had the discipline of long membership in the trade union movement, the technique of effective negotiation must be developed by precept and example. Toward that end we have developed a series of case studies of collective bargaining which have come out of the actual experience of labor men in dealing with concrete situations. Here are to be found the record of methods that have succeeded and methods that have failed. It is our hope that when these case studies have been published they will serve as a useful manual for later years to be utilized by those who are called upon in the negotiating agreements as to wages, hours and working conditions. It is my hope that we can expand this research service so that it will become more widely available to labor.

As it turns out, a second main aspect of our work, namely, the education of the public about labor, I realize that many of you know somewhat less about this phase of our work than you do about the former. And yet I am sure that if you will reflect for a moment you will count it of great importance. Public opinion is of mighty force in any democracy. It is the ultimate judge of every public question. Unless the public can be persuaded as to the merit of one side in a controversy it is difficult for that side to win public support. That is why public opinion polls today have become such an important criteria of the policy of any institution or agency, which has a quasi-public or public function. But the task of assuring public support is the task of developing a policy which takes into account the public welfare and then continues to interpret that policy to the public. The opportunity for such a roll of interpreter has come to the Bureau by virtue of its membership on various educational committees, the participation in public forums, and the utilization of different media for the diffusion of knowledge.

There is still another opportunity for the interpretation of Labor's ideals which is of very great importance. It is with the youth of our land. I have heard this question asked again and again by labor. Why is it that our American youth grow up with so little appreciation of what American labor has done to

build the American commonwealth. May I venture a frank explanation? It is because the leaders of labor in America have been either indifferent to this group or in some cases have been disposed to hide their lights under a bushel. Labor has a great story to tell of its role in American life. Yet it has been altogether too modest in the telling of that story. Long years ago it was written, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." Our youth need to know and labor needs to aid them in their enlightenment.

We have counted it as a part of our task to aid in that work of enlightenment, but the task is very large. Thirty million of our youth are in the schools and colleges of America; 1,250,000 of our youth alone are in institutions of higher learning. If these youths who are presently to go out in the world do not understand what labor has done in the building of America, they will go out unequipped to discharge their civic functions. Moreover, they are an important part of the opinion-forming agency of our land. They may become the public opinion of tomorrow! So, whenever opportunities arise we have accepted invitations to talk to the students of our universities and colleges, to give them some conception of what American labor has done to build the American Republic. I wish more of the leaders of labor would find time to perform that type of service for our youths as well as for their own movement. For when youth come to know the facts about labor they are among its most ardent friends.

In recent weeks we have had such an opportunity for service in connection with the Congress on Education for Democracy. It was convened last August at Columbia University in New York. Our Bureau was invited to participate in planning and carrying forward this significant enterprise. The Congress proved to be a notable success. It brought together leaders of thought and education from both Europe and America. The Federation itself was officially represented by a committee under the chairmanship of Matthew Woll. Representatives of the Federation did participate most helpfully in the deliberations of the Congress. But it remains true that the sessions of the Congress provided a unique opportunity to present to the representatives of other leading American institutions, a view of the devotion of labor to the democratic way of life, as well as its contribution to public education as a bulwark of democracy.

Fortunately the Dean of Teachers' Colleges at Columbia University, who was the directing genius of the Congress, is to address this convention, upon the invitation of President Green. I shall not anticipate what he will say to you about the quality of our cooperative service, but I know he values that service and hopes that this cooperation begun under such happy auspices can be continued.

During the past year there have been other such opportunities for the Bureau to collaborate on such civic and educational un-

undertakings. We were a member of National Re-dedication, an organization set up with the primary purpose of calling the attention to the American people to the one-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the inclusion of the Bill of Rights in our Constitution and the importance of this Bill of Rights in preserving the democratic way in America. We have been privileged also to serve as a trustee of Town Hall, Incorporated, and to aid in planning the Town Hall meetings on the air which have become a national institution. In all of these contacts we have counted it as a privilege to interpret Labor's ideals and concern with every educational and public spirited movement concerned with the welfare of America.

But I can not conclude these reflections without a final word about the significance of the grave World Crisis which confronts mankind at the present moment. But a few weeks ago I was privileged to serve as an economic adviser to a World Congress of Christian Youth who met in the City of Amsterdam, Holland. These youth were seeking to build a world based on justice and brotherhood, even as the war was about to break out. It was my privilege to talk with some of the leaders of France, England, Holland, Belgium and Sweden about the impending world conflict. They saw in it something more than a conflict between two rival imperialisms. Beneath the conflict in arms they saw a struggle between two ideologies or ideas about man and his relationship with the government. The one conceived of man as a pawn of the state, the other conceived of man as a child of God. It was a struggle between totalitarians and democracy.

Today, however, the inner purpose of the Nazi regime has become more clearly revealed than ever before. It is nothing less than an nihilistic revolution set upon destruction not only of the sovereignty of small states but the very basis of our Western civilization. With the unholy alliance between the Nazis and the Communists we are witnessing the joining of two movements for world revolution which are utilizing the instruments of military might to achieve their evil ends.

It is unnecessary for me to remind you of the desire on the part of the American people to avoid entanglements in a European war. But I do remind you of this fact that we today live in a simultaneous civilization that by reason of the radio we have become the silent spectators of a great world tragedy. Because we are compelled to think about what is happening all over the world we are also called upon to render a moral judgment about what is taking place. No man today who is seated in this convention can be other than deeply stirred by the gravity of this crisis in the world. As we contemplate what is happening it is a time, I believe, when we must all of us examine more deeply than ever the basis of our own faith and loyalty to those great principles which underlie both labor and democracy. We must, it seems to me, seek by every means at our command to keep our vision clear, our judg-

ments sound, and our faith firm. It is a time also for Labor to be putting its own house in order, developing its own inner resources of intelligence and education for the task which lies ahead. But if we are to "steer by the light of reason, we must let our minds be bold."

Goethe, the great poet of Germany of the last century, as he lay upon his death bed cried out, "Light, more light." As we stand at this fateful hour in the history of the world for labor, and mankind, is not our appeal the same, "Light, more light; education, more education." For only by light, by education, by reason and cooperation can we march forward and build the world of tomorrow.

President Green: We deeply appreciate this scholarly and illuminating address delivered by Secretary Miller this morning. He has measured up to the characteristic standard heretofore set in the delivery of this address. We are pleased to have it as a part of the proceedings of this convention. I am sure many of you who listened with exceeding great interest to the delivery of the address will study it and read it over and over again. We thank Secretary Miller for his attendance at this convention and for the excellent and inspiring address which he delivered.

Announcements

President Green: I am requested to announce that President Coyne, of the Building Trades and Construction Department, desires the presence of the representatives of all building trades unions in Room 1729 at eight o'clock, Wednesday evening.

President Coyne also requests the presence of the International Association of Machinists and the President of the Boilermakers' International Union to be present.

Delegate Kasten, on behalf of the Credentials Committee, announced that the committee would meet the representatives of the International Typographical Union at eight o'clock, Tuesday night in Parlor D for the purpose of discussing their credentials.

Vice-President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, announced a meeting of that committee at 2:30 o'clock Tuesday afternoon in the north hall.

Vice-President Bugniazet announced a meeting of the Committee on State Organizations in Parlor H at 2:00 o'clock today, and requested all parties interested in Resolution No. 40 to appear before the committee at 2:30 o'clock.

Vice-President Flore, Chairman of the Committee on Union Labels, announced a meeting of the committee immediately after the adjournment of the afternoon session.

No further business coming before the convention, under suspension of the rules the convention recessed at 12:05 o'clock, p. m. to 2:30 o'clock, p. m. of the same day.

Second Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

The White House,
Washington, D. C.,
September 30, 1939.

Absentees

Bech, G. E.; Bell, W. D.; Bernd, Edward F.; Bordges, Andrew S.; Bower, A. P.; Bradon, Jack; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, Mace M.; Brown, R. J.; Burr, Redmond; Cahir, Elizabeth M.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Demko, Frances; Eldred, Lester M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Gross, John E.; Hansen, H. I.; Heymann, Charles; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly, Tom; Kearney, J. J.; Kelly, John P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Osborn, J. M.; Patterson, C. L.; Powers, Jos.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slich, Clyde S.; Shuman, Delver; Smith, Earnest S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wade, J. F.; Welch, C. B.; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. Ray.

Vice-President Woll: The Committee on Resolutions will go into session immediately, and anyone desiring to be heard upon any resolution referred to that committee will please appear before the committee now.

Substitution

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the substitution of the name of Robert Bruck for that of Andrew Kennedy, as a member of the Committee on Organization. Brother Kennedy, President of the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association, passed away day before yesterday.

I also wish to announce the appointment of Brother Adam Adamski, United Garment Workers, and Brother Frank Weikel, of the Office Workers' Union, as a Committee on Good and Welfare. Please receive them cordially and treat them generously when they call upon you at this time.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S LETTER

President Green: I wish to read to you at this time a letter which was sent me by the President of the United States:

My Dear President Green:

Please extend my warm personal greetings to the delegates to the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and my regrets that I cannot avail myself of your kind invitation to attend because matters of national concern make it imperative that I be in Washington.

These are trying days for the world and the international situation also brings problems to all of us here in the United States. It brings problems to labor, as well as to bankers and industrialists and Government officials. When we see Europe in a war which may cost many lives and imperil civilization itself, we may well offer thanks to God for the peace we have on this continent. It is the duty of each of us to leave nothing undone to promote the continuation of that peace for us, our children and our children's children. Peace, like charity, begins at home.

Perhaps the highest service we Americans can render at this time is to demonstrate that our personal liberty, our democratic ways of life, our free representative government, make it possible for us to disagree among ourselves over many things without bitterness and find quickly the means of settlement and adjustment of controversy when it has gone far enough. A world emergency such as the present gives us new realization of the blessings of democracy and liberty. In the presence of these blessings and in the face of this world necessity we must adjourn our small grudges, our differences, and find the way to peace and good will within our borders in every department of life. So we become a free and fearless nation with people of all shades of opinion and walks of life united in common purpose to maintain and to practice and to protect this American way of life.

Labor's development of status in our economic and industrial life by free trade-unionism and sound constructive relations with employers is one of the items we want to maintain. There never has been a time when there were so many negotiated working agree-

ments between organized labor and employers. There never has been a time when the rights of labor and the minimum necessities of working conditions were so well protected by statute. The American people generally have nothing but good will toward labor and in the democratic process of legislation by elected representatives have participated to achieve this standard.

If we desire peace and good will in the world we must learn to practice these in the small and large things of our own life. The continued conflict and separation in the labor movement can hardly be overlooked, in these days, when discord in any group is so harmful to world peace. The joint committee which was appointed by your body and by your separated brothers in the Congress of Industrial Organizations has, I know, done faithful and effective service to promote reunion and negotiate a practical and sound peace in the labor movement. I take this occasion to thank the members of that committee and the two organizations which they represent, for the intelligent and persistent efforts toward peace and to congratulate them upon the substantial progress made. This must be continued until a sound negotiated basis of peace between the labor groups is reached and agreed upon. If it is hard to continue it is all the more a challenge to the members and leaders of these labor bodies—to their capacity to serve the workers of America—to their capacity to put aside pride and self-advantage in patriotic service for national unity in this time of trouble and distress.

I have faith in the capacity and intention of rank and file wage earners and of labor leaders in both camps to do this and to make a peace which will make it possible for labor to play its full and generous part, along with other groups and interests, in solving our pressing national problems in this time of stress and emergency.

And so I ask you, as I shall ask the Congress of Industrial Organizations in its convention a little later, to continue wholeheartedly and generously the search for an accord. The men and women working daily in the mills, mines, factories and stores and in the transport, want this accord. The American people want it and will hold in honor those whose insight, courage and unselfishness can effect it.

I hope that you will let me hear from you that the progress already made will be continued, and that your committee is prepared to renew the negotiations and continue them until a settlement is reached.

In closing let me say that I appreciate all the help and friendship which the membership of the unions of the American Federation of Labor have given to me. I return your friendship and thank you for your help.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Honorable William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

President Green: I made a prompt reply to this message and I will read it to you for the benefit of the record.

President Green's Reply

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 3, 1939.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

I thank you sincerely for your letter dated September 30. It will be read to convention today. As a partial reply thereto I am mailing you copy of report of Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, to convention upon negotiations carried on by committees representing American Federation of Labor and C. I. O. during past year. I especially direct your attention to last paragraph in said report which reads as follows: "Our committee still stands clothed with authority to function, ready to resume negotiations when it is accorded an opportunity to do so. We have opened the door of the American Federation of Labor wide and completely. We have invited those who left the American Federation of Labor to return; we have urged them to come back home and settle differences within the family of labor in a sensible, honest and fair way. In doing this we have been inspired by a genuine desire to establish here in America a solid united labor movement through which the economic, social and industrial interests of the workers of the nation can be fully and completely served." I will transmit to you promptly such decision and

such action as convention may take later upon both your communication and report of Executive Council dealing with O. I. O.

WILLIAM GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

The letter received from the President of the United States and my personal and official reply thereto will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions for further consideration and action.

I wish at this time to submit a supplemental report of the Executive Council on the legal activities of the Legal Department of the American Federation of Labor.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL Summary of Important "Legal" Activities of the American Federation of Labor

During the past year many legal matters of great importance to the American Federation of Labor were handled by our counsel, Judge Joseph A. Padway. Broadly classified, these matters include the following:

Court Activities: Commencement of suits; trial of cases; preparation of court briefs; prosecution of appeals; arguments before appellate courts, including the Supreme Court of the United States.

Legal Opinions: Preparation and rendition of numerous legal opinions for the American Federation of Labor and its directly chartered affiliates.

Legislative Activities: Drafting of new legislation; examination and analysis of proposed national and state legislation for the American Federation of Labor and directly chartered affiliates; appearances before National and state legislative committees.

Labor Board Activities: Trial of cases before Board Examiners; preparation of briefs and argument of cases before the National Labor Relations Board at Washington, D. C.

Conferences: Numerous conferences with American Federation of Labor officials on legal matters.

Miscellaneous: Activities at the direction of the President and officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Reports: On decisions of courts, administrative tribunals, and trends of the law.

Court Activities

There were a number of cases in which the American Federation of Labor parti-

cipated. The more important ones are as follows:

Consolidated Edison Company case (United States Supreme Court);

Pacific Coast Longshoremen's Case (U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals and the United States Supreme Court);

Retail Clerks—Union Premier Food Stores case, (United States Supreme Court);

Tennessee Copper Company case, (U. S. District Court);

Electric Vacuum Cleaner case, (U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals);

National Motor Bearing Company case, (U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals);

Missouri Bar Association case, (Supreme Court of Missouri);

Minnesota Small Loans case, (Supreme Court of Minnesota);

Oregon Anti-Picketing Statute case, (Circuit Court of Oregon);

United Textile Workers case, (U. S. District Court).

Consolidated Edison Company Case

In this case the Board had invalidated a contract between the Company and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. By so doing it had virtually placed the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in the category of a company union. Moreover, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers was not even notified of the Board hearing that resulted in the loss of its contract. When the case reached the Supreme Court of the United States, the American Federation of Labor, aware of the dangerous precedent set by the Board's decision, directed its counsel to interpose a brief and to argue the case on behalf of the American Federation of Labor. Judge Padway appeared before the Supreme Court and argued that the Board had arbitrarily exceeded the limits of its powers under the Act. The United States Supreme Court in an epoch-making decision sustained these contentions and reinstated the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers contract. It held that the Board was without punitive jurisdiction and that the Board could not deprive a bona fide labor organization of its contract or other rights simply because the employer had been guilty of unfair labor practices. This decision has contributed con-

siderably to prevent the Board from discriminating against American Federation of Labor Unions.

Pacific Coast Longshoremen's Case

In this case the Board, over the strong and repeated protests of the American Federation of Labor Longshoremen's International, whose locals admittedly represented majorities of employees of several individual employers, designated as appropriate for collective bargaining a unit consisting of all employers of longshoremen on the Pacific Coast. This decision obviously constituted a serious threat to the effective existence of many American Federation of Labor affiliates. Therefore, the American Federation of Labor, through its counsel, undertook an appeal to the Courts from this decision. The appeal involved two fundamental issues: (1) Has the Labor Board power to prescribe a unit larger than a single employer? (2) Can a labor organization appeal from an adverse decision in a representation proceeding under Section 9 of the Wagner Act? The Circuit Court of Appeals, although it found that the Board's designation of the coast-wide unit "struck at the very roots of petitioners' (A. F. of L.) union and destroyed its effectiveness in a large geographical area of the nation," reluctantly declined to review the case because it was a representation case including no unfair labor practices. The Court indicated, however, that a remedy was available by petition in equity in the District Court. Such a petition was immediately filed, and the case is now pending before the Federal District Court in the District of Columbia. Moreover, in order to exhaust every possible avenue that may lead to a reversal of this dangerous ruling of the Board an appeal has been filed in the Supreme Court of the United States. No action on this appeal has yet been taken by the Court. Our counsel has been directed to prosecute this appeal most vigorously so as to obtain a reversal of the Board's decision in the Longshoremen's case.

Retail Food Clerks v. Union Premier Food Stores

This case involved the issue of whether the Norris-LaGuardia Act was, in part, re-

pealed by the Wagner Act. The trial court held that because of the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act did not apply to a situation where two rival unions were picketing a plant and granted an injunction against all picketing. The American Federation of Labor joined in an appeal to the United States Supreme Court in an effort to reverse this perilous precedent. Recently the petition for appeal was granted and the case will be heard by the United States Supreme Court at its next term in October.

Tennessee Copper Company Case

The Board's holding in this case was discussed at our last convention. It will be recalled that the Board, on the flimsiest of evidence—which consisted of mere expressions of opinion as to the merits of rival labor unions by minor supervisory employees—set aside an election that had been won by the American Federation of Labor union. Incensed by this arbitrary conduct, the American Federation of Labor petitioned the District Court for the District of Columbia to compel the Board to issue a certificate of representation on the basis of the election fairly won. Here, too, the Board insisted that, regardless of how arbitrary its determination may be, no court had jurisdiction to review "representation" cases, and the court declined to take jurisdiction. Soon thereafter a second election was conducted which a rival union won by some six votes. Inasmuch as the Longshoremen's case will settle most of the questions involved in the Tennessee Copper Company case it was decided not to go to the expense of appealing from that decision to the higher courts.

Electric Vacuum Cleaner Company Case

For three years several affiliates of the American Federation of Labor had enjoyed contractual relations with the company. However, at the behest of a rival union that had but recently appeared at this plant, the Board arbitrarily upset these several written contracts. Naturally, the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor vigorously protested this outrageous abuse of power by the Board. When the Board re-

fused to change its decision an appeal was taken to the Circuit Court. But before the court could act upon our petition for review the Board set aside its decision and order. Subsequently it issued new proposed findings of fact and conclusions of law, which too disregarded the existing contracts. The American Federation of Labor immediately filed objections and will, of course, continue to protest this decision at the oral argument scheduled to take place before the Board in the near future.

Missouri Bar Association Case

This case before the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri involved the question of whether various organizations, such as insurance companies and labor unions, could only appear by licensed lawyers before Workmen's Compensation tribunals and other Government Agencies (the Social Security Board, the Labor Relations Boards, etc.) and whether certain phases of work such as is involved in the drawing of collective bargaining agreements, the giving of advice as to such agreements, could be done by anyone but a lawyer. The Missouri Bar Association had brought a test case in which it sought to have the Supreme Court declare that only lawyers could perform such functions. It is easy to see how vitally this would affect the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates, and how it would involve an expenditure of thousands of dollars for legal services now performed by union representatives. Therefore, the American Federation of Labor intervened, filed exhaustive briefs, and its counsel Judge Padway, argued the case before the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri. Recently the Missouri Supreme Court handed down a decision which sustained our position and refused to declare that these activities could only be performed by lawyers. Annexed to the briefs presented by our counsel were three sub-briefs written by President Wharton for the Machinists' Union, President Harrison for the Railway Clerks' Union, and President Tracy for the Electrical Workers' Union, in support of the position of the American Federation of Labor.

Minnesota Loan Shark Case

The case involved the right of state authorities of Minnesota to restrain loan sharks

from continuing their business. These authorities sought the appointment of a receiver who would take over this illegal enterprise toward the end of putting a quick end to it. The Minnesota State Federation of Labor, because this flourishing loan shark business was charging workers from 300 to 1000 per cent interest, requested legal assistance from the American Federation of Labor. Accordingly, the American Federation of Labor joined in the action, filed briefs with the Court, and Judge Padway argued the case before the Minnesota Supreme Court. A few weeks ago the Court rendered a decision which will effectively destroy the "loan shark" business in Minnesota by upholding the right of the state authorities to the immediate appointment of a receiver to take possession of the business and end it. This decision will probably serve as a noteworthy precedent for other states to follow, thereby benefiting many thousands of workers.

Oregon Anti-Picketing Law

The referendum legislation recently passed in Oregon placing vicious restrictions on picketing and strikes is being challenged by the American Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods on the ground that it is unconstitutional. Our counsel, together with counsel for the Oregon State Federation of Labor, instituting a suit in the Oregon courts to restrain enforcement of this Act and to have it declared invalid. The lower court, although it limited the application of the Act somewhat, decided in favor of its constitutionality. The case is now being appealed by the American Federation of Labor, the Oregon State Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods to the Oregon Supreme Court. The most glaring evil of this statute is that it sanctions striking, picketing and other normal union activities only where a majority of the employees have voted to strike over wages, hours and working conditions. In other words, minorities are denied what the American Federation of Labor had always thought were its most elementary constitutional rights—freedom of speech and freedom of assemblage. It is improbable that final disposition of this most vital case will be had until the United States Supreme Court will have rendered its

decision. Until such time the American Federation of Labor will expend every effort and energy to set aside this vicious anti-labor enactment and safeguard the hard-won rights of organized labor.

United Textile Workers Case

In this case the Superior Court of Providence, Rhode Island, upon application by the American Federation of Labor, held that the contract whereby the T. W. O. C. liquidated the U. T. W. and took over its assets was illegal, and that the U. T. W. affiliated with the American Federation of Labor was still the legal labor organization and was entitled to all of the funds taken from it by the T. W. O. C. As a result of this case the U. T. W. locals have instituted suits in various sections of the country to recover its funds from the T. W. O. C. and so far have been successful. A suit is now pending in New York City between the U. T. W. as an International of the American Federation of Labor, and the C. I. O. and T. W. O. C., to get an accounting of all the moneys taken over pursuant to their illegal contract and to recover the insurance benefit fund. If successful, this case will result in the obtaining of many thousands of dollars for the U. T. W.

Legal Opinions

The expanding scope of American Federation of Labor activities and the ever-increasing volume of laws affecting our interests make necessary daily disposition of many legal problems and the rendering of numerous legal opinions. Besides those opinions given directly to the American Federation of Labor, requests come from State Federations, City Central Bodies, National Councils and Federal Labor Unions. In all, upwards of two hundred fifty opinions ranging from one and two page letters to forty and fifty page studies have been rendered during the past year.

Among some of the subjects on which opinions were rendered are the following:

Liability under the Social Security Act of labor unions; infringement of libel laws; construction, application and validity of various collective bargaining agreement provisions; status of union officers under Railroad Retirement Act; rights of American Fed-

eration of Labor Unions to recover funds from seceding unions; whether certain trades and industries are engaged in interstate commerce under the National Labor Relations Act; whether certain contemplated activities in strikes and boycotts are lawful; questions respecting registration and incorporation of labor unions; infringement of labor union names by rival organization; infringement of union label; liability of employers for violation of "kick-back" statutes.

Legislative Activities

An important function of the American Federation of Labor is the study and examination of proposed legislation—state and federal. A number of bills affecting labor was studied, examined and analyzed in order to determine the position to be taken in respect to them.

Among the bills thus studied were the Wage-Hour Law, Chain Store bill, Railroad Reorganization bills, Bankruptcy Reorganization acts, PWA and WPA bills, Byrnes Re-Organization bill, Walsh-Healey Act and amendments, LaFollette Oppressive Labor Practice bill, bill regulating the use of firearms, bill regulating private detective agencies, Social Security Act and amendments thereto, Administrative Law bill, various state labor relations acts, state legislation regulating trade unions, picketing, strikes and boycotting, distribution of literature, Rhode Island Criminal Libel bill, Prevailing Wage bill, and a variety of others too numerous to mention. Also new legislation in the form of amendments to existing laws and entire new bills was drafted.

Labor Board Activities

Cases before the National Labor Relations Board required a substantial portion of time. This work involved not only the argument of cases, but also the obtaining of enforcement of board decisions and many conferences with the board. Thirty-one cases were presented to the board. These cases were presented on behalf of various directly affiliated organizations. (In this connection we note a tendency on the part of our affiliates to delay requests for legal aid until the last moment before a case is to be argued before the board. Often a record of several hun-

dred pages must be examined. It would facilitate the work of counsel if such requests came in sufficient time to make adequate presentation.)

Counsel for the American Federation of Labor participated in the trial and hearing of important cases before trial examiners of the Board, such as the Cannery cases on the West Coast, the Newspaper Guild cases at Chicago, the Mount Vernon Car Manufacturing Company case at Mount Vernon, Illinois, and others.

Conferences

Many conferences were had with officers of the American Federation of Labor and other union officials on various matters and problems.

Miscellaneous

Other services such as drafting of agreements, revising charters, investigations pertaining to jurisdictional matters, counseling other lawyers handling cases for American Federation of Labor affiliates, and the like, were rendered.

Reports on Decisions of Courts, Administrative Tribunals, and Trends of the Law

Of considerable importance is the service performed by our counsel and his associates in examining and analyzing all important decisions of courts and administrative tribunals affecting labor. Reports on these decisions are submitted to the officers of the American Federation of Labor so that policies may be shaped and devised with full knowledge of the legal implications of these decisions. Cases decided by the United States Supreme Court, such as the *Fansteel* case in which it was held that although employees had the right to strike they had no right to commit acts of violence or seize the employer's plant, thus outlawing the sit-down strike; the *Sands Manufacturing Company* case in which it was held that employees were not entitled to the protection of the National Labor Relations Act because they had breached their contract with the employer; and the *Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company* case

in which it was held that the employer had not committed an unfair labor practice inasmuch as the union concerned did not give notice to the employer of a willingness to bargain during a strike, are of such consequence that a complete legal analysis is indispensable. Considerations of space preclude further discussion of even a small portion of the precedent-making decisions reported on.

Without doubt, the most serious legal problems which will confront the American Federation of Labor in the coming year will be those cases arising out of the interpretation and application of so-called anti-labor and anti-picketing statutes. As already indicated, the American Federation of Labor is now engaged in contesting the constitutionality of the Oregon Anti-Picketing Statute, but since the passage of the Oregon law several counties in California have passed similar laws. Wisconsin has adopted a vicious anti-labor measure. Laws greatly restricting the rights of labor have been passed in Minnesota, Michigan and Pennsylvania. The American Federation of Labor will concentrate every effort to have these laws declared illegal and void.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Seattle, Washington,
September 30, 1939.

President William Green and Executive Council American Federation of Labor Headquarters, Cincinnati, Ohio.

On behalf of the Seattle Hotel Association we wish to extend to your distinguished body a cordial invitation to hold your 1940 convention in the City of Seattle. Seattle has been headquarters for over two hundred national and international conventions. We have adequate hotel accommodations and employees are members of A. F. of L. Trusting we may have your favorable consideration, I am sincerely yours.

FRANK W. HULL, President,
Seattle Hotel Association.

Seattle, Washington,
September 29, 1939.

William Green and Executive Council, American Federation of Labor Headquarters, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Seattle Port Commission has directed me to extend to you a most cordial invitation to hold your 1940 annual convention in the City of Seattle. We are positive that if you

so elect you will find a hearty welcome in a district which has every available facility for your convention, climatic conditions to make your labors most pleasant, together with a section which is most richly endowed with scenic grandeur, giving your delegates an opportunity to enjoy themselves most pleasantly after your labors in convention are completed.

J. A. EARLY, President,
Port of Seattle Commission.

New Orleans, Louisiana,
October 2, 1939.

Hon. Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor in Convention
Session,
Netherland-Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Steady membership increases in the American Federation of Labor have demonstrated conclusively to rebel minority group the workers' choice for true democracy in unionism. Entire staff join in wishing you and convention attendance continued success.

PAT MCGILL, Publisher,
The Labor Record.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada,
October 3, 1939.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Convention Headquarters,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

On behalf of Commercial Telegraphers Union, the General Executive Board extends warm personal greetings and every good wish for a successful, constructive and beneficial convention. We desire to express our deep appreciation and gratitude for your lively interest, wise counsel, and wholehearted support in our task of organizing the Western Union and we know we shall continue to enjoy the solid backing of the Federation in this very necessary work.

G. R. PAWSON,
Chairman of General Executive Board,
Commercial Telegraphers Union.

Mexico City, Mexico,
October 3, 1939.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Netherland-Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Cheerful greetings to American Federation of Labor Convention and best wishes that great meeting be in benefit of the labor movement.

SAMUEL VARGAS, R General Secretary
Confederation Regional Obrera Mexicana.

President Green: I now want to submit another supplemental report of the Executive Council dealing with the Free Federation of the Workingmen of Puerto Rico. This will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Free Federation of the Workingmen of Puerto Rico

This report covers the last year of the Three Years of Rehabilitation and Progress campaign approved by the Executive Council of the Free Federation of Workingmen in its meeting held November 19, 1936. Like the two previous ones, it has been a year of notable activity for the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico. In spite of the numerous problems which have confronted our institution the work performed has been fruitful. It has strengthened the labor organizations, the faith of the working classes in the Free Federation, the improvement of relations between workers and employers and the ideals proclaimed by the American Federation of Labor through this state branch.

The 1939 Collective Agreement for the Sugar Industry

The collective agreement for the sugar-cane industry entered into by the Association of the Sugar Producers of Puerto Rico and this institution since 1934, was renewed for the year 1939 with noteworthy benefits for the agricultural workers employed by this industry, for the organized labor movement and for the Island as a whole.

Following are the improvements obtained by labor through the renewal of this collective contract:

(a) It states that no wage rate shall be less than \$1, a demand the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico has been making for many years.

(b) The wage rates fixed in this agreement were taken as a basis by the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States to issue his order fixing fair wage rates for the sugar industry of Puerto Rico in accordance with the National Sugar Act. This circumstance afforded our workers the opportunity to assure their wages through the U. S. Department of Agriculture as well as through the collective agreement through the proper claims.

(c) Even though there was not a substantial increase in the rates for planting and harvesting operations the agreement yielded en-

encouraging results stimulating the creation of new agricultural and factory labor unions.

(d) Four supplementary clauses were added to the 1939 agreement by mutual consent of both parties. These clauses represent valuable attainments for labor in connection with principles, wages, and the general welfare of workers. We are inserting them below:

1. It is stated that the best way for maintaining industrial peace is the collective agreement.

2. That no rate fixed in the 1939 sugar-cane collective agreements shall be less than \$1.

3. The employers bind themselves to pay any difference between the wages paid in accordance with the provisions of the agreement and those that might be finally determined by the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Law.

4. The employers agree to give preference in the work to those workers organized within the Free Federation, inasmuch as this institution is responsible for compliance to the agreement as representative of the workers.

It should be noted that supplementary clause Number 3 was approved with the aim of protecting factory and transportation workers, who are covered by the provisions of the Federal Wage and Hour Law but who, owing to the prevailing uncertainty in the application of this statute and to the fact that the necessary machinery has not been created in this island, were in danger of not only losing the benefits of the law but also their attainments of previous years, because employers requested that factory workers be left out of the agreement in view of the fact that by law they were bound to pay specific minimum rates to these workers.

The Insular Agricultural Adjustment Committee, created by virtue of clause Number 9 of this collective pact, approved a resolution to recommend the sugar industry to pay wages in accordance with the federal law in all those classifications not liable of controversies in the courts, and to call upon Administrator Andrews, through his representative in Puerto Rico, to hand down the opinion offered specifying the different classifications of work within the sugar industry covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

(e) The collective agreement has served

to effectively maintain industrial peace in the sugar industry, which employs some 150,000 workers.

The 1939 sugar-cane collective agreement already mentioned was finally signed on January 11, 1939, after being ratified by a convention held by the agricultural and factory labor unions of the different localities of this island.

Rafael Alonso Torres, General Secretary of the Free Federation

It is with sincere regret that we report the death, on February 23, 1939, of Rafael Alonso Torres, well-known labor leader, General Secretary of the Free Federation, and one of its most active founders.

Brother Rafael Alonso Torres served this institution and the ideals of the American Federation of Labor for more than forty years, being one of the pioneers of the Puerto Rican labor movement. He served positions of great responsibility within the labor union, 11, 1939, after being ratified by a convention, as well as within the Government of Puerto Rico. At the time of his passing he was Vice-Chairman of the House of Representatives of Puerto Rico and Chairman of the Finance Committee thereof.

The people of Puerto Rico, all classes, social, political and religious, rendered him the warmest tribute of sympathy that could be tributed to a man who had devoted the best years of his life to fight incessantly for the general welfare of the laboring masses.

Federal Wage and Hour Law

Regardless of the position adopted by different industries of Puerto Rico who have been opposing the Federal Wage and Hour Law, the Free Federation, in line with the policies of the American Federation of Labor, has always maintained that the extension of this statute to Puerto Rico would be highly beneficial. On May 31, 1938, our institution sent the following cablegram to the United States Congress:

"Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen, affiliated to American Federation of Labor, organized 1899 and the only bonafide labor organization following American ideals representing more than hundred thousand

workers respectfully demands that in approving hour and wage bill no discrimination shall be made detrimental to our working classes. We hope to be treated as continental American citizens. Our institution also urges approval in this session of Hon. Iglesias' bills extending to Puerto Rico federal, social and economic legislation. Respectfully yours."

For several months after the passage of the law there existed in Puerto Rico a state of uncertainty, in industrial as well as labor circles, owing to the fact that the machinery necessary for enforcing the law had not been organized in this island. This situation gave rise to intense doubts. Many employers of the tobacco and needlework industries closed their shops, thus laying off thousands of workers who earned their livelihood in these industries. The campaign waged by employers against the Fair Labor Standards Act, in Puerto Rico as well as in the mainland, reached a surprising state of intensity, creating in many circles an apparent spirit of opposition to the law.

The Free Federation had to move within this situation, and it did it with firmness, but with the necessary tact.

The situation was discussed in various meetings of the Executive Council held during the current year. After several conferences with the Governor of Puerto Rico, with officers of the Department of Labor, with representatives from industry and from labor, the Executive Council of the Free Federation, under date of March 17, 1939, forwarded the following communication to Congress:

March 17, 1939.

The Honorable
The Chairman of the Committee on Labor
of the House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

In compliance with instructions from the Free Federation of the Workingman of Puerto Rico, a state branch of the American Federation of Labor, I have the honor of bringing to your attention and consideration a resolution adopted today by the Executive Council of this body as follows:

"This Federation, having been advised that amendments are being considered by the House Labor Committee intended to exempt Puerto Rico from the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and providing

at the same time that special committees for each industry composed of representatives from the United States Government and from the Government of Puerto Rico will be created to adjust and fix minimum rates for this island, as agreed upon, wants to go on record as follows:

"We cannot deny the fact that strict enforcement of the Fair Labor Standard Act of 1938 in Puerto Rico has caused disturbances in certain industries. However, the big problem for us in the island as viewed from the standpoint of labor, is to provide adequate working conditions and fair wages for over four hundred thousand (400,000) workers employed in intrastate commerce, as against one hundred thousand (100,000) workers employed in interstate commerce.

"Excepting tobacco stripping and the needlework industry, in our opinion, all the other industries covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act, such as the manufacture of sugar cane, transportation, hair nets, mother-of-pearl buttons, distilleries, men's hats, diamond polishers, can afford to pay the minimum wages as provided by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, a fact which could be easily ascertained through a fair investigation, and a good number of the above mentioned industries are actually paying the rate of twenty-five cents an hour, or more.

"The difficulties confronted by the tobacco stripping industry have been practically met successfully and settled by amendments approved by the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division on the 23d of February, 1939, to the definition of what constituted an area of production and the creation of a first concentration point at which the tobacco may be stripped. Through these amendments to the original definition of the area of production, the difficulties for tobacco farmers and dealers who use the first point of concentration for their stripping have practically disappeared, and the portion of the tobacco stripping business declared to be covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, is that affecting the manufacturers who strip the tobacco to be converted by themselves into cigars or cigarettes.

"This information is intended to prove that the problem even for the tobacco stripping business has been partially solved.

"It is our honest opinion that the main

problems for us at the present is to accommodate the needlework industry, which in most of its main lines, we have to admit, cannot afford to pay the minimum wage of 25 cents an hour.

"Notwithstanding these facts, and in view of our peculiar conditions and the disadvantage in which we are to compete with the mainland industries and with foreign industries, the Organized Labor of Puerto Rico, as represented by this Federation, is ready and willing to help, protect, keep and stabilize all our industries in Puerto Rico, including the needlework industry which so badly we need, if adequate protection is given to labor interests through insular legislation or through any special federal legislation that might be deemed necessary to be adopted by the United States Congress in view of special conditions prevailing in this island and providing that in such federal legislation creating any special board, boards or committees, adequate representation of organized labor is assured, and providing also that in such amendments a fair minimum wage for the island according to local conditions is assured, and providing further that no provision of such amendments shall justify any employer in reducing a wage paid by him at the present which is in excess of the minimum wage applicable under such amendment and that no employer would be justified in increasing hours of employment maintained by him which are shorter than the maximum hours applicable under the amendment proposed.

"It has been also demanded by organized labor in Puerto Rico from the Insular Legislature to provide for adequate legislation to regulate homework and to establish fair minimum wages for intrastate commerce.

"In line with this demand a joint committee composed of three representatives of this Federation and three representatives of employers of the needlework industry, at the request of the Hon. The Governor of Puerto Rico, has been working hard for several days in the discussion and drafting of bills covering regulation of industrial homework and the establishment of fair minimum wages for intrastate commerce through joint wage boards composed of employers and employees and presided over by a representative of the public, all the members to be appointed by the Governor of Puerto Rico.

"These drafted bills which are agreeable to both parties concerned have been already handed to the Honorable the Governor of Puerto Rico for study and it is our hope that same will be considered and passed by the Insular Legislature.

"If as stated above, the amendments proposed to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 do provide for adequate representation of labor, for a fair minimum wage in this island, to protect against reduction of wages paid at the present which would be higher than the minimum, and which will assure adequate remedies for industrial homework and minimum wages for intrastate commerce through action of our Insular Legislature, we have no objection to offer to amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 being considered by the House Labor Committee.

"Conditions at the present in Puerto Rico as to employment are worse than they were ever before in this island and we urge that adequate remedies be adopted promptly by the Administration in Washington and the United States Congress without unnecessary harm to labor and industry in the mainland or in Puerto Rico.

"We also respectfully request that if public hearings are called to consider this most important matter and particularly to discuss the wage to be fixed for Puerto Rico, that this labor organization be advised with ample time in advance to be heard and present our side on the proposition."

In complying with the instructions of the Executive Council of this State Federation of Labor in transmitting to you the above quoted resolution, I beg to remain,

Very respectfully yours.

This resolution placed the Free Federation in a fair position and in condition to call upon the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico to enact laws aimed at assuring minimum wage to the workers employed in agriculture, commerce and industry; aimed at regulating homework in this island, and at creating minimum-wage boards with adequate representation from labor. Of these measures, only one was approved, a law regulating industrial homework which, even though it fails to meet all requirements of labor, it represents a valuable attainment.

The Free Federation hopes that in any amendment that Congress might introduce

to the Fair Labor Standards Act, the workers of this country be assured adequate protection, being granted proper representation in any bodies created for the fixing of rates, investigations, and so forth.

Collective Agreements Between Longshoremen and Shipping Companies

We can state with joy that notwithstanding the campaign conducted by certain agents of the C. I. O. in the wharves of Puerto Rico the Longshoremen's unions and allied branches have maintained their loyalty to the Free Federation and the American Federation of Labor. The C. I. O. controls only one union in Puerto Rico, a Union of Tally Clerks with a negligible membership, which has not been able to enter into any collective agreement with the steamship companies. On the other hand, the A. F. of L. unions have signed collective pacts with practically all the shipping companies doing business in this island.

These agreements have remarkable importance if we take into consideration the fact that owing to the last general dock strike there were no agreements in force but work was being conducted under the provisions of an award rendered by a Board of Arbitration.

The collective agreements entered into fix fair wage rates, recognize the unions, create joint committees for the interpretation thereof and offer an opportunity for reuniting the longshore people and direct their union movement along the normal lines prevailing before the last general strike, instigated and agitated by the so-called C. I. O. agents.

Celebration of the 40th Anniversary

One of the most brilliant acts held by the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico, represented by this state branch of the American Federation of Labor, was the 40th anniversary of our institution, on July 14, 1939. This celebration took place in the assembly hall of the Central High School of Santurce with an attendance of more than 2,000 people representing all the labor organizations of Puerto Rico. The program for this act was previously submitted to the American Federation of Labor. This celebration afforded the opportunity to demonstrate

the strength of the Puerto Rican labor movement and the enthusiasm of its leaders.

"BOLETIN del Trabajo Organizado"

To cooperate in the diffusion of the ideals proclaimed by the American Federation of Labor and this state branch and help to increase the organization spirit of our working classes, the Executive Council of the Free Federation has given its support to a weekly paper called *Boletín del Trabajo Organizado*, whose editor is the General Secretary of our institution. This paper circulates among all the unions affiliated with our movement, carrying the ideals of the American Federation of Labor to the most remote regions of Puerto Rico.

Workers' Education Program

Under the auspices of the Free Federation of Workmen a radio program is being broadcast every week. Labor leaders of both sexes take part in this program, diffusing ideas and information adequate for the proper orientation of the working classes of this country. This transmission is tuned with much interest in the labor temples throughout the island.

Puerto Rico Department of Labor

The Department of Labor of Puerto Rico, which is a legitimate attainment of the Free Federation of Workmen, has been promoting, in the most effective way, the interests of the toiling classes of Puerto Rico, intervening in industrial controversies and promoting the best possible living and working conditions. It has intelligently cooperated with the Free Federation in securing the passage of laws aimed at raising the standard of living of our working population, and has rendered other valuable aid in different activities carried out by our institution. Despite the fact that this department has the smallest amount of appropriations in the insular budget, its work is highly meritorious and its prestige is recognized by all the fair-minded people of this country and by its progressive institutions.

Puerto Rico Labor News

As stated in our report for last year, the

Puerto Rico Department of Labor has continued publishing a bi-lingual news organ, the **Puerto Rico Labor News**, which amply reports on and discusses the major social and labor problems of this island. Its information is of notable importance to the workers and to all institutions interested in the social and labor problems confronting Puerto Rico.

Women's Auxiliary to Labor

With the purpose of organizing a local body of the Women's Auxiliaries to Labor, several sisters, leaders of the organized labor movement, have been holding meetings and conducting publicity work through the radio. It is hoped that this movement will result in great importance to the activities that are being carried out by the Free Federation.

Organization Campaign

On November 19, 1939, the Executive Council of the Free Federation held a meeting wherein there was approved a plan denominated **Three Years of Rehabilitation and Progress** designed to revitalize the labor movement all over the island. This plan started to operate in January, 1937, being the current year of 1939 its last year. We can assert with deep joy that this **Three Years of Rehabilitation and Progress** campaign has been a success throughout the island for the idea of the American Federation of Labor and for the labor movement in general. During this year 120 new unions have been chartered, which, added to the previously existent 338 make a total of 458 affiliated bodies. These new unions comprise different trades. Among them are a Teachers' Union and a Musicians' Union, for the first time organized in this country.

The organizers of the Free Federation are constantly visiting the townships and rural zones of Puerto Rico, holding assemblies, conferences, mass meetings and other acts aimed at promoting the interest and organization spirit of our working masses.

In this organization campaign we have had the hearty cooperation of insular and local labor leaders, young and old.

Work of the Resident Commissioner at Washington

The Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico at Washington, who is also the President of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico and its founder, has carried out a fruitful work in favor of the working classes of Puerto Rico, fighting for the extension to this island of all measures of social and economic nature supported by the New Deal, and calling upon the proper governmental authorities to take into consideration and promote the best interests of the laboring population and the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico.

General Remarks

In closing this report for 1939 we assure, with a feeling of profound joy, that the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico, under the inspiration and with the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor, has accomplished in this country a fruitful work which has served to promote the individual and collective well-being of the toiling classes, of towns and countries, in all its social aspects.

The Free Federation, despite the difficulties and problems which continually confront it, maintains strongly united the working class of Puerto Rico as well as maintains a position of well-founded prestige, recognized by the general public opinion of this country.

The Free Federation will continue its work along the principles, tactics and ideals defended and maintained by the American Federation of Labor since its creation.

NICOLAS NOGUERAS RIVERA,
General Secretary, Free Federation
of Workingmen of Puerto Rico.

Approved by SANTIAGO IGLESIAS,
President, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico.

President Green: Now I want to present to you one who has traveled far, one who has been the victim of persecution by a dictator, who, in the beginning determined to annihilate and to destroy the free democratic trade unions of Germany. Our visitor, whom we regard as our friend and who is in thorough accord with the philosophy of the

American Federation of Labor, was a member of the German Reichstag when the principles and policies of democracy were applied in Germany under a free representative government. I am happy indeed to have him here this afternoon, at this period, which seems the most opportune time to bring to us his message, to tell us something we would like and wish to know, to speak to us out of his own personal experience as a German trade unionist who suffered much for the cause of democratic trade unions, a man who was driven from his own country, whose family was persecuted, who bears upon his body, figuratively speaking, the scars of victimized abuse and action on the part of the German dictator.

I now present to you Brother Gerhardt H. Seger, a former member of the German Reichstag and now representing the German Labor Delegation in the United States of America.

MR. GERHARDT H. SEGER
(A member of the German Labor
Delegation in the United States)

President Green, ladies and gentlemen—First of all I wish to thank President Green for the opportunity of addressing this convention, as I have had in previous years the opportunity of addressing similar gatherings in Germany. I shall explain later on what the German Labor Delegation in the United States wishes to accomplish.

President Green in introducing me has probably left no doubt on what side I stand as far as the Nazi issue is concerned. Just the same, I think it is only proper to begin with a brief definition of Germans and Nazis, so that you may distinguish between them. The story goes that the Lord has provided the German people with three characteristics, of which you can have only two at the same time—being honest, being intelligent, and being a Nazi. If you are honest and you are a Nazi you are not intelligent. If you are intelligent and a Nazi you are not honest, but if you are honest and intelligent you are not a Nazi. So I hope I am delivering an honest and intelligent talk.

Coming from the country of Hitler I have heard it said many times in the United States, "That fellow must be crazy." No, he is somewhat what you would call "screwy" but he is not what you would call "nuts." To go to more serious business, what I am here for is to explain to you very briefly what labor is liable to experience not only under a Fascist dictatorship but under a Communist dictatorship as well. As you know, we have had quite a respectable trade union movement in Germany. You have no idea how

gratifying it is to someone like me to be asked time and time again about some of the former trade union leaders in Germany who have been held in very high esteem in the United States. It was only when I visited President Green in his office some days ago that he reminded me of the leader of the German Miners' Union, Huesman, who was actually assassinated in one of the concentration camps. And I have no doubt, having been a prisoner in one of these camps myself, that eventually I would have met the same fate, but after having been there half a year I decided I had gotten the general idea of it and I managed to get out.

Our labor union movement in Germany, just as yours, was of the opinion that labor has a definite role to play in the affairs of the nation. We did not want only to be looked upon as just a contracting party to some treaties and agreements with employers. We considered ourselves to be the creator, or one of the creators at least, of the wealth of Germany, and we did want to have our word in national affairs.

Our trade union movement, therefore, being as strongly democratic as it was, became the first victim of Hitler. I wish to do away with one mistake that I meet quite frequently in the United States. It just so happens that I am not Jewish myself. As a matter of fact, I am as fair-haired and blue-eyed as Hitler would like to be. I would be the last person on earth to minimize the frightful Jewish persecution in Germany, but just the same I wish to emphasize the fact that labor in Germany was the first and still is the foremost victim of persecution. Hitler was but three months in power when he smashed as his first opponent, even before the political parties hostile to his regime were outlawed, the trade unions in Germany. He dissolved them.

Moreover, he confiscated, as the legal terms say, he actually stole all the funds and assets of the labor movement. Let me just mention one thing in order to show you to what extent he did that. My father was one of the founders of what you would call the Clothing Workers Union in Germany. He paid his dues first as a member and then as a union official for 37 years, and when he died my mother derived a widow's pension from that union. Hitler confiscated the funds of the German trade unions to the extent of taking away even those funds where widows of old members used to get their pensions, leaving many of them perfectly destitute. Furthermore, he ordered the arrest and subsequently the imprisonment in concentration camps of thousands of men who had committed no other crime than taking care of the members of their union.

We have in Germany today an institution which, by a rather disguising term, is called "Protective Custody." It means, according to the law by which this institution was inaugurated six years ago, that anybody can be arrested any time and kept in prison any length of time, without having done anything, without any trial, without any charge, without any indictment, without any legal or

judicial procedure whatsoever, if the secret police force or the dictating Nazi Party officials suspects the person involved, feels that he or she might do something in the future which might be dangerous to the state, to the dictatorship. That means you are just taken away and you can rot in any of these 52 concentration camps throughout Germany—and that has been the case with many trade union officials of former times.

That means, of course, that the whole population, including labor, is kept in constant terror. I know that all the terms I could possibly use would not be as eloquent as one simple sentence I read once in the New York Times. A lady who was an outstanding expert in Germany on social legislation came to the United States after it was thought in Germany something was wrong with one of her grandparents. After she had stayed in New York a few days a reporter of the New York Times called her and, among other things, asked her the inevitable question, "How do you like America?" She replied by coining a phrase which tells the whole story in a nutshell: "Why, here in New York City, that is marvelous. If the doorbell rings in the morning it can only be the milkman or the letter carrier." She meant to say that in Germany today you never know. The next ringing of the doorbell may mean the secret political police to take you away, you don't know where, you don't know why, and you don't know for how long.

And so on the basis of this general terror a special terror was organized against what was formerly organized labor. Let me describe for you the situation of labor in Germany today. Organizing a strike is punishable with capital punishment. Participating in a strike is punishable by at least ten years in the penitentiary. It is punishable to bargain collectively. It is punishable with three months in jail if someone goes individually to his employer and asks for a raise.

After the unions in Germany were dissolved the Nazis organized what they call the Labor Front. I have taken on some American slang, you know, since I have been here. That is very contagious. If I were to express in American terms what this Nazi Labor Front is like, I could only call it a nation-wide compulsory company union. That is what the Nazis have replaced the former trade unions with, and this Labor Front is collecting very heavy dues. They are deducting automatically from your wages or salary in a rather high amount. Today the Labor Front in Germany is taking in \$10,000,000.00 per week, and this money to a very large extent had been used in previous years to finance the German rearmament.

Furthermore, the labor office in Germany, to be compared to your Department of Labor in the United States, had introduced a special decree by which a paper was created, and which actually makes the whole laboring people of Germany nothing else but a nation-wide chain gang. This paper is called a "Labor Pass." It is kept with your employer, and unless you get specific consent

from the Nazi authorities, not one single worker in Germany is able to leave either his job or his residence. You are nailed down to where you stood at the time the "Labor Pass" was created. If you would feel that another job in another shop would offer you a higher wage and you would like to change over there, nothing doing.

All laboring people in Germany have been deprived of their freedom of movement. That is what happens to labor under a dictatorship.

Of course labor is not dead in Germany. They have done many things in spite of being punishable, in spite of running into the highest percentage of difficulties and danger. For instance, there is certainly very little comfort in the thought that the Jews in Germany are permitted of what is left to them to divide among themselves, so they may act as good neighbors and save some of their fellow sufferers from starvation. Even this common, human, neighborly assistance is denied to labor. When I was in prison and everything I owned was taken away from me and my wife was actually facing nothing, some of my former colleagues began to collect money among themselves in order to take care of my family. That became a punishable crime, and today if a collection is made at any shop in Germany by the workers in order to take care of either the family or other relatives of some labor victim of persecution, they are prosecuted because of, as they call it, an attempt of high treason. So you have to take into account in Germany today that labor is actually, contrary to common belief, the most persecuted victim of the Nazi dictatorship. Therefore, I have come to the United States, where I shall be a citizen by next year, to tell you throughout the country wherever there are people listening to me that it requires probably someone who has gone through all this to make you appreciate what this flag stands for.

We have not formed the German Labor Delegation in order to introduce any European philosophy whatever to the American people. On the contrary, it seems to me that after the European continent has given to the United States some literature, music, art and science, you have to give to us some lessons how to govern ourselves in democracy, how to appreciate the peace of a whole continent, how you can manage—and this thought came to my mind when the Canadian delegate was introduced to Mr. Green—to have a three thousand mile long frontier without one single Maginot or West Wall line.

Ladies and gentlemen, the German Labor Delegation has been formed in the United States for no other purpose than to do our part in making the American people and American labor in particular conscious of the immeasurable value of democracy. That is our purpose, because we, as you may have realized, have a tale to tell. Unfortunately, it is not a fairy tale. Unfortunately, it is the gruesome story of the dreadful truth.

I do wish for you from the bottom of my heart that the American labor movement.

being the champion of democracy as it is, and as it has been referred to by President Roosevelt in the message you have just heard, that you will be able for the time being and for all the future to save and protect this marvelous country of yours from the fate of Germany, the fate of dictatorship.

I thank you.

President Green: We are fortunate indeed in that we have been permitted at this crucial period in the world's history to listen to such a factual and instructive address. I know that the address just delivered by our dear friend has made a deep impression upon your hearts and minds; for through it all there ran the thread of liberty and freedom, its value to us and its value to the world. We here in America are permitted to enjoy the blessings of freedom, liberty and democracy. We accept the opportunity of meeting here in a great convention as a mere commonplace affair; in fact, the blessings of freedom and liberty are enjoyed in that way and accepted in that way here in our beloved country. And so we learn the value of it all by contrast and comparison.

Brother Segar has brought, by contrast and comparison, to our country the value of freedom and democracy. In Germany no such a gathering could be held as this American Federation of Labor convention. Furthermore, he pointed out that Germany is a strikeless nation. I wonder if we fully comprehend what that means. A strikeless nation, where the workers must suffer under a sense of injustice and oppression without being permitted to use the only power they possess, their economic strength, in order to correct it all. And there is no difference. It is all the same. Show me a totalitarian state, I care not what brand it may bear, it is a nation from which liberty and freedom has departed. So we here in America cannot be deceived by any brand of dictatorship. We are against it all. We care not whether it bears the brand of Communism, Nazism or Fascism, we are against it all.

We thank you, Brother Seger, for your visit to our convention. You have delivered a most inspiring and instructive address. You are welcome with us. Please regard every one here as your friend, and we wish for you the enjoyment of liberty, freedom and justice, which you were denied in Germany, here in the United States of America.

We have here this afternoon with us an old friend, a member of the American Federation of Labor, who during the last year or two was highly honored by the chief executive of a great commonwealth, and we are going to present him to you this afternoon and let him tell you in his own words the experience through which he is passing and the nature of the work he is trying to do. You will probably remember that Brother Lewis G. Hines served as an organizer for the American Federation of Labor, and served also as the Director of Organization. He was selected as Secretary of the Department of Labor and Industry in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I will ask Brother Roy Britton and Vice President Florea to escort him to the platform so he can speak to you. He is our friend and fellow worker, and without any further ado I present to you Brother Lewis G. Hines, Secretary of the Department of Labor and Industry of Pennsylvania.

MR. LEWIS G. HINES Secretary, Department of Labor and Industry, Pennsylvania

President Green, delegates to this convention, my fellow Americans—I think it would be presumptuous on my part to stand here today and take up your time to relate what is happening over in the great commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I appreciate this opportunity to have a moment or two to address this convention. Incidentally, I appreciate the opportunity that has been mine to meet some of the members and delegates whom I have known throughout the years. Before I accepted the position of Secretary of Labor and Industry in Pennsylvania, I hesitated a long time. I consulted with my friends in the American Federation of Labor and with President Green.

It must be remembered that this is the first time since the department was created in 1913 that this position was ever held by a member of organized labor. We have had social service workers, lawyers, we even had a horse doctor. After all, horse doctors fill a much needed want, but I don't think that is a place for a horse doctor. Pennsylvania is a big industrial state, and I decided upon the advice of my friends to try to fill this job. I knew I was going to be on a spot, because this is the first time a labor man has ever tried to fill such a position. They let labor get the appropriations for these positions, but when it comes to administer the job you are told you do not have a college education. I left school at eleven years of age, and almost became a member of Jimmy Maloney's organization. However, I think I

am going to make good in this position. One of the first things I did when I took office was to place the label of the Allied Printing Trades on all the stationery in my office. It wasn't hard to do that. I called the Department of Supplies and said to get it on there. I figured out that about the best way to do something for the printing industry was to patronize the union label.

The label signifies, after all, that the employer and the employe have got together and decided they want to work for decent wages, for decent hours and under decent conditions. If you follow out the old philosophy that the lowest bidder should get it, the non-union employer will bid for 30 per cent less than the union shop, but he does not have so much money to spend and that affects consumption, and that in turn affects the taxpayer.

We have just recently had a conference with the Allied Printing Trades in Pennsylvania and the Department of Property and Supplies, and they promised to put the label on every piece of work in the state.

I found I had something to do with the unemployment compensation set-up. Recently there were conferences in New York between the operators and miners. We have 150,000 bituminous coal miners in Pennsylvania, and I was called upon to decide whether these men were entitled to compensation. I concluded that this was an old Spanish custom in the industry and that the miners were not operating because of custom and tradition, and the miners in Pennsylvania received three weeks' compensation, and they didn't receive a dime in any other state in the United States. Not a miner in any other state received a cent of compensation.

I find it is possible to do many things as Secretary of Labor and Industry to bring accord between industry and labor, and I am trying to apply myself in that direction. I am getting some cooperation from labor in Pennsylvania, and, incidentally, we have over half a million members of the American Federation of Labor in Pennsylvania, and recently held a large convention of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

I want to say this: We are trying to leave a message with this convention—and I don't want to talk about the European situation, because you are going to hear enough about that—but I am interested, as every other law-abiding American citizen is, and I know what is going to happen. I know America can protect itself from the enemies without, but I am a little apprehensive about the enemies within. I would urge upon you, as a member of the American Federation of Labor, that we demand from the American Government that the Nazi Bund and the Communist Party be liquidated.

Nobody enjoys freedom of speech or realizes what it means more than I do, but I don't think there is any place in the scheme of things for those individuals who have nothing in common with us. We have Harry Bridges, with a sneer on his face, getting up and lecturing on Communism, and we have

this fellow, Fritz Kuhn, talking about Americanism. A most disgraceful thing happened in Sellersville, Pennsylvania, recently. Fritz Kuhn or no other man is going to insult my President if I have my way, and that is what Fritz Kuhn did.

Were I Secretary of Labor of the United States, I would immediately deport Harry Bridges, and I would find a way to strip Fritz Kuhn of his citizenship and send him back to the Mad Man of Germany. I have come to a full realization of what America means to us and to you. America is a great place, when a boy can leave school at eleven years of age and rise to be Secretary of Labor and Industry in the great state of Pennsylvania, through his membership in a labor organization. I say again it is a great place.

I assure you of my support at all times, and I promise you that you will not have any occasion to be other than proud of my administration. I wish you the best of success. God bless you.

President Green: Well, the Secretary of Labor and Industry of Pennsylvania still shows the right spirit and talks the right language. He is the same Lewis Hines that he was when he worked for the American Federation of Labor in Philadelphia, the State of Pennsylvania, and later for the American Federation of Labor in a national way. We wish him success in the discharge of his duties, and we pledge to him the full support of the American Federation of Labor in carrying out these wise, constructive policies to which he refers in his address.

The Chair recognizes a member of the Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Close, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

Your Committee on Credentials, in accordance with a letter received from Secretary John F. Wade of the Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union, recommends the seating of Fred J. Graham in his place.

We have also examined the credential of Dicon Summers, representing the Bloomington, Ind., Federation of Labor, and recommend that the delegate be seated with 1 vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted, and the delegates named therein were seated.

President Green: I am pleased to announce that the Fraternal Delegate from the Dominion of Canada arrived in this city. He is

here in the convention hall, and I take great pleasure in introducing him at this time to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. The Fraternal Delegate from Canada this year is D. W. Kennedy, a Vice-President of the Cigar Makers International Union.

Brother Kennedy, we have prepared a special badge for you, suitably engraved. We presented one to your co-delegate, our good friend the Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. Now I have the honor to present this to you. It is presented to you by the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, and I have the honor of pinning it on your breast. Wear it forever.

Brother Kennedy says he will talk to you later when the time is opportune and convenient. Of course you will bear in mind that the Fraternal Delegates will submit their messages to this convention and deliver their addresses at some day and some hour when it is mutually convenient.

The Chair might inquire if any of the committees are ready to report. I am of the opinion that none of the committees are yet ready to make even partial reports. The Chair would like to inquire if there are any of the chairmen of committees or any members of the committees that wish to make announcements at this time.

A number of committee chairmen announced times and places of meetings.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move to suspend the rules and adjourn to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 4.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 3:45 o'clock, p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, a. m., Wednesday, October 4.

RESOLUTIONS

Federal Investigation of Construction Industry

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Temporary National Economic Committee and the Department of Justice are simultaneously investigating the construction industry to determine if alleged charges of restraint of trade existed therein; and

WHEREAS, The general character of this investigation in the interests of just conclusions does necessitate a comprehensive analysis of such items of competitive influences as the cost of land, the cost of financing, the cost of insurance, the cost of bonding, the price of materials, brokers' commissions, and the cost of promotion, including legal fees, etc., as well as the wages of labor; and

WHEREAS, History reveals that for purely political reasons investigations of the past have resulted in a summarizing of the effects of labor costs and a complete disregard for and total elimination of concrete description of costs other than wages paid for labor when the herein referred to other costs, as isolated factors, constitute immensely greater deterrents—on a percentage basis—in the negative processes of building and improvement retardation; and

WHEREAS, Such building and improvement retardation is prominently manifested in direct proportion to community peculiarities resulting from location, control of finance, political domination of civic spirit, etc.; and

WHEREAS, In the final analysis it is clearly shown that an increase in the cost of wages for construction labor of 20 per cent will affect the total cost of the project less than 2 per cent; and

WHEREAS, Because of the incompleteness of facts furnished the public in such previous investigations, great damage and irreparable loss has been visited upon construction labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is opposed to any investigation incomplete in its conclusions by reason of the absence of a determination of the costs herein referred to—other than the cost resulting from wages of labor—and; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instructs its Executive and Administrative officers to diligently apply effort in behalf of successful opposition to any sensational investigations, locally or nationally, the purpose of which are to confuse the public as to the real evils constituting factors in building retardation, as well as to require labor to shoulder the blame for even partial stultification of the building industry when labor is so completely without voice or responsibility in the obstructing practices; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention express to the public its genuine eagerness for any and all investigations resulting in the public being told the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, regarding the ever-present check upon progress in the building industry, which is so correctly recognized as the barometer of national prosperity.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Calling for Restoration of Prevailing Wage on WPA Projects

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate John P.

Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The last session of Congress passed certain legislation affecting the hours of W. P. A., thereby lowering the wages of same; and

WHEREAS, This has caused strikes and hardships on our Building Trades Mechanics; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does petition the President and Congress of the United States of America to restore the prevailing wage rates on all W. P. A. projects.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor's Non-Partisan League

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Burt Currihan, California State Federation of Labor. Presented by California State Federation of Labor as result of action taken at the 1939 convention held at Oakland, California, during the week of September 25, 1939.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled and through its Executive Council has repeatedly denounced Labor's Non-Partisan League as being antagonistic to the American Federation of Labor, its purposes and policies, and has declared it as being a part and accessory to the C. I. O.; and

WHEREAS, The President of the American Federation of Labor acting under instructions of the Executive Council meeting of February, 1939, held at Miami, Florida, sent a letter dated March 1, 1939, addressed to all state federations of labor, city central bodies, and directly affiliated labor unions in which it was ordered that all organizations affiliated with Labor's Non-Partisan League immediately divorce themselves from affiliation with Labor's Non-Partisan League and are not to affiliate with same league in the future; and

WHEREAS, This order has been construed by many as individuals who are members of American Federation of Labor unions and at the same time are members of Labor's Non-Partisan League; and

WHEREAS, At the 40th Annual Convention of the California State Federation of Labor held in the City of Oakland, California, during the week beginning September 25, 1939, individuals presented credentials as delegates-elect who admittedly were officers or members of Labor's Non-Partisan League; and

WHEREAS, There existed some doubt in the minds of the delegeter to the said California State Federation of Labor Convention as to whether the March 1, 1939, order on membership in Labor's Non-Partisan League applied to individual members as well as organizations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in order to clarify this situation and for the

purpose of making the position and orders of the American Federation of Labor effective, hereby reaffirms its position and policy toward Labor's Non-Partisan League, declaring that it is an accessory to the C. I. O. and antagonistic to the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to notify and order all state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions to unseat from membership, and/or to refuse to admit into membership, and/or to refuse to retain in membership any person known to be a member of the so-called Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Commercial Treaty With Japan

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Burt B. Currihan from the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States of America has in the interests of the people thereof recently given notice to the Imperial Japanese Government of the abrogation of the treaty of 1911 which will be effective as an abrogation six months from the date of said notice; and

WHEREAS, The importation of Japanese merchandise is a direct threat by cheap Japanese labor to the people of the United States and their industries; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as being opposed to the renewal of any treaty which would permit the importation of Japanese merchandise, particularly fish and fish products, under a "most favored nation" clause, or in any that would enable cheap Japanese labor to compete with the people of the United States and to reduce the standard of living of American labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Social Security for Agricultural Workers

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Burt B. Currihan, from the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Social Security Board has recommended to the President and to Congress that old age insurance be extended to include agricultural workers employed in large scale farming operations; and

WHEREAS, The recommendation is grounded on the principle that it is good social policy to protect as many of the Nation's workers as possible from the vicissitudes of old age; and

WHEREAS, The Social Security Board considers that the proposed extension is administratively feasible; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the California State Federation of Labor hereby memorialize the

President and Congress to enact the recommendation of the United States Social Security Administration regarding the proposed extension of old-age insurance to include agricultural workers into law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Social Security Legislation

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Burt B. Currgan, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Employees of religious and educational institutions do not at present come under the protection of state and national social security legislation; and

WHEREAS, Employees of these institutions are in fully as much need of the protection of such legislation as are the employees of other establishments; and

WHEREAS, The very persons who employ workers in these institutions are in their own employments fully protected by such legislation; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has always advocated and fought for the equal right of all men and women, and these institutions are discriminating against their workers by asking legislation where these religious and educational institutions are exempt from paying social security and state unemployment tax; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the California Federation of Labor instruct its legislative representatives in Sacramento to seek changes in the provisions of state legislation to the end that employees of religious and educational institutions will no longer be discriminated against but will be afforded the same degree of social security accorded other workers, and that this convention of the California State Federation of Labor call upon the American Federation of Labor Convention to be held in Cincinnati to instruct its legislative representatives at Washington to seek amendments to Federal social security legislation to the end that employees of religious and educational institutions will no longer be discriminated against

but will be afforded the same degree of social security accorded other workers.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

War Risk Insurance

RESOLUTION No. 82—By Delegate Burt B. Currgan, from the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At the last session of the U. S. Congress, a Bill, HR 6572, was introduced by Congressman Bland, which had the approval of the Maritime Commission; and

WHEREAS, This bill seeks to set a minimum and maximum standard by the Government in the matter of war risk insurance, covering death and disability; and

WHEREAS, This bill as it now reads would limit the protection of insurance for death or permanent disability to not less than \$2,000 nor more than \$5,000; and

WHEREAS, Under such a standard a seaman would get only 45 per cent of \$5,000 for the loss of an eye, to 65 per cent of \$5,000 for the loss of either legs or arms; and

WHEREAS, This bill may come up for Congressional action within two or three weeks; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the membership of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, are absolutely opposed to the ridiculously low standard set on loss of life and limb by this bill, and hereby petition Congress to substitute for this provision that heretofore advocated by the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, i. e. \$10,000 for loss of life and \$25,000 for permanent disability and a percentage thereof for partial disability; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the California State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Oakland, California, and the American Federation of Labor, to assemble at Cincinnati, Ohio, to give the American seamen the full benefit of the legislative department of the American Federation of Labor to see that the interests of the American seamen are protected in this matter.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 4, 1939.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Beck, G. E.; Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordes, Jack; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, M. M.; Brown, R. J.; Burr, R.; Cahir, Elizabeth M.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Demko, Frances; Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furrow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Gross, J. E.; Hanson, H. L.; Heymann, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly, Tom; Kelly, J. P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murray, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Powers, Jos.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Clyde S.; Smith, E. S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wade, J. F.; Welch, C. B.; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

Delegate Close, chairman, reported as follows: Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommended that the following be seated:

Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union—John Moretti, 1 vote.

Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Jeff O. Johnson, 1 vote.

Tampa, Fla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—William E. Sullivan, 1 vote.

Wisconsin Rapids, Wis., Central Labor Union—Jos. G. Berger, 1 vote.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Right Reverend Monsignor Edward J. Quinn, Pastor of the Church of Our Lord Christ the King, will pronounce the invocation.

Invocation

In the Name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

Before we pray I would like to say at this time that no prayer is more appropriate for us Americans, whether we belong on the side of labor or capital, whether we are young or old, than the prayer for peace. Therefore let us join in that prayer of the Church.

Oh, Lord, to Whom belongs all right counsels, just works and holy desires, grant to the world that peace which Thou alone can give. Let the fear of our enemies be removed and let us obey Thy commandments, that our days may be filled with peace and concord among men.

Our Father, Who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy will be done. Thy kingdom come on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation but deliver us from all evil. Amen.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Morrison for the submission of messages.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

Honorable William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.

My dear President Green:

I have before me your letter of September 14th, extending to me a special invitation to attend a session of the A. F. of L. on Monday, October 2, 1939.

I regret that I cannot attend what I believe to be a history-making session of the American Federation of Labor in our home State—Ohio. My heart is tied up in the consideration of a neutrality that will keep us out of war.

On October 10th, 1900, I received my first commission from the A. F. of L. as General Organizer for Tuscarawas County, Ohio, and it was signed by the "Noblest Roman of them all"—Samuel Gompers.

I congratulate the delegates attending the 59th session of the A. F. of L. This great organization has made history and has lived true to form. It is an all-American institution.

I want to submit to you what I believe to be the seven wonders of American government.

1. No people ever acquired so vast and resourceful a continent in so quiet a manner.

2. No nation ever rose to such greatness by means so peaceable.

3. No nation has an older written Constitution than America.

4. No nation ever rose to such power and strength in so short a time.

5. No nation has ever placed in the hands of its subjects such perfect civil liberty and high standards of living.

6. No nation has ever existed in which men have been left so free to work out their own destiny and enjoy religious and political freedom.

7. No nation gives greater protection and

freedom to its women and children than America—the most worthwhile country in the world.

I urge this great convention, with the eyes of the world on it, to adopt a ringing stand on neutrality based on common sense and common honesty, dedicated, if you please, to mother, home and country, the sweetest trinity locked in the hearts of men who toil.

Faternally yours,

VIC DONAHEY (Signed)

Invitations to hold the 1940 convention of the American Federation of Labor were received from the following organizations and individuals:

Bernard F. Dickman, Mayor of St. Louis, Missouri; W. M. Brandt, Secretary, and Joseph P. Clark, President, Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis and Vicinity; Dean Ballard, Labor Relations Department, Seattle Chamber of Commerce; William J. Fallon, Secretary, Providence Central Federated Union, Providence, Rhode Island, and Pat McGill, Publisher, New Orleans Louisiana.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Woll for an announcement.

Vice-President Woll: This is to advise the delegates interested in any resolution submitted to the Committee on Resolutions that today will be the last day of hearings, so that any delegates who wish to be heard by the Committee on Resolutions will appear today. The committee is meeting in the Mirror Bar to the right side of the convention hall.

President Green: The Chair desires to correct a reference on certain matters to convention committees. Making that correction, I desire to refer Resolution 5 entitled "Painters-Upholsterers Agreement Covering Furniture Workers," referred to the Committee on Resolutions, to the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Also that section of the Executive Council's Report dealing with the Brewery Workers and Teamsters' dispute from the committee on Resolution to the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

It seems quite appropriate for us to listen to an address to this convention from our legal counsel, Judge Padway. I therefore will ask Brother Edward Volz and Brother Dan Gayton to escort Judge Padway to the platform.

Judge Padway was escorted to the platform by Delegates Volz and Gayton.

President Green: I am pleased indeed to present to you Judge Padway, our legal counsel. During the past year he has dealt with many legal problems affecting the welfare, legal, economic and otherwise, of officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. He has had a most wide and interesting experience. He has dealt with many matters that were presented to the National Labor Relations Board. I know of no man in the entire country that is more qualified to speak upon the legal problems presented to the National Labor Relations Board and the administrative policies of the National Labor Relations Board than our counsel, Judge Joseph A. Padway.

Most of you know something about his background. For years and years he was associated with the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, serving as the legal counsel for that very important state branch of our organization. He is versed in labor law, an expert on it, qualified and capable. I can speak out of my experience and knowledge of the work which Judge Padway has been doing, that no attorney connected with labor and representing labor in any capacity has rendered greater or more valuable service. I appreciate very greatly the work he has done and the spirit in which he has performed that work.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you our counsel, Judge Joseph A. Padway.

JOSEPH A. PADWAY, COUNSEL FOR AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Mr. President, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

If I have rendered efficient service to the American Federation of Labor I am amply compensated by the fine tribute paid here this morning by the President to me for these services, and I do not think anything I could receive in a monetary way from the American Federation of Labor would please me as much as to hear from the President of the Federation these words of satisfaction respecting the services I have rendered.

In this review of legal matters affecting the interests of the American Federation of Labor and the workers of this country, I believe the most appropriate subject to discuss first is the trend on the part of legislative bodies to take from organized labor those

rights for which it has fought from the inception of trade unionism in this country.

Reactionary Legislation

Anyone who has followed these trends for the past year must have come to the conclusion that very little was accomplished affirmatively on behalf of labor through legislation in the past year. It is equally apparent that some legislatures have passed legislation decidedly adverse to the interests of organized labor.

Starting with California and the West Coast there has been a concerted drive to repeal laws enacted in the interests of labor, and to adopt new laws adverse to the interests of labor. The spearhead of this anti-labor drive is a western group known as "Associated Farmers." The very name is a fraud, since it is not an association of farmers, but on the contrary it is a group of persons of the "open shopper" type, financed by leading banks, railroad companies, large industrial concerns, and Chambers of Commerce on the Pacific Coast. These large moneyed interests, whose only claim to the term "farmer" is based upon their financial control of large fruit and vegetable growing industries in the West, resorted to the use of vicious propaganda and malicious untruths so as to hoodwink local governing bodies, legislatures, and the general public into supporting and passing legislation which not only deprives labor of its most important rights, but strikes a direct blow at our constitutional democratic form of government.

Only a year ago, to be precise, on November the 8th, 1938, we were startled to learn that the State of Oregon at its regular election passed a law entitled "A Bill Regulating Picketing and Boycotting by Labor Groups and Organizations," and this law was passed by an initiative measure voted on by the people of the State of Oregon.

Anti-Labor Laws in Wisconsin

The great State of Wisconsin presents an equally tragic picture as does the State of Oregon. The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, through its President, Henry Ohl, and other officials, assisted by myself as its general counsel for some 25 years, had obtained the passage of some of the most outstanding and liberal legislation in the country. Among this legislation was the passage of a state Norris-LaGuardia Act, which was one of the finest in the country. After the National Labor Relations Act was declared constitutional we obtained the passage of an excellent State Labor Relations Act which was far superior to the National Labor Relations Act. But in the last election a reactionary majority was elected to the legislature. Here, again, a fake farm organization sponsored amendments to the State Norris-LaGuardia Act, and sponsored the repeal of the State Labor Relations Act. As if this was not enough they also sponsored the passage of a new

State Labor Relations Act which is one of the most vicious anti-labor measures I have ever read. This anti-labor measure was given the very poetic title, "The Wisconsin Employment Peace Act."

Similar enactments, termed State Labor Relations Acts, though perhaps not as vicious as the Wisconsin Act, were passed by Michigan and Minnesota. The State of Pennsylvania amended its State Labor Relations Act so as to convert the same from an act guaranteeing labor certain fundamental rights to an act depriving labor of fundamental constitutional guarantees.

The Oregon Anti-Labor Act

The Oregon Act is typical of all such recent legislation, and the bill makes it a crime for groups of employees or labor organizations to exert economic pressure against an employer, or to interfere in any way with the conduct of his business unless a majority of the employees in an appropriate collective bargaining unit are in controversy over the right of collective bargaining. The bill requires that such majority must by secret vote declared a strike before picketing will be allowed.

Previous to the passage of this statute the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Senn* case, and in a series of cases following it, held that working men and labor organizations have a right to call a strike even though they are in the minority, and the same cases hold that labor unions have a right to picket an employer whose practices and employment policies are detrimental to their interests, regardless of whether or not any of such employer's employees are members of the labor organization engaging in the picketing. The law of Oregon and the law of Wisconsin not only prohibit unions from picketing employers with whom there is a controversy over unionization, but they prohibit picketing on the part of employees directly employed by the employer involved in the controversy.

Anti-Picketing Laws Denial of Free Speech

It can readily be seen that these laws are the most direct and flagrant attacks upon our democratic form of government. They deny to minorities as well as to majorities the right to exercise the constitutional right of free speech, free address and free assembly.

Under these laws, if there are 100 employees in a plant, 49 of whom belong to a labor organization and want to go out on strike because of a dispute over wages, hours or working conditions, they are prohibited from picketing, advertising or boycotting, or advising a sympathetic public of the facts involved in their dispute. Likewise, in a plant of 10,000, if 4,999 workers wanted to strike and picket, the law declares such act

to be unlawful, and, as in the case of Oregon, a crime.

As can be readily seen, this law is more than just an attack on labor alone. It is an attack upon every principle upon which this government was founded. It strikes at the very heart of our constitutional liberties, not only as working men, but as free citizens of a republic. If the legislature can pass this kind of law, then it can pass any law which takes away from citizens their rights to engage in all those activities and liberties which are granted to them by the Constitution of the United States merely because such citizens are members of a minority group. We believe that our constitutional form of government contained a Bill of Rights which guaranteed to the people freedom of speech, liberty of press, freedom of religion, freedom from unreasonable search and seizure, the right of representation and voice in the government, and guaranteed those rights to everybody, regardless of their race, religion, or creed, and regardless of whether or not they are a minority or a majority group. Those fundamental rights are the heritage of every person in this country, and the exercise of those rights never has been made to depend upon whether or not the persons exercising them constitute a majority or minority.

If those who passed this bill feel that it is constitutional and proper, then in the future they must expect that they, too, will be deprived of their liberty when the political party to which they belong becomes only a minority group in the government, or when the particular lodge or church organization to which they belong is discriminated against by other legislatures.

The right of working men to organize for their mutual self-advancement and self-betterment; the right to use all peaceful methods at their disposal, to further their cause, and appeal to the public for the public's aid and support cannot lawfully be taken away.

In the *Senn* case, Justice Brandeis, speaking for the Supreme Court of the United States, stated that picketing, boycotting, and advertising by labor unions was the exercise of free speech, which is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and persons cannot be deprived of such rights.

Only recently the Supreme Court of the State of Colorado declared unconstitutional an ordinance prohibiting picketing, stating:

"Whatever our individual views may be on economic controversies, such as are involved here, we cannot consent to legislative invasion of constitutional guarantees to the extent for which contention is made in this case. The line of demarcation between police power and constitutional guarantees is not always well defined.

Where a law, such as Section 90, here under consideration, impairs freedom of speech, as it does, in view of the stipulated facts before us, we have no doubt that it constitutes an invasion of constitutional guarantees, both under the state and federal due-process-of-law clauses and the manda-

tory provision prohibiting the enactment of laws impairing the freedom of speech."

Those who sponsor these laws are vociferous in their protestations that they are laws founded on the basic democratic principle of majority rule. I am not an opponent of majority rule, but a wrongful act is not made rightful by the fact that it is the majority that commits the act. The majority may be as tyrannical as any single dictator or tyrant. I believe the first principle of democracy is justice, and justice demands the protection of the minority in fundamental rights, even as against the arbitrary acts of the majority. We must distinguish between the lawful acts of a majority which is always consistent with democratic rule and the invasion of constitutional rights, whether of a majority or a minority, and which is always inconsistent with democratic rule.

Oregon Law Now Before Courts

The American Federation of Labor, together with the Railroad Brotherhoods and the Oregon State Federation of Labor, commenced court proceedings attacking the constitutionality of the Oregon law. The case was argued before three Judges of the lower court. By indulgence in legal gymnastics whereby the Judges twisted the plain meaning and wording of the Act to mean something else than it does mean, the court decided the law to be constitutional. The case is now on appeal to the Supreme Court of the State of Oregon. Only recently, on instructions of President Green, I went to Portland, Oregon, and met with the local lawyers who are associated with me in the handling of this case. We are all hopeful that on the basis of decisions of the United States Supreme Court the lower court will be reversed and the Oregon Act held to be unconstitutional.

Wisconsin Labor Law

Now, taking up specifically the Wisconsin State Labor Relations Act, I desire to direct your attention to the character of this Act and how it works.

Both at the time the National Labor Relations Act was being considered, and since it was passed, there has been a great hue and cry for responsibility on the part of labor unions for their acts and conduct. This hue and cry, however, was not heeded by Congress, for the National Labor Relations Act was passed for the purpose of upholding fundamental rights of workers which were being denied them. But after the passage of this Act certain labor organizations not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor engaged upon activities which gave to anti-labor legislators a strong argument for revising the Labor Relations Act so as to place responsibility on labor unions in the same manner as it places responsibility on employers. Had such conduct been engaged in during the years 1934 and 1935,

had there been the same number of sit-down strikes prior to the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, as there was after its passage it never would have been passed. On the contrary, legislation of the character and type adopted by Oregon and Wisconsin would have been enacted. The passage of anti-labor laws in certain counties in California, the passage of the Oregon Anti-Picketing statute, the passage of the new Wisconsin Labor Relations Act, resulted from the activities such as sit-downs and the like engaged in by certain organizations in 1936 and 1937 and part of 1938. Forces opposed to organized labor are able, with this argument, to convince legislatures to amend existing state labor relations acts by including a code of unfair labor practices on the part of labor unions. We have a practical demonstration of how this works out in the first case brought to the attention of the new Board under the new State Labor Relations Act of Wisconsin.

Allen Bradley Case at Milwaukee

The case I have reference to involves the Allen Bradley Company of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, against the C. I. O. Union. After hearing the evidence the Board found that the Union was guilty of unfair labor practices. The Board then assumed the power under the Act to issue an order with severe restraints against the labor union. It permitted it to picket only in a limited manner. It limited the number of pickets to 15, and would not permit more than six pickets at any one time. It set forth a definite set of rules as to how the pickets were to do their picketing. It also designated the particular place where the pickets could stand or walk. It also prohibited the use of the ordinary strike jargon of common and accepted use in labor disputes.

Then, imagine this—the Board ordered the Union to post notices that it will stop using loud language; that the pickets will conduct themselves as gentlemen; that they will not picket in greater numbers than six at a time. Not only that, the Board ordered the notices posted “in conspicuous places at the Union strike headquarters, the Union meeting hall, and on each street corner around the company’s factory,” stating that they will so conduct themselves, and that such notices be kept posted by the Union for thirty days.

Of course, if the Union refuses to do this, then the Board will go before the Circuit Court to obtain an order directing it to do so, and if then disobeyed, the officers and members will be cited to show cause why they should not be punished for contempt of court.

The Return of “Government by Injunction”

Thus we have the return of government by injunction with all of its vicious aspects.

All that labor accomplished by the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act is practically nullified by the adoption of this new method of tyrannical administrative procedure.

There is one other thing, while I am discussing these legal questions, that I would like to bring to your attention, and that is a certain activity on the part of a certain division of the Department of Justice. When I talk about this subject I want to make it clear that I am not criticizing the national administration. It is not my right to do so and I am not doing so.

I want to make it clear, too, that I am not criticizing the Attorney-General of the United States. If anything, I am convinced that his sympathies are not with what is going on in the particular department I am going to talk to you about. The department I have in mind is the Anti-Trust Division, headed by Mr. Thurman Arnold.

Most of you have heard at some time or other about the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Most of you know that this law was passed to prevent large combinations of capital and trusts from imposing their will, by the fixing of prices, upon the community and thus taking from the community things that they ought not take from them. That is the basis of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. It was passed in 1890. When the law was passed it was said that it would not apply to labor organizations or labor unions, that labor unions would be exempt from the provisions of the Anti-Trust Law.

That is what we believed, and then there came down a series of decisions from courts that said labor was not exempt from the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Then we had to seek an amendment, and we secured that amendment in the year 1914, through the passage of the Clayton Act.

What is the Clayton Act? The Clayton Act, besides attempting to exempt labor unions from the Anti-Trust Law, was what Samuel Gompers declared to be the Magna Charta of labor. It says: “The labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce.” Get the significance of that language: “The labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce.” We then thought labor would be exempted from the Anti-Trust Law.

Within the last year or so there has been undue activity in the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice, and labor organizations as such have been indicted — not only the officials, but the labor unions have been indicted as such for the purpose of invading their treasuries by fines and thus causing the disintegration of many of these organizations.

It has come to such a pass that a business agent of a labor union is almost afraid to sit down with an association of employers and discuss wages, hours and working conditions, for fear that if the employer later did something that was in violation of the Anti-Trust Law, the labor officials and their unions would be brought under the same

charge of conspiracy to violate the Anti-Trust Law.

I believe that this particular department of the Department of Justice is on the wrong path. I don't believe it has the approval of the Attorney-General. I know it was started before he became Attorney-General.

There is going on very quietly in several cities throughout the country, perhaps in the city of Cincinnati, an investigation into certain labor activities in the building trades, and, if we are informed correctly, it is intended to dramatize the situation by bringing out indictments against several of the companies and several of the labor unions and their officials in these cities at one and the same time. In other words, if we are informed correctly, it is the intention of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice to bring forth a series of indictments at one particular time, and thus electrify the country and have the people believe that labor has committed great wrongs.

What has labor done to invite the Department of Justice to attempt any such procedure? All it has done is to endeavor to maintain the prices of labor, so that the living standards of the workers will not be lowered. We believe, and we had a right to believe under the old Act, the Clayton Act, that that was the right of labor. As a lawyer, I believe that labor could not be charged with violation of the Anti-Trust Act or with price fixing if they combined for the purpose of maintaining and increasing the wages and hours and the living standards of the workers. That is the reason for labor combining. That is the reason for labor unions and for their existence.

And now has come this crusader who has sought and probably procured more indictments against labor unions than he has against capital or industry or other persons who are charged with violating the Anti-Trust Law. He may be a very able gentleman and very well intended. Mr. Arnold may be ever so clever. He is a college professor, and I have come to the conclusion that labor ought to say, "God deliver us from college professors and from army generals in administrative positions."

The National Labor Relations Act

I come now to a discussion of the National Labor Relations Act. I appreciate that much has been said and written on this subject, and almost everyone has some opinion concerning it, but in my humble opinion, there is no more immediate problem so vital to the interests of the American Federation of Labor as this one.

Last year your Convention in Houston directed the Executive Council to cause to be submitted amendments to the National Labor Relations Act. In obedience to those instructions amendments were submitted. But even before they were prepared those organizations and their cohorts who benefited by the administration of the old Act realized that

they would no longer be the pet wards of the National Labor Relations Board. They realized that if the proposed amendments were adopted, the decisions and prejudiced rulings in their favor would stop. So they commenced a barrage of propaganda, false and misleading, and centered their efforts on affiliates of the American Federation of Labor. These enemies of the American Federation of Labor attempted to convince our affiliates that the American Federation of Labor was attempting to destroy itself by seeking to amend the National Labor Relations Act. Rival and dual organizations which have spent millions in an effort to destroy our affiliates were telling them that the amendments ought not to be passed because they would destroy these American Federation of Labor affiliates. One of the most tragic things we observed in connection with the hearings conducted by the committees of Congress was the appearance before the Committees of some witnesses claiming to speak for American Federation of Labor affiliates, and claiming to be members of American Federation of Labor Unions, pleading with the Committees not to pass these amendments. Not a single one of these witnesses gave a valid reason for their opposition. And to add to the tragedy, they came as witnesses of the C. I. O. agency—the Non-Partisan League, thus supporting the C. I. O. cause.

Malicious Propaganda of Dual Unions

Because of this malicious, false and poisonous propaganda on the part of those organizations opposed to the American Federation of Labor amendments, I should like to briefly discuss with you these amendments and some decisions relating to them, so that you may understand the basis on which they were submitted.

The Unit Rule

First and foremost is our amendment to change the unit rule.

Under the present law, the Board assumes the authority to deny a craft group, if it is so disposed, the right to vote whether such craft group wants to select a craft organization as its bargaining agent, or whether it wants to be merged with a plant unit. In other words, the freedom of choice which is guaranteed by the Act is held by the Board to be subject to its grant or refusal.

First permit me to direct your attention to two or three cases which are of tremendous importance to the American Federation of Labor.

You all remember our discussion last year of the Longshoremen's case. The Board decided that the entire West Coast shall constitute a unit, thus denying to the Longshoremen in the city of Tacoma and elsewhere the right to be represented by the American Federation of Labor even though they selected the American Federation of Labor union by an overwhelming majority.

We protested this decision, and it is now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Board, however, has reaffirmed that ruling in the *Alston Coal Company* case. The Progressive Mine Workers of America had an overwhelming majority of the employees of the Alston Coal Company, Pittsburgh, Kansas, as members. These employees wanted to be represented by the Progressive Mine Workers. The Board held that because the Alston Coal Company was a member of an association of employers, all employees of all the employers of the association would be voted as one, and that the Alston Coal Company employees could not select their own representative.

We will not take time to discuss all the cases which we did discuss last year, but there have been one or two that I would like to refer to which were decided only in the past few weeks. One decision most dangerous to the interests of the American Federation of Labor is the decision in the *American Can Company* case. In this case Dr. Leiserson laid down the doctrine that once an industrial unit has been established for the entire plant and an industrial organization has obtained a contract, such unit will be left undisturbed even though craft workers have organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and demanded the right to vote separately at the time of the expiration of the contract.

Now this is a very unique decision, because even Edwin Smith did not go along with Dr. Leiserson in this reasoning. Edwin Smith, however, did go along with Leiserson in his decision on the basis of his *Allis Chalmers* dissent, which in effect said that he, Edwin Smith, favors the industrial union in preference to the craft union, and therefore Dr. Leiserson's conclusion is right. In order to get the significance of this decision one must read the dissenting opinion of Chairman Madden. Let me read a portion of it to you:

"... Thirdly, I think the proposed distinction works out unfairly in practical effect. It means that where a craft union obtains an exclusive bargaining contract the industrial union may nevertheless, by taking away the membership of the craft union, merge the craft unit with the industrial unit. If the industrial union fails in its first attempts it may nevertheless continue its efforts. But once the industrial union has obtained an exclusive contract on a plant-wide basis, either by organizing before the advent of the craft union or by capturing the craft union's majority in a later election, thereafter the craft employees are irrevocably part of the industrial unit. The effect is, therefore, to crystallize the industrial form of organization and prevent the craft employees from ever thereafter changing their minds."

Now, then, contemplate that—crystallizing the industrial form of organization so as to prevent the craft employees from ever thereafter changing their minds. In rendering this decision I do not charge Dr. Leiserson with bias against the A. F. of L. In another

decision on similar facts, but the parties were reversed, he applied the same rule and decided for the A. F. of L. But in both instances the ruling on his premise is erroneous, and damaging to the A. F. of L. structure.

Let me cite to you another case decided only last week—the *Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company* case. Here Mr. Madden and Edwin Smith wrote the majority opinion and Dr. Leiserson dissented.

Six plants in different cities were operated by the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company. One of the plants is located in Crystal City, Mo., and the employees there were overwhelmingly opposed to the C. I. O. The C. I. O. had entered into a contract for five of the plants, but the Crystal City plant was excluded from this contract. The Board, on petition of the C. I. O. and in violation of the existing contract arrived at through the process of collective bargaining, threw the sixth plant in with the other plants, and gave the exclusive bargaining rights to the C. I. O. Here Dr. Leiserson dissents in most vigorous terms. His language amounts to a charge of arbitrariness, unfairness, the fixing of a unit by the majority of the Board to suit their fancy, and contrary to law. Let me read to you excerpts from the dissenting opinion:

"The decision not only disregards the collective bargaining history . . . but it also sets aside the current contract . . . which excludes the Crystal City plant."

"This (merger of the plant in the industrial unit without an employee vote) does not seem to me essentially different from the denial of free choice of representatives in cases where employers impose labor organizations on the employees . . .

"I do not think the Board is vested with authority by the act to extend to employees in unorganized plants the representatives chosen by organized workers in other plants. . . . Even if the employer misbehaved, that does not justify the Board in taking away from his employees the right guaranteed by the act to have a representative of their own choosing . . .

"That the Federation (C. I. O. union) could not itself secure by collective bargaining when the contract was negotiated is given to it by the Board in a finding as to the appropriate bargaining unit. The majority decision argues that the Board has the authority to determine bargaining units."

"I do not believe that the act authorizes the board to establish any bargaining units that suit the fancy of its members."

Members Charge One Another With Being Unfair

Thus the members themselves charge one another in the manner I have indicated from these decisions. The American Federation of Labor is seeking by its amendment to prevent this Board from setting up units to suit their

fancy, as they have so often done to the detriment of the American Federation of Labor.

I wish you could read all the material, the half truths, semi-truths and semi-falsehoods expounded by the Board and its personnel in condemnation of the amendment proposed by the American Federation. The opposition is presented in a smooth manner, in legalistic verbiage and false sophistry, but nevertheless false and untrue. You would imagine, then, that the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor, including myself as its counsel, got together and devised an amendment that was unfair—that is, that it was one-sided in favor of the American Federation of Labor and opposed to the interests of every other organization. That is the inference to be drawn from the vicious attacks upon this amendment by the opponents of the American Federation of Labor.

Unit Rule Amendment Is Same As New York Law

Now mark you what I say—and I want to impress this upon all of you—not a single line, word, letter, crossed "T" or dotted "I" is the product of the American Federation of Labor on this feature of the Unit Rule. The amendment was lifted bodily from the New York State Labor Relations Act and submitted to the committee as one which the American Federation of Labor approves of and asks that it be adopted.

In the State of New York those who prepared the Act foresaw in the provision contained in the National Labor Relations Act the ability to destroy organized labor. They saw that not only could the Board by manipulation of the unit rule destroy one union in favor of another, but it could destroy all unions in favor of company-dominated unions. So those who drafted the provision in the New York Act followed the philosophy of the Railway Labor Act and gave to craft groups the right to vote for a representative and determine whether or not they wanted to be represented by their own craft union, or whether they wished to be merged with the so-called industrial unit. The American Federation of Labor proposes the New York rule for the nation.

Now, before we get away from the subject, we have included other subjects with the unit rule to overcome other decisions of the Board. You will recall that last year I discussed the Finch case. In that case the Board held that a lone carpenter could not be constituted a unit for collective bargaining. Then instead of leaving him alone they said he was to be bargained for by the C. I. O. In all of the explanations, squirming and tirades on the part of the Board personnel and other organizations opposed to the American Federation of Labor, not a single word of justification has been uttered in favor of the Finch decision. Even Edwin Smith, who endeavors to explain some of his decisions, failed to comment on the vicious decision in the Finch case.

We set forth in our amendment that if one man, craft worker, such as a maintenance carpenter or electrician, wants to stay with his union and be represented by his union, he shall have the right to be so represented.

Amendment Will Prohibit Coastwide Unit

We have also endeavored by our amendment to prohibit the Board from setting up a coastwide unit as it did in the Longshoremen's case, or as it did in the Alston Coal Company case when opposed by a majority of employees of any employer. All that our amendment provides is that the Board shall not have jurisdiction to go beyond the boundaries of a single employer unless a majority of the employees of each employer vote for the same bargaining representative.

I have now given you a complete analysis of our amendment pertaining to the unit rule. It is the most important of our amendments. It is based upon the decisions of the Board, the members of which criticize one another respecting the outrageous use of this amendment. In the presentation of our amendment we say merely that a craft group shall have the right to determine for itself by a majority vote whether it wants to remain a craft group and be represented by its craft union, or whether it wants to merge with all production workers in the entire plant.

Congressman Ramspeck Protests Board's Construction of Act

When the unit rule and our amendments were discussed before the Committee of the House of Representatives, Congressman Ramspeck, who was a member of the House when the National Labor Relations Act was before it, was startled to learn of the Board's decision and the perversion of the true meaning of the Act. Let me read to you what Congressman Ramspeck said:

"That gets back to the basic principle on which Congress enacted this law, to give freedom of choice to the worker. And I want to say this for the record, that I think the Board's decision in this case not only violates the basic principle for which this act was passed, but it is a deliberate flouting of the intent of Congress as expressed on the floor of the House and in the conference report."

Invalidation of Contracts Without Notice

The Houston Convention directed an amendment to the effect, "The power of the Board to invalidate contracts must be definitely curtailed." Here again, we must inquire into the reasons which prompted the Houston Convention to make this recommendation. It is not my purpose to discuss in

detail cases which have been discussed before previous conventions. However, it is necessary to refer to one or two. Since the last convention, the Consolidated Edison Company case, involving the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the C. I. O. Union, has been decided by the United States Supreme Court. The American Federation of Labor intervened in this case. I was directed to file the brief and participated in the argument before the Supreme Court.

The case, as you know, involved several contracts between the company and the I. B. E. W. Thirty thousand employees were covered by these contracts. The contracts covered the employees who were members of the I. B. E. W. only. These contracts were set aside by the Board. The Board did not serve notice on the I. B. E. W. or the particular union involved. Counsel for the Board contended before the United States Supreme Court that such procedure was proper. By that, I mean, they contended it was all right for the Board to invalidate union contracts even without notice to the union. Such an outrageous claim on the part of the Board was promptly squelched by the Supreme Court of the United States. Only a Board which believes that it is clothed with dictatorial powers could ever have conceived such an argument—that is, that it had the right to set aside contracts without even making the union affected by the contracts a party to the proceedings. All constitutional history is to the contrary, and such action on the part of the Board was an invasion of fundamental constitutional guarantees—but it did not deter the Board from invalidating these contracts and making the argument I have referred to before the Supreme Court. Now, what did the Supreme Court say? Let me read it to you:

"... We think that this authority to order affirmative action does not go so far as to confer a punitive jurisdiction. . . ."

"... The 80 per cent of the Brotherhood and its locals, had that right. They had the right to choose the Brotherhood as their representative for collective bargaining and to have contracts made as the result of that bargaining. Nothing that the employers had done deprived them of that right. . . ."

"... The Brotherhood and its locals were entitled to solicit members and the employees were entitled to join. These rights cannot be brushed aside as immaterial for they are of the very essence of the rights which the Labor Relations Act was passed to protect and the Board could not ignore or override them in professing to effectuate the policies of the Act. To say that of the 30,000 who did join there were not those who joined voluntarily or that the Brotherhood did not have members whom it could properly represent in making these contracts would be to indulge in extravagant and unwarranted assumption. . . ."

The amendment of the American Federation of Labor is to make certain that contracts will be preserved when lawfully en-

tered into. And I say here, now—just as the Supreme Court said in the Consolidated Edison Company case—contracts lawfully entered into have been invalidated by the Board.

The Jefferson Electrical Company case, involving a closed-shop contract between the Jefferson Electric Company and the I. B. E. W. is another instance of a contract having been invalidated by the Board. In that case, the Circuit Court of Appeals, in Chicago, reversed the National Labor Relations Board and said this:

"In the instant case there were no threats so as to intimidate the employees into joining a particular labor organization against their will, and there is no evidence in the record which would warrant a finding that the conduct of the company was indicative of coercion or intimidation. To us it is clear that the company had come to a realization that its plant was about to be unionized. It had for many years maintained friendly relations with its employees and desired that such relations continue. It was in this spirit that it allowed the use of the cafeteria and other plant privileges. Such acts, standing alone, are not inconsistent with a strict 'hands-off' policy. It was never the intention of Congress to prohibit friendly intercourse between employers and labor organizations, to curtail freedom of speech, to deprive an employer of his right to express an honest opinion or to outlaw the extension of common courtesies. It is more in keeping with the purpose of the Act to foster such friendship rather than to condemn it. The language of the court, in *National Labor Relations Board v. Union Pacific Stages*, 99 F. (2) 153, 178, seems to be pertinent:

"Viewing the record as a whole, it is difficult for us to point out evidence acceptable by the reasonable mind as adequate to support the conclusion that prior to May 17 the company had undertaken any affirmative action, which could be construed as conduct preventing unionization, discouraging employee affiliation with the United, or encouraging employees to become members of the Brotherhood. On the contrary, the record discloses that petitioner maintained an attitude of neutrality respecting all organizational activity among its employees."

But I think the strongest argument in support of our amendment was made by Dr. Leiserson in the case I already referred to, the *Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company*, where he says that the majority of the Board arbitrarily and whimsically, and to suit their own fancy, set up a broader unit than that provided by the contract and in violation of it. In other words, he says:

"That which the Union was unable to secure by contract is now given to it in spite of the contract entered into."

Interested Parties Must Be Served

The Houston Convention ordered an amendment to the effect that every known interested party should be served with notice of the proceedings. I need not discuss this further. The same reasoning applies here as applies to invalidation of contracts, except that this amendment requires that notice be served on interested parties in all cases, so that such parties may have an opportunity to protect their rights in proceedings pending before the Board. There are cases on record where interested parties were not notified of the proceedings, and the Board proceeded at the instance of one union to render decisions and order certifications which, in effect, deprived workers who were members of other unions of their rights under the Act.

The Houston Convention directed that "intervention by interested parties should be made a matter of right and not a matter of discretion." This was prompted by the fact that the Board had in certain cases refused intervention on the part of the A. F. of L. unions. The Board claims the power to exercise its discretion and refuse intervention by an interested labor union. In the Star Publishing Co. case of Seattle, the Teamsters' Union was denied intervention in a case where it was vitally interested. Certainly, our amendment, requiring the Board to permit intervention in such cases, is just and proper, and vitally necessary for the protection of the interests of our labor unions.

Affidavits of Prejudice Against Biased Examiners

The Houston Convention directed an amendment dealing with examiners. It requires certain qualifications to be set up respecting examiners, and provides further for the filing of affidavits of prejudice against examiners who are known to be biased against the interests of certain unions. Now, I was informed by the Electrical Workers Brotherhood that a certain examiner sat in their cases on five occasions and not in a single case did this examiner render a favorable decision for the I. B. E. W. In fact, this same examiner sat in the Jefferson Electric Company case and recommended the invalidation of that contract which, I have explained, the Circuit Court of Appeals reversed and ordered the contract reinstated. It was apparent to me in this case that bias and prejudice fairly oozed out of this examiner; it was so thick it could be felt. Unions ought to be in position to file an affidavit of prejudice against an examiner of this type and character, when he is assigned to a case.

Another examiner sat in the Mount Vernon Car Manufacturing Company case. He insulted the American Federation of Labor, insulted its President, and went out of his way to do it. This same examiner later sat in the Canneries case, of California. These cases were tried over a period of several months. The A. F. of L. unions involved spent up-

wards of \$15,000 in the trial of these cases. A few weeks ago, the Board, itself, set aside the decisions because of prejudiced and biased rulings on the part of this examiner. A labor union is entitled to have a fair judge in the trial of its cases.

Subpoenas

Another amendment authorized by the Houston Convention deals with subpoenas. The recommendation was to clarify the provision, so that, if subpoenas are refused by the Board, there may be an application to the court for a subpoena. Our unions have reported that, when in controversy with C. I. O. unions, the C. I. O. has been able to get subpoenas immediately upon request, whereas our unions had in certain instances to wait weeks before the Board decided to grant the request. You can readily appreciate the advantage the union obtaining the subpoenas has against the union which is refused the subpoenas. The amendment endeavors to make this decision fair for all unions, so that all will be treated alike.

Time In Which Cases Must Be Decided

Then there are a series of amendments which provide for specified periods of time in which decisions shall be handed down. I do not know how many of you are acquainted with the methods of the Board in the matter of time taken to decide cases, but President Green's office, and my office, has received dozens of complaints from unions all over the country that they are disintegrating; that their efforts at organization are rendered valueless because of the long time taken by the Board to act upon matters before it. There are cases before the Board which have been pending for over two years and in which no decision has been handed down. The Board, itself, admits that it takes almost a year in which to decide the ordinary complaint case. When former Board Chairman Biddle testified before the Committees on the National Labor Relations Act, he said that a decision rendered after a case has been pending for four months or more is practically valueless. Our amendments are very liberal in the matter of time in which the Board shall act, but we do demand that it shall act within the specified time. We allow over four months for the Board to decide a case after the hearing has been closed. We allow for over thirty days in which the Board shall commence a hearing in a representation case. We provide that certifications shall be handed down promptly after an election has been held. Let me illustrate the feasibility of our amendments by an actual case that I was engaged in only a month ago.

The case is that of the International Alliance of Stage Employees against the United Studio Theatrical Guild, a so-called independent union but, in truth, an organization supported

by the C. I. O. This case was pending before the Board in a petition in a representation case for some months. Finally, the I. A. T. S. E. took the "bull by the horns" and demanded and obtained a closed-shop contract from the movie producers. Involved were approximately 12,000 employees. The contract was signed August 12, 1939, on a Saturday night. The hearing was set for the following Wednesday. It was adjourned for a few days, and I went out to Los Angeles to try this case. After some conferences, we stipulated that an election be held, but we demanded that the election be held within thirty days, and that within five days after the election certification shall be made. Even though it was a complicated election and involved 12,000 employees, and payrolls had to be made up for ten companies, nevertheless the election was held within thirty days, and I am happy to report that it was won by the I. A. T. S. E. And even though objections were filed by the U. S. T. G., they were promptly acted upon, overruled and certification had within five days. Thus, the whole thing was settled by a stipulated procedure. All our amendment does is to bring about a similar series of events without the necessity for stipulations, because often the other side will not so stipulate if it is to their advantage not to do so. What we complain of is that, when a rival union does find that it is to its advantage to prolong the election and postpone certification, the Board has in many instances fallen in line with its wishes. Our amendment simply sets up a very fair system of procedure, with ample time in which the Board can act.

Appeals in Representation Cases

Another amendment dealing with procedure provides that appeals may be had in representation cases to the Circuit Court of Appeals. I know of no more vital or just amendment than this one. I can illustrate the necessity for it by again referring to the Longshoremen's case and to Alston Coal Company case. As I have already stated, the A. F. L. unions were denied representation in the Longshoremen's case, in the City of Tacoma and other places, where they were in a decided majority. That was likewise true in the Alston Coal Company case. The Board construes the Act—and some courts have likewise so construed the Act—that there is no appeal from a certification case. If the employer complies with the order, the union is out in the cold—can't even go into court and present its case in order to secure justice. Here again, the Board vigorously opposes this amendment. Yet every impartial writer who has reviewed the subject and Professor Rice, former general counsel of one of the former Boards, has stated that this provision of the law is unjust, that it was never intended by the Act, and that aggrieved unions should be afforded the right of appeal in a representation case. I say again, except for the Board and some of our opponents who have benefited by the

law as it stands today, not a single, impartial student of the Act has disapproved of our amendment. On the contrary, all of them have stated that it is vital and just and should be passed.

A vicious attack has been made on the part of our opponents, because in one of our amendments there is deleted the general term, "interference." As explained before the committee, and as our amendments indicate, we have not removed from the law unlawful interference on the part of employers. On the contrary, we have made it definite by specifying what constitutes unlawful interference. The reason for inserting our amendment was that the Board resorted to this general term of "interference" to invalidate our contracts and defeat our unions in the matter of representation of contractual rights. I do not want to enter into a long academic discussion in support of this amendment, but I think the answer is best given by Governor Lehman of New York in his veto of the bill restraining activities on the part of Teamsters' Unions in the State of New York. At the last session of the New York Legislature, a bill was introduced by Representative Bewley. It was claimed that the purpose was to eliminate alleged unlawful activities in the trucking business. Governor Lehman, while approving of the purposes of the bill, vetoes it because of certain language used and places emphasis on the use of the word, "interferes." Let me read to you that portion of his veto message:

"This bill, however, contains language which curtails and violates existing rights of employees. For example, the bill, perhaps unintentionally, provides that 'any person who interferes with another person's rights to work as a driver of a motor truck or other vehicle shall be guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by imprisonment of one year or by a fine of \$500 or both. The word 'interferes' can easily be used to impair and even to destroy some of the fundamental rights of employees—rights which employees now enjoy under the law and before the courts."

The same reasoning applies to the present language of the National Labor Relations Act. The use of the word "interferes" can easily be used, and has been used, by the Board to impair and destroy some of the fundamental rights of labor organizations—rights which they did enjoy under the law and before the courts. I say again, that we have not eliminated unlawful interference by our amendment. On the contrary, we have made this unlawful interference specific, so that the Board cannot wander far and wide, and indulge in its imagination and fancy, in order to invalidate our contracts.

Board Shall Not Interfere With Internal Affairs of A. F. of L.

A very important provision in one of our amendments pertains to the jurisdiction of

the Board in representation cases. I will read you the exact language of this portion of the amendment:

"... provided, however, that the Board shall not have jurisdiction for any purpose whatsoever to investigate any question of controversy between individuals or groups within the same labor organizations or between labor organizations affiliated with the same parent labor organization."

Now, that is quite clear to all of you. All it says is that the Board shall not take jurisdiction in controversies between unions affiliated with the same parent organization. The Board, itself, decided that the Act did not intend it should do so in the Axton-Fisher Tobacco Company case:

"It is preferable that the Board should not interfere with the internal affairs of labor organizations. Self-organization of employees implies a policy of self-management. The role that organizations of employees eventually must play in the structure established by Congress through that Act is a large and vital one. They will best be able to perform that role if they are permitted freely to work out the solutions to their own internal problems. In its permanent operation the Act envisages cohesive organizations, well-constructed and intelligently guided. Such organizations will not develop if they are led to look elsewhere for the solutions to such problems. In fine, the policy of the National Labor Relations Act is to encourage the procedure of collective bargaining and to protect employees in the exercise of the rights guaranteed to them from the denial and interference of employers. That policy can be best advanced by the Board's devoting its attention to controversies that concern such fundamental matters."

California Decision Dangerous to A. F. of L.

But only last week the United States Circuit Court of Appeals of California decided in a case involving the Brewery Workers and the Teamsters, that the Board should take jurisdiction in that controversy and all similar controversies. I need not dwell at any length upon the seriousness of this situation. If that decision stands, the Board is empowered to inject itself into the internal affairs of the American Federation of Labor and of its affiliates. It gives the Board the power, indirectly, to overrule determinations of the convention. It sets the Board up as a higher authority than our own convention for our own affairs.

Now, in the amendments we have proposed, not a single line or letter is of our own draftmanship. Again I refer to the State of New York. Those who drafted their bill were not actuated by a desire to give outlandish and outrageous powers to the Board. Therefore, that bill contains the language I have quoted to you above. Again, remember

that not a single letter or line in this amendment is our own. This, too, we lifted bodily out of the New York Act. The New York State Labor Relations Board has functioned adequately under its law. Is not the American Federation of Labor justified in submitting to Congress this amendment, so that no super-body of three men, accused by one another of being biased and prejudiced, shall have the right to control in any respect the internal affairs of our labor organizations?

Senator Wagner Denies Board Members Have Power to Inject Themselves in the Internal Affairs of Labor Unions

Now in further justification of our position, and in support of our contention that the law never intended to vest that power in the Board, I will read to you a letter written by Senator Wagner, himself, on November 13, 1935. The letter is addressed to Mr. Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. I am quoting:

"Please pardon me for not answering your letter sooner. I have been away from the Washington office and did not see your letter until yesterday.

"As the author of the legislation I can say very definitely that it was never intended to permit the Labor Board to interfere in the internal affairs of labor organizations, and I do not believe there are any words in the Act conferring such power.

"So-called jurisdictional questions raised within different labor organizations are matters for them and their highest court of labor to decide and are not matters for governmental decision.

"I think the President has appointed a very intelligent Board — men who understand the problems involved in the labor movements—as well as any three men, outside of the labor movement itself, that could be picked.

"I hope I may have a chance to see you personally soon, and that you are enjoying good health."

By Its Own Action Board Has Justified Our Amendments

Now several of our amendments have been justified by the action of the Board, taken after the hearings were commenced and were under way. For instance, one of our proposals requires that the Board shall hold an election whenever two unions are in controversy over representation, when any one of the unions so involved demands an election. In many cases the Board refused to hold an election but, on the contrary, certified the C. I. O. without an election. It generally

did this on the basis of so-called pledge cards, and it did this even though these pledge cards contained names of members in good standing with the A. F. of L. union. It did so on petitions alleged to contain names of a majority. Often these petitions and pledge cards were faked, but still the Board refused an election and certified the C. I. O. union on the basis of these cards and petitions. In the Mount Vernon Car Manufacturing Company case, in which the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen were involved, the Board certified that union without an election, although an overwhelming majority of the 1,200 employees were members of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. The case is now pending in court. But evidently the Board had a change of heart. When discussing our amendments before the committee, so strong a case was made out in favor of it that the Board has, itself, now changed its rule. In the Cudahy Packing Company case, the Board decided that it would not certify on the basis of membership cards but would hold an election. Let me read to you what the Board said:

"'Although in the past,' the decision continued, 'we have certified representatives without an election upon a showing of the sort here made, we are persuaded by our experience that the policies of the Act will best be effectuated if the question of representation which has arisen is resolved in an election by secret ballot.'"

Mr. Edwin Smith dissented. He still sees no reason why the Board should not accept the cards and petitions, even against the objections of one of the two unions involved in the controversy.

Let me tell you that we have lost many plants because of the former rule of the Board. We were bitterly condemned by our opponents and their supporters for proposing this amendment, but you notice that the Board has evidently admitted the justice of our amendment by adopting the rule. Someone may ask why we propose this amendment, because the Board, having made the rule today, can unmake it tomorrow. It should be written into the law, so that this Board, and no future Board, can commit the wrong the present Board has committed in the past.

Another significant decision is that adopted by the Board in the automobile industry elections. On August 1, 1939, the Board decided that it would hold elections in the Chrysler Corporation, Briggs Manufacturing Company and Motor Products Co. on the basis of separate plants. I am not saying that employer elections of several plants are not legal, but I do say that, when there is strenuous objection on the part of one union—and when it is able to show that it has substantial membership in the plant—then the plant under normal circumstances should be voted separately. That was the contention made by the A. F. of L. in the Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company case. There, the Parkersburg plant, as I have explained to you, had 134 employees, 133 of which were members of the A. F. of L. This plant was approximately two hundred miles from any of the other plants. It was a

separate business unit entity. The union asked that this plant be voted separately. The Board refused and threw all plants together, thus giving the C. I. O. the Parkersburg plant as well as the others, even though the C. I. O. did not have a majority in some of the other plants. On August 1st, the Board ruled in the automobile industry that it would vote the plants separately, which, in this case, was the correct thing to do. But it should also have been done in the Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company case, and as Dr. Leiserson points out, should have been done in the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company case.

Board in Changing Rules Has Adopted Some of Principles Embodied in Our Amendments

Another manifestation that our amendments are right is the fact that the Board, in changing its rules, has virtually adopted some of them. For instance, the Board has now announced by rule:

- (a) That it will serve notice of proceedings on every labor organization where a contract is involved;
- (b) It has increased the minimum period of time between issuance of a complaint and the date of a hearing from five days to ten days;
- (c) It has extended the rights in regard to labor organizations in the matter of appeals to the Board from a dismissal of charges by Regional Directors;

(As you know, many charges and petitions have been dismissed by Regional Directors without even a reason being assigned for the dismissal.)
- (d) Some better regulation has been provided over Trial Examiners, by the rule announced by the Board that the power to assign Trial Examiners is shifted from the Regional Directors to the Board.

Although our amendments have not been adopted on the subject of subpoenas, the Board has somewhat enlarged this right.

The Board also has ruled that it will entertain employer petitions for certifications where two or more labor organizations claim a majority. I do not know how many of these rules would have been adopted by the Board had not the A. F. of L. proposed its amendments, and had not hearings been held on them. The fact remains that, in effect, some of these rules adopt the principles of our amendments, and to that extent they are in support of our amendments.

But here again, the difficulty we are confronted with is the fact that they are rules of the Board, made today and can be changed tomorrow. Only by writing them into law can we be sure that they will remain fixed and permanent.

Danger in Rule Making Power

But, while we are speaking of rules, it is only proper that I should direct your attention to this dangerous power lodged in the Board, known as the rule-making power. What I am about to say may be fully applicable to other administrative agencies, but it is particularly pertinent to this discussion. I can best illustrate the danger by reference to the last mentioned rule of the Board—permitting employers to file petitions in representation cases.

Now, the New York law contains that provision, and it has not been harmful to labor organizations. I submitted letters to the Senate Committee from the officials of the New York State Labor Relations Board, showing that this rule has not worked out unfairly to labor. Since it was included in the New York Act, and since we did not want to be charged with changing the language of the New York Act, it was included in the A. F. of L. amendments. In truth, it makes very little difference to labor. In New York, they have had approximately seventy such cases to date. Half of them were dropped by the employers; half of the remainder were adjusted; only a few hearings were had. But the former rule of the Board, which denied the employer the right to file petitions, was the strongest propaganda weapon in the hands of employers who attack the Act. It was an unanswerable argument. Even Senator Wagner, in his first statement before the committee, demanded that the rule be changed. The Board remained stubborn and would not do so. By refusing to change the rule, the Board performed a dis-service to labor, rather than a service to it. Finally the subject became so hot—Congressman Thomas went after the Board and demanded a prompt change of the rule—Senator Kampspeck voiced similar sentiments—so did a number of other Congressmen. Even Chairman Norton went after the Board in this regard. Finally, the Board reluctantly changed the rule.

Now, I am not particularly interested in the change of this rule one way or another in so far as labor is concerned. I don't think it will mean much one way or the other so far as labor's rights are concerned. But what I do want to find out is—whether the Board, under this so-called rule-making power, has usurped the functions of Congress and legislated it in regard to a substantive right. As Senator Wagner pointed out, there is nothing in the law which prevented employers filing petitions, but the Board, by rule, denied them that right. Then the Board, by rule promulgated July 14, 1939, granted employers that right. And how did it do it? It did it under circumstances which are most undemocratic—under circumstances which are dangerous to the rights of organized labor, and dangerous from the viewpoint of what is expected in a free, democratic government. It did not send for the A. F. of L. representative or other interested unions to discuss the rule and how it should be written. It did not send for representatives of employers,

so that they could express their views on the subject. It did not invite the public to state its position on this subject—it went ahead and arbitrarily promulgated the rule two days before it was put into effect. Even the Interstate Commerce Commission, before promulgating vital rules, sends for the interested parties, conducts a hearing, and then considers the matter. But the National Labor Relations Board, in keeping with its arrogance and assumption of outrageous power, simply pronounced the rule as written by them in a sort of "take it and like it" fashion. I want to say here and now that in this incident, and that in this method and manner of rule making, lies one of the greatest dangers to American democratic institutions.

Board Has Been Biased Against A. F. of L.—A Pro-Employer Board Can Under Present Act Destroy All Labor

In conclusion, I should like to express these views respecting the difficulties we have had, and are having, with this Board. True, the Act is badly drafted and is in need of amendments. This the A. F. of L. has proposed to do. But had this Board acted fairly, justly; had it retained its equilibrium and balance; had it decided its cases on the basis of letting the chips fall where they may rather than on the basis of bias, prejudice and favoritism for one form of unionism over another; had it realized that its functions were to administer the Act in a judicial manner rather than in a manner which conformed to their views of what the American labor movement ought to be; had they refrained from attempting to change the form and structure of the American labor movement to suit their own views; we would not be here protesting against their decisions, nor would we, perhaps, have sought the amendments which we are now seeking. The Board compelled the A. F. of L., on the basis of self-preservation, on the basis of elementary justice, to demand these amendments to the Act. True, the amendments seek to curtail the power of the Board, but, as I have demonstrated to you in discussing the rule-making power, its discretionary powers must be curtailed if elementary justice is to prevail. In so far as the A. F. of L. is concerned, it must approach this problem in the same manner as it approached the problem when judges were arbitrary and exercised a discretion which tended to destroy organized labor. You all know what the A. F. of L. did when the judges, through the process of injunctions, endeavored to destroy labor. The A. F. of L. sought an act and secured the passage of it, the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which limits the power of judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes. On that same principle and for the same reason, the A. F. of L., through its amendments, seeks to limit the powers of the Board in administering the Act, so as to prevent destruction of the American labor movement. Let us not forget that, just as the present Board is able

to destroy the A. F. of L. unions, in order to favor rival unions, so may another Board administer the Act so as to destroy all labor unions in favor of employers' or company-dominated unions.

President Green: We have the officer of a national union present that has been meeting with some difficult experiences during the past year. I would like for him in a few minutes to tell you the story he has told me from time to time. It will be instructive and interesting to all of you. It seems almost unbelievable, and yet the story is presented with such impressive facts that one must accept it. I am going to call upon President Ozanic, of the Progressive Mine Workers of America. I will ask Delegates C. C. Moore and Jimmie Quinn to escort Brother Ozanic to the platform.

After the speaker had been escorted to the platform by Delegates Moore and Quinn, he was introduced to the delegates by President Green.

PRESIDENT JOE OZANIC Progressive Mine Workers of America

President Green and delegates to the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and friends: May I take advantage of this opportunity to extend greetings and best wishes of the International Union of Progressive Mine Workers of America, which I have the honor and privilege to represent, to the delegates in attendance at this convention. I might also say that while there are many matters I could discuss this morning, due to the limited time I have to address the convention before lunch, I prefer to direct my remarks to experiences in the mining fields of this country, and particularly with the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. Padway, general counsel for the American Federation of Labor, has told you of his experiences with the National Labor Relations Board, and how prejudiced and biased the Board is in handling cases involving members affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I think the facts he has told the convention emphasize clearly the need of amendments to the Wagner Labor Relations Act. I think when I present my case to the convention it will further emphasize the need of amendments to the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

We have always been under the impression that under the basic provisions of the Act workers had a right to join organizations of their own choice and without fear of discharge if they did so, but we found out to our bitter disappointment, that the Board in effect has said by their attitude toward our international union that the mine workers can join any organization of their choosing, provided they join the C. I. O. United Mine Workers of America. I have here several telegrams I will quote into the records of this convention, so that when you get the proceedings of this convention you can read these telegrams and analyze the case of the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

Within the past eight months, after we instituted our organizing campaign in various coal fields, representatives of the Progressive Mine Workers of America had enlisted into membership some 85,000 or more mine workers who were being arbitrarily held as members of the C. I. O. Mine Workers of America. These miners joined the Progressive Mine Workers of America and were desirous and ambitious to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

In the coal fields of Kansas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Western Kentucky, Eastern Kentucky, West Virginia, and the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania, we had enrolled upwards of 80,000 members. After these mine workers had been enrolled and after we had established legitimate local unions chartered by the Progressive Mine Workers of America, the mine workers employed at those mines took membership in our local unions. Negotiations were gotten under way with their employers. In not a single instance where we enrolled the majority of the mine workers into our union and where we established bona fide local unions, did the employers recognize the wishes of the employees.

Before the expiration of the contract they then had with the C. I. O. United Mine Workers, and which expired last March 31, we served notice on the employers letting them know these miners had joined the Progressive Mine Workers of America, and that they had designated the Progressive Mine Workers of America as their choice of union and collective bargaining agent.

Every coal operator in these sections, totaling more than 200 coal companies, some

of the largest in the United States, were notified, not only on one occasion, but on numerous occasions, to that effect, and in each instance the employer, for some reason best known to himself, ignored our notices and our demands. Then last April, after the negotiations got under way in New York City and we saw these operators where we had a majority of the employees taking part in those negotiations with the C. I. O. United Mine Workers, I telegraphed to Mr. Charles O'Neil, spokesman for the Appalachian Coal Operators in New York City, as follows:

Chicago, Illinois,
April 4, 1939.

Charles O'Neil, President,
United Eastern Coal Sales Corporation,
Care Appalachian Wage Conference Room,
Biltmore Hotel
New York City, New York.

Press reports you are negotiating contract with United Mine Workers. Undersigned, Progressive Mine Workers, represent majority employes in 224 mines, formerly covered by the Appalachian contract of the following companies, embracing approximately 54,000 employes, and therefore demand that to extent authorized you negotiate with us for a contract covering these mines. Advise us immediately Monadnock Block, Chicago, satisfactory time and place not later than April 15. West Virginia Companies are:

Wyatt,
Kellys Creek,
Raymond City Coal,
Hatfield Campbell,
Cannelton,
New River,
Loup Creek,
Koppers,
Riverton,
Kanawha and Hocking,
Cedar Grove,
Carbon Fuel,
Island Creek,
Leevale,
Webb,
Donwood,
Truax-Traer,
Dixport,
W. Va. Coal and Coke,
Mallory,
Lake Superior,
Ashland,
Hutchinson,
Alma Eagle,
Kingston-Pocahontas,
Hughes Gas Coal,
Wood,
Logan County,
Hutchinson,
McCall,
Avis Engle,
Monitor,
Red Parrot,
Whitesville,
Anchor.

Fong Creek,
U. S. Coal,
Carter Coal,
Koppers Coal,
Pocahontas Fuel,
Pulaski Iron,
Peerless,
Kingston-Pocahontas,
American,
Empire,
Page,
Lamar,
Turkey Gap,
Weyanoke,
Algoma,
Arlington,
Crozer,
Gilliam,
Lynchburg,
Premier,
Vera Pocahontas,
Boone County,
Ace Black,
Black Hand,
Upland,
Yukon Pocahontas,
Glogora,
Keither Coal,
Babcock,
Bellwood,
Branch,
C. A. Brockman,
Cedar Branch,
Christian,
Kanawha and Hocking,
Laurel Creek,
Low Ash,
Low Volatile,
New River,
Star Coal,
Coalburg,
Deep Hollow,
Dorothy Glenn,
Dry Branch,
Eureka,
Hatfield Campbells,
Imperial,
Kanawaha,
Kanawaha, By-Products,
Morgan-Gifford,
Winifrede Black Band,
Winifrede Collieries,
Amherst,
Boone County,
Chafin-Jones-Heatherman,
Chilton Block,
Crystal Block,
Gay Coal,
N. T. Wilson,
Logan By-Products,
Central Pocahontas,
New River and Pocahontas,
Pocahontas Corporation,
Pocahontas Fuel,
United Pocahontas,
C. A. Brockman, Inc.,
Chesapeake and Ohio,
Colcord,
Dumedin,
Price Hill and Raleigh-Wyoming.

Pennsylvania Companies are P. and R. G. and I. Centralia Collieries, Jeddo Highland, Corrales Construction, Susquehanna, Shamo-

kin Valley, Colonial Collieries, Stevens, Glen Alden, Alden and Mowery.

Anticipating immediate and favorable action.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) JOE OZANIC,
President, International Union,
Progressive Mine Workers of
America.

We served that first notice upon the spokesman of the Appalachian Coal Companies in New York City in order to let them know that the officials representing the C. I. O. United Mine Workers were not entitled to bargain for the employees of the mines owned and operated by the coal companies I have just named here.

We did not get any response to that telegram. Not only that, but I was informed by the public press the morning after the telegram was sent out that Chairman O'Neil denied receiving that telegram from my office. However, a checkup of the records of the Western Union Telegraph Company showed that the telegram was presented to him at his room in the Biltmore Hotel at 6:05 the following morning. We repeated those telegrams, demanding that they negotiate with the Progressive Mine Workers of America and that they name a time and place for such negotiations for a contract for all of those mine workers employed at these various mines.

We at that time represented 54,000 mine workers in the coal fields to which I refer, and we had a legal right to be recognized as their bargaining agent. The coal operators refused after that, persistently and continually refused, to recognize the Progressive Mine Workers of America. We then directed a communication to the Department of Labor. I want to make it clear that what I am going to say here now is not an attack upon the Department of Labor—rather I should say I am not condemning the Department of Labor—and when I make my remarks I do not want to be considered prejudiced, but I want to place in the records of this convention what our experiences were, not only with the spokesman representing the Appalachian Coal Operators, but also our experiences with the Department of Labor, with certain conciliators connected with the Department of Labor, the National Labor Relations Board, and with the President of the United States.

After all of our efforts failed to get proper recognition from those who spoke for the Appalachian Coal Operators and who, under the basic principles of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, were not entitled legally to bargain for the employees of those mines, we directed our first communication to the Secretary of Labor. I will read it for the record:

April 21, 1939.

Madam Francis Perkins,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Madam Perkins:

Pressure is being exerted by various commercial and political sources in the Federal Government to intervene in behalf of the United Mine Workers in that union's present tie-up in the Appalachian bituminous fields.

I wish to call your attention to certain facts in this situation which may have escaped your attention. I am doing this because the issue in this tie-up affects and jeopardizes the rights of the workers I represent as President of the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America.

A decision handed down April 15 by Trial Examiner J. J. Fitzpatrick of the National Labor Relations Board has upset the "closed shop by subterfuge" methods by which Lewis hitherto believed he could keep the miners under his control and domination.

The case was based on the complaint of the Progressive Mine Workers against the Kelley's Creek Colliery Company of Ward, W. Va., charging the company with unfair labor practices in the discharge of an employee named Eugene Shiflett because he had joined the Progressive Mine Workers. The company said it discharged Shiflett because it feared the United Mine Workers would call a walkout at their mine in protest against Shiflett's becoming a member of the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

Here was exposed exactly what Lewis' methods would be in the event the coal operators are forced to yield to his demand to abrogate the penalty clause against unauthorized strikes.

In his decision, Trial Examiner Fitzpatrick pointed out:

"The evidence shows that if application is made for a position in the respondent's production or maintenance departments, the applicant, in addition to passing the usual physical examination and other requirements, is also asked by respondent if he is a member of the U. M. W. of America. If he says 'no' he is asked if he will join that organization and if his answer to that question is 'yes' he is hired; otherwise not. The net result of this construction and application of the contract is that practically every employee of respondent is either willingly or unwillingly a member of the U. M. W. local, and his dues to that organization are checked off by respondent. The evidence indicates that some of the

miners of respondent belonged to the U. M. W. because they had to in order to hold their jobs, and also belonged to the P. M. W. because it was the union of their choice. Shifflett was in this category. . . .

"This is a clear-cut case of discrimination unless the contract existing between respondent and the United Mine Workers brings the case within the exemption of Section 8 (3) of the Act. The undersigned is of the opinion that the contract as written does not come within this exemption because by its terms it is not a closed-shop contract. The fact that the contract is interpreted and applied by the United Mine Workers and by the respondent as a closed-shop contract does not bring it within this exemption. Contracts necessarily are construed by the courts and by administrative agencies according to their plain terms, especially where there is no ambiguity. It is not claimed or even suggested that there is ambiguity in the contract involved in this proceeding. Certainly the provisions of the contract are clear and unequivocal. Neither is it contended that the terms of the contract have been changed by a supplemental oral contract, or otherwise. The exemption in Section 8 (3) of the Act is: ". . . that nothing in this Act . . . shall preclude an employer from making an agreement with a labor organization . . . to require as a condition of employment membership therein. . . ." Shifflett admittedly was a member (although an unwilling member) of the United Mine Workers at the time of his discharge. The allegation in the complaint, substantiated by competent evidence adduced at the hearing, is that he was discharged not because he refused to join, or was not a member of the United Mine Workers, but because he joined and assisted the Progressive Mine Workers (while a member apparently in good standing in the United Mine Workers) —9. Even assuming a closed-shop contract in the present case there is still a violation of the Act, in the opinion of the undersigned.

"The exemption in Section 8 (3) protects an employer for requiring membership in the union signatory to the closed-shop contract. It would be a strained construction of the exemption to say it went beyond that and permitted the employer to dictate with impunity all other union activities, or affiliations of its employees."

The trial examiner therefore held the mine company guilty of unfair labor practices, ordered the reinstatement of Shifflett with back pay and directed the company to cease and desist from interfering with, restraining or coercing its employees to join or assist the Progressive Mine Workers.

Within the last few days the Progressive Mine Workers has filed complaints with the Labor Board against 56 additional companies which are charged with the same offense. These companies employ 37,000 workers.

The miners in the Appalachian fields are thoroughly dissatisfied with Lewis' rule. They

have flocked to join the Progressive Mine Workers in such numbers that our union has won over a majority of the workers in 214 mines in the Appalachian fields, employing between 80,000 and 100,000 workers. We have so notified Mr. Charles O'Neill, spokesman for the Appalachian coal operators, and have demanded that the management of these mines bargain collectively with the Progressive Mine Workers and with no other organization, in accordance with the National Labor Relations Act.

Now it should become evident to all why Lewis is so desperate and is seeking the abolition of an anti-strike clause that he himself had inserted in the U. M. W. contracts away back in 1917.

The miners who stayed with Lewis because they were afraid of losing their jobs are now deserting him by the thousands and coming over to the Progressive Mine Workers. They have no interest in a strike which is threatened not to improve their conditions but to perpetuate Lewis' reign as dictator over them. They have no allegiance to a strike ordered without consulting them. They are sick and tired of having their money, checked out of their pay envelopes in the form of dues, poured into the C. I. O. sieve to the tune of four million dollars in the last three years.

Thousands of miners are now unemployed as a result of the current dispute and their families are in dire circumstances. When they go to U. M. W. officials and ask for help, they are instructed to go on relief. Instead of the union funds, to which they have contributed, being used to assist them in their time of need, they see their money drained off for other purposes not directly concerned with their own organization.

In the light of these facts and circumstances, the Progressive Mine Workers of America are convinced that in the event of intervention by the Government of the United States in the current dispute between the United Mine Workers and the Appalachian coal operators, and public interest demands that the rights of the members of the Progressive Mine Workers be protected and not foreclosed in violation of the National Labor Relations Act.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOE OZANIC,
President, International Union,
Progressive Mine Workers of
America.

This telegram, which we directed to the Secretary of Labor and which called to her attention our position in the mining fields, was sent to her before any conciliator out of the Department of Labor was directed to go to New York to arbitrate that dispute. We received no response whatever to our communication to the Secretary of Labor, not even the courtesy of a reply.

I might say here that on other occasions

where other matters were before the Department of Labor, and where the Secretary of Labor called conferences of representatives of labor unions, when we requested permission to appear in those conferences we were ignored.

Following the telegram I have just read a solicitor out of the Department of Labor was directed to go to New York City and intervene in those negotiations and try to arbitrate that dispute. This conciliator was Dr. Steelman. I have never seen the gentleman, but those who have met him say he is fair to organized labor. However, after it was found that Dr. Steelman was going into those negotiations for the purpose of arbitrating that dispute, we directed a telegram to him under date of April 24, which was three days later than the telegram directed to the Secretary of Labor. I want to quote it into the record:

April 24, 1939.

Mr. John R. Steelman,
Care Mr. Charles O'Neil, President,
United Eastern Coal Sales Corporation,
Care Appalachian Wage Conference Room,
Biltmore Hotel, New York City, N. Y.

Before undertaking any arbitration in dispute between employees and United Mine Workers in Appalachian territory please note wire which I have just sent to Mister O'Neil as follows. Quote. Your counsel will advise you that you as agent and the companies for whom you act are violating the Wagner Act in negotiating with the United Mine Workers in every case where the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America, have a majority of the employees. As you have already been advised it now has such a majority in 224 mines formerly covered by the Appalachian agreement. For the same reason it will also be a violation of the Wagner Act for you and them to make closed shop contracts with United Mine Workers covering the same mines. The stories of intimidation and brutality of United Mine Workers in resisting their men's desires in expressing the choice of their collective bargaining agent should show you what would happen if you removed strike penalty clause. You should read at once intermediate report of decision of National Labor Relations Board Examiner in case of Progressive Mine Workers of America vs. Kelly's Creek Colliery Company decided April fifteenth before further negotiations. It is this decision that United Mine Workers seek to circumvent by present demands for closed shop to prevent your employees from exercising their rights under Wagner Act. John Lewis' threat of strike is a bluff as he knows miners will rebel after being milked millions allegedly for benefits of C. I. O., which he has dissipated whereas now his miners are being starved

for sole purpose of keeping them from expressing their own preference in labor relations. Please read this telegram to each of members of your committee. Am sending copy of telegram to John R. Steelman this date. Unquote. As a representative of Government you should not take sides with party seeking to circumvent the law but you should insist that the law be enforced.

JOE OZANIC, President,
International Union, Progressive Mine
Workers of America.

May 5, 1939

I also directed to him another telegram dated May 5, further stating our case, which was also ignored. The telegram is as follows:

Mr. John R. Steelman,
Care Mr. Charles O'Neil, President,
United Eastern Coal Sales Corporation,
Biltmore Hotel, New York, N. Y.

Following telegram this day sent to Mister O'Neil. Quote: Proposal of Appalachian operators, which would give United Mine Workers one hundred per cent check-off, applicable to non-members of United Mine Workers as well as to members, is illegal and un-American. Appalachian operators are violating Wagner Act by attempting to negotiate for any of the companies where we represent majority of employees such as was previously reported to you. Check-off proposal as offered by your group is a thin disguise that will fool nobody and would mean that operators, who are in accord with the proposal, would be willing to act as recruiting agents for the United Mine Workers. We again demand that you and the Appalachian operators of the 224 mines where we have majorities arrange immediately to meet with us in joint negotiations. Should you insist upon making contract with United Mine Workers covering these mines in face of our legal rights, we shall immediately proceed with proper legal proceedings to invalidate any contract your group may make covering any of the mines mentioned previously where the Progressive Mine Workers of America represent the majority of employees. Unquote. We again request that you do nothing that will deprive the mine workers we represent of their legal rights under Wagner Labor Relations Act.

JOE OZANIC, President,
International Union, Progressive Mine
Workers of America.

This conciliator to whom I have just referred, representing the Department of Labor, proceeded to arbitrate that dispute without giving our appeal any consideration whatever. Numerous telegrams of a similar nature were directed to him from time to time, and not in a single instance were we given the courtesy of a reply. They proceeded to arbitration without giving our

Progressive Mine Workers of America an opportunity to come before that conference, to appear before the conciliators of the Department of Labor, so that we could place our case before them.

The conciliation efforts were on for several days, and you will recall that after they were unable to arbitrate the dispute in the City of New York the matter came to the White House in Washington, as I understand it, at the request of the President of the United States, calling both the representatives of the group of Appalachian Coal Operators and representatives of the United Mine Workers of America, C. I. O.

As soon as we learned that the President of the United States was intervening we directed a telegram to him under date of May 9, as follows:

May 9, 1939.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President,
Washington, D. C.

Before undertaking any arbitration in the dispute between employers and the United Mine Workers in the Appalachian territory, we urge that you consider the position of the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America, affiliated with American Federation of Labor.

We represent a majority of the employees in 224 mines formerly covered by the Appalachian Agreement employng upwards of 80,000 miners. We have been designated by them to be their bargaining agent and have so notified their employers, as well as Secretary of Labor, Madam Perkins, Mr. Charles O'Neil, spokesman for the employers, and Mr. John R. Steelman, Federal mediator. Under the Wagner Act neither these employers nor their agents can bargain with United Mine Workers of America covering their employees nor can they make closed shop agreements with the United Mine Workers. The intermediate decision of the National Labor Relations Board's examiner on April 15th, in the case of the Progressive Mine Workers of America vs. Kellys Creek Colliery Company, should be read before negotiations are undertaken, as the United Mine Workers are seeking to circumvent this decision by their present demands for closed shops and to eliminate the strike penalty clause.

We know that you, as President, representing all of the people and not only a portion thereof, will not take sides with any party seeking to circumvent the Wagner Act, with knowledge of all of the facts as herein stated.

We appeal to you that in any hearing covering the Appalachian territory the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America be allowed representation so that the interests of its members and the de-

siring to have it represent them under the Wagner Act may be fully protected and exercised.

JOE OZANIC, President,
International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America.

That telegram, like all other telegrams that were sent to the Federal conciliator, the Department of Labor, the spokesman for the Appalachian Operators, and to all the coal operators themselves, was not answered. The arbitration proceedings were undertaken without any representative of our international union being given an opportunity to be present and to state our case for their information.

What happened behind closed doors in that conference in the White House I don't know, but I know that within 48 hours after that these parties signed a contract in New York City covering those mines I have mentioned, with the exception of six coal operators, who withdrew. A short time after they withdrew pressure was brought to bear upon them and they signed the contract with the United Mine Workers of America, C. I. O. There is an instance where an international union with authentic evidence bearing out our contentions, which was placed before the National Labor Relations Board for their information, was ignored and a contract signed with the approval of conciliators out of the Department of Labor, with the approval of the Department of Labor, yes, and I might say, the approval of the President of the United States and the National Labor Relations Board.

After this contract was negotiated we were forced to file our case with the National Labor Relations Board. We filed our case with the National Labor Relations Board against various coal corporations in these various coal fields, petitioning for investigations of this contract negotiated in New York City some time last May, but also against many of the coal operators as far back as August, 1938.

One case was tried by the National Labor Relations Board in which the Progressive Mine Workers of America were overwhelmingly in the majority; that was the Alston Coal Company of Pittsburg, Kansas, to which Mr. Padway referred. That was filed in July, 1938, and it was decided by the Board on July 19, 1939. There is a case, like all

other cases we have filed with the National Labor Relations Board, with which the Board played for a period of twelve months and then dismissed the case. When they did hear it later, in the face of undisputed evidence that practically all the men in that mine were members of the Progressive Miners of America and that they designated the Progressive Miners of America as their bargaining agent, they dismissed the case.

In this particular case the men employed at the Alston Mine of Pittsburg, Kansas, joined by practically a unanimous vote with the Progressive Miners of America and severed their connection with the C. I. O. United Mine Workers, a local union was established, officers were elected, by-laws were adopted by the local union and jurisdiction given by the International Union, Progressive Miners of America. Representatives in the field immediately proceeded to negotiate with the Alston Coal Company, but they refused to negotiate, stating that they had a contract with the United Mine Workers of America. We said we were willing to work under that contract without change until that contract expired on March 31, 1939, with the provision that the company recognize the Progressive Mine Workers of America as the bargaining agent governing their employes in the future negotiations.

The following day officials of the United Mine Workers came to officials of the coal company and demanded that the company displace members of our organization and give their jobs to the United Mine Workers, C. I. O. Five officials of our Progressive Mine Workers local union were displaced by members of the United Mine Workers of America, C. I. O., as stated by the company, because of their activities in the Progressive Mine Workers and as a result of demands made on the company by the United Mine Workers' officials.

The National Labor Relations Board refused to give us action. When they did come into the case, although the evidence showed that practically all those mine workers were members of the Progressive Mine Workers of America and had designated the Progressive Mine Workers as their bargaining agent, the Board ruled that within the meaning of the Wagner National Labor Relations Act the only appropriate bargaining agent was the

entire operators' association, and that a separate mine was not appropriate for bargaining purposes. They ruled that since the owner of this particular mine was a member of the Southeastern Coal Operators' Association, that the Alston mine was governed by the contract made by that association, and upon that basis, and that alone, dismissed our case. No mention of the five men who were discharged for no crime, if it can be called a crime, and for expressing themselves in line with the Federal Statutes. The Wagner National Labor Relations Act says that workers have the right to self-determination, self-organization and the right to designate their bargaining agent without intimidation or coercion, etc.

These men did express themselves, they designated their bargaining agent, they designated their choice of a union. The Board refused to act.

I might also refer to the Kelley Creek Colliery Company case in West Virginia. There the company employs something like 565 men. 495 of those men signed individual applications for membership cards in the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America, and a local union was formed. Eugene Shifflett was elected president of the new local union. The following day he was discharged by the company because he joined the Progressive Mine Workers of America. That case was filed with the Board in August, 1938. The case was not reached until about the 9th of February, this year. The Examiner in his report in that case ruled that the contract then in effect with the United Mine Workers was not a closed shop contract and decided the case in favor of the Progressive Mine Workers of America. He ordered the reinstatement of Eugene Shifflett to his original position, with compensation for all time lost, and made one of the finest findings of fact ever made by an Examiner.

However, after the Trial Examiner entered that intermediate report the attorneys for District 17, United Mine Workers of America, C. I. O., West Virginia, and the attorneys of the Kelley Creek Corporation, jointly appealed to the National Labor Relations Board in Washington. That appeal was heard by the Board in Washington, on the 6th day of June, I think. All the facts were presented to that Board. The Examiner reported the

decision itself and that the facts in connection with the case were discussed and carefully analyzed, and up to this time the National Labor Relations Board has neither affirmed the decision of the Trial Examiner nor set it aside, and Eugene Shifflett, a man with a wife and eight children dependent on him, is still out of a job and his job is being occupied by a loyal member of the C. I. O. United Mine Workers of America, while the case is still pending.

I will place before you one of the most outstanding cases we have on record. The Island Creek Coal Company, which also operates seven mines in Logan County, West Virginia, employing upwards of 1,800 men, some 1,800 of them members of the Progressive Mine Workers of America, who had taken out their membership and obligation in local unions of the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

All these individual membership cards from these 1,800 men were placed before Mr. Francis of the Island Coal Company long before he entered into negotiations with the United Mine Workers, C. I. O., in the city of New York. Our representatives convinced him that his employees were no longer members of the C. I. O. United Mine Workers of America. He admitted that he knew his employees had left the United Mine Workers and joined our organization, but refused to negotiate a working agreement with our organization for those employees. That case was filed with the National Labor Relations Board. The National Labor Relations Board has never heard that case, any more than it has heard any other case we filed except the Kelley Creek Colliery Company case and the Alston case in Pittsburg, Kansas.

These men were told in effect that if they were to retain their employment they must belong to the United Mine Workers of America. The company has served notice on all its employees demanding that they make a pledge of loyalty to the C. I. O. United Mine Workers of America, and that they subscribe to the check-off of dues and assessments for the United Mine Workers of America.

I want to read that notice into the record here. Apparently the Island Coal Company, like many other coal companies who have served identical notices on their employees,

have accepted the role of recruiting sergeants for the explicit purpose of mobilizing their employees into the C. I. O. United Mine Workers of America. I insert here a copy of the pledge these men were expected to sign as a condition of their continued employment:

Island Creek Coal Company,
Holden, West Virginia.

As a condition of my continued employment with Island Creek Coal Company, I approve the Appalachian Wage Contract of May 12, 1939, between Logan Coal Operators Association and others and the International Union, United Mine Workers of America, and District 17 (and other districts) thereof, and the District Wage Agreement of May 19, 1939, between Logan Coal Operators Association and District 17, United Mine Workers of America, and I agree to abide by the terms thereof, and do authorize the deductions from my earnings therein provided.

Signed

Mine No.

Witness:

The employees of the Island Coal Company refused to concede to the operators' demand in that case. They refused to subscribe to membership in the C. I. O. United Mine Workers of America, they refused to pay dues in an organization with which they did not care to be affiliated. When the employers saw that the employees were persistent and that they intended to remain loyal to the Progressive Mine Workers of America and the American Federation of Labor, they discharged five of the officers of our local in Logan County, West Virginia.

These facts have all been presented to the National Labor Relations Board in Washington. They are all contained in our case before the National Labor Relations Board, and I am saying to you delegates that after the telegram we sent to the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, concerning the many cases we had filed with the Board, we cannot get a single, solitary reply from the chairman of that Board.

There is one more important telegram I want to read into the record. It is dated August 12, and directed to J. Warren Madden, Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board. It sets forth our case in so far as it concerns our case with the Island Coal Company:

August 12, 1939.

J. Warren Madden, Chairman,
National Labor Relations Board,
Washington, D. C.

I discussed today with Regional Director Philip G. Phillips of the Ninth Region, the matter involving the Island Creek and Wyatt Coal Companies of West Virginia and endeavored to learn from him when the Labor Board intended to hear our West Virginia cases which have been filed by us many months ago and which are still pending before the Board. Mister Phillips informed me that the decision in the Alston Coal Co. case, Pittsburg, Kansas, would be used as a precedent in our West Virginia cases, and that we could expect our West Virginia cases to be dismissed on the basis of the precedent established in the Alston case. When I protested such action with regard to our cases on the ground that we would prove by authentic evidence that we represented overwhelming majorities in each case, he stated that he assumed this was correct, but that he was under orders from the N. L. R. B., and that the dismissal of our cases would eventuate from the Board in Washington, which is beyond his control. I call to your attention that a most serious situation has arisen in West Virginia as result of the companies discharging our members solely because they express themselves as members of our union. The discharged men are being subjected to untold hardships and privations. In each mine of the Island Creek Coal Co., numbering seven in all, and Wyatt Coal Co., where men are being discharged, the overwhelming majorities were members of our union prior to and at the time the last so-called union shop contracts were signed between the United and Operators. We demand prompt hearings from the Board on our West Virginia cases, and vigorously protest intentions of the Board to dismiss the cases without hearing. We request, pending hearing of the cases, that the Board order the Island Creek and Wyatt Coal Companies to refrain from discharging our members pending final disposition. Please advise.

JOE OZANIC, President,
International Union Progressive
Mine Workers of America.

The telegram received no response from the National Labor Relations Board. Not a single case that we have filed with the National Labor Relations Board against operators in West Virginia has been tried. All those mine workers have been told, in effect, by the National Labor Relations Board, due to its attitude, due to the attitude of its conciliators who were interested in the negotiations at that time, and by the Department of Labor, that they must, as a condition to their employment, belong to the C. I. O. United Mine Workers of America.

There are more than 50,000 mine workers

in West Virginia that have designated the Progressive Mine Workers of America as their choice of unions, and have voluntarily expressed themselves as being desirous of becoming members of the American Federation of Labor, but due to the attitude of the National Labor Relations Board, including the Department of Labor and its conciliators, they are denied that right. In Pennsylvania we filed fifteen or sixteen cases with the National Labor Relations Board, petitions for investigations involving 18,210 mine workers who have expressed themselves as being desirous of becoming members of our organization and members of the American Federation of Labor, and those cases were dismissed by the Board without any hearing whatsoever. The same is true of the Alston case. There they had one case, the Alston Coal Company of Pittsburg, Kansas, and dismissed our case in face of the undisputed evidence that all the employees of that company had joined the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

Then I received a letter from one of the Regional Directors asking us to withdraw the cases we had pending against other certain coal companies in Kansas. I want to read that into the record. It is from the Regional Director of the Kansas Region, addressed to myself under date of July 26, with reference to the balance of our Kansas cases. It reads:

July 26, 1939.

Mr. Joe Ozanic, President,
Progressive Mine Workers of America,
117-119 South Fifth Street,
Springfield, Illinois.

Re: Western Coal Mining Co. XVII-C-530
Kelly-Carder Mine XVII-C-531
Lone Star Coal Co. XVII-C-533
Pittsburgh & Midway XVII-C-534
Eagle Cherokee Coal Co. XVII-C-535
Clemens Coal Co. XVII-C-536
Apex Coal Co. XVII-C-537
Pioneer Coal Co. XVII-C-538
Menghini Coal Co. XVII-C-539
Commercial Fuel Co. XVII-C-540

Dear Mr. Ozanic:

The above cases have been pending in this office since May 26, on which date they were received. By arrangement with Mr. Echer, field representative of your union, they have been held in abeyance awaiting the decision and order in the Alston Coal Company, Case R-1352.

As you are aware, the Board in the order on the Alston case held that the unit which consists of a single employer member of the Southwestern Interstate Coal Operators' As-

sociation is not the appropriate unit for purposes of collective bargaining.

Since the cases here concerned involve an alleged refusal to bargain by various companies and since the Board in the Alston case has held that the separate companies are not the appropriate units for collective bargaining, it would appear that the cases cannot be sustained. I assume, therefore, that since there appears to be no further action which this office can take with regard to these cases, you will possibly wish to request withdrawal of the charges. If you do wish to withdraw the charges, I request that you forward us a letter making such request at your earliest convenience.

I have discussed the situation concerning these cases with Mr. Echer, and I am advised that he is communicating with you.

Sincerely,

(Signed) H. F. S.
HUGH E. SPERRY,
Acting Regional Director.

The Regional Director does not know the facts in connection with these cases he has not tried. They did not give us an opportunity to appear before them to present the facts or to give evidence that we did have the members of those mines, but asked us to withdraw and abide by the decision given by the Board in the Alston Coal Company case.

In closing I want to say that if there ever was room for amendment to the Wagner National Labor Relations Act there is room for that sort of action now. If organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are to maintain their position as organizations, that broad discretionary powers now vested in the National Labor Relations Board must be removed or modified.

Five years ago, before the International Progressive Mine Workers of America was established and chartered by the American Federation of Labor, when we as a district unit in the State of Illinois fought the Wagner Labor Relations Act because of the way it was presented to Congress at that time, we sought to have it modified and clarified. But we failed in our efforts. Now it has proven true and the records of our organization back in Illinois in those days will show that the very points we are asking now to be amended in the National Labor Relations Act were fought for and agitated for by the district unit back in those days in the State of Illinois.

We as a national union of Progressive Miners of America up to this time have been prevented from being entitled to represent

legally these thousands of mine workers in the coal fields to which I have referred, as vigorously as we wish to do.

I will refer to one more case. Last night I received a telegram from one of the representatives in Oklahoma, dealing with a critical and dangerous situation there, and which can be attributed to the National Labor Relations Board in their failure or refusal to give proper consideration to our Oklahoma case which we had filed with the Board months ago. This is the case of the Acme Semi-Anthracite Coal Company mine at Williams, Oklahoma, where every man in the mine has joined the Progressive Mine Workers of America and designated our union as their bargaining agent. They severed their connection with the United Mine Workers, C. I. O. The members employed in that mine are members of our organization and the company knows they are, but they refuse to bargain with our organization or recognize their employees as members of the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

That also went before the Board. The Board played with it for weeks and weeks, and finally an Examiner came into Oklahoma to investigate the case. He sent his investigators around and endeavored to find out where the United Mine Workers stood and where the Arkansas-Oklahoma operators stood as an association. In fact, he insisted that our case be dismissed right then and there. He went back to the Regional Office in Fort Smith, and the case was dismissed without a hearing.

After the case was dismissed the coal company called several meetings of its employees and used every endeavor to get the miners to go back into the C. I. O. United Mine Workers. They refused to concede to the demands of the company or the demands of the United Mine Workers. The officials of the company obtained a restraining order in the county court of LeFlore County against our representative in Oklahoma and against us as an organization.

Now the mine is working with 150 men imported from outside the State. They were imported into that small coal mining community where the men are peaceful and law abiding. This telegram from there informs me that the United Mine Workers of America, C. I. O., have not only imported 150 men

from outside of the State to operate the mine, but they have also imported an army of pickets to guard those strike breakers as they go to and come from the mine. I am also informed that certain United Mine Workers' representatives have connected with them men with notorious criminal records, and they are there now to prevent the members of the Progressive Mine Workers from regaining their jobs. I telegraphed the Governor of Oklahoma, informing him of the facts and urging him to take proper and immediate steps and not to allow the mine to operate with men imported by the C. I. O. United Mine Workers from outside the State of Oklahoma. I don't know what will happen. In order to give to our local members in Williams, Oklahoma, all of whom wish to remain in the Progressive Mine Workers of America, every protection it is possible to give to them, I would be extremely grateful to this convention if, following my address here today, you would go on record sending to the Attorney-General of the United States and to the Governor of Oklahoma a telegram urging them to intervene and not allow strike breakers from outside the State of Oklahoma to take the jobs of local members of the Progressive Mine Workers in Williams, Oklahoma.

I recognize that our only hope at this time is through congressional action. No matter what we try to do, so far as the National Labor relations Board is concerned, we cannot expect any help from that source. I assure you that the case of the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America, in all its details, from stem to stern, as it applies to every mine field where we have organized thousands and thousands of mine workers, will be presented in unmistakable terms to the committee in Congress that will

investigate the National Labor Relations Board.

I want to assure this delegation here and in the presence of your President, William Green, that we appreciate most gratefully the assistance that has been given to us and to our assistants by the American Federation of Labor, by the various bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and by the attorneys' department of which Mr. Padway is at the head. We will continue to fight, we will continue to organize until all these mine workers have been assured an undisputed opportunity to come into the American Federation of Labor and to be members of the Progressive Mine Workers of America.

President Green: I told you that President Ozanic would tell you a remarkable story. It seems incredible that such a condition exists in the administration of the affairs of our Government and of the Labor Relations Board. There will be more said about this matter later on during the deliberations of this convention.

A motion was made and seconded to comply with the request of President Ozanic, and that President Green be authorized to send a telegram in behalf of the convention to the Attorney-General of the United States and the Governor of Oklahoma, protesting against the importation of men into the State to take the place of Progressive Mine Workers.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: We have worked now a half hour overtime, and if there are no objections, we will convene a half hour later. We will recess until 3:00 o'clock this afternoon.

At 1:00 o'clock, p. m., the convention was adjourned to 3:00 o'clock, p. m.

Third Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3:00 o'clock, p.m. by President Green.

Absentees

Beck, G. E.; Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordes, Jack; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, M. M.; Brown, R. J.; Burr, R.; Cahir, Elizabeth M.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Demko, Frances; Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Greasy, C. H.; Gross, J. E.; Hanson, H. I.; Heymann, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly, Tom; Kelly, J. P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Powers, Jos.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Clyde S.; Smith, E. S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wade, J. F.; Welch, C. B.; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. P.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Bates, of the Committee on Executive Council's report, for an announcement.

Vice-President Bates: The Committee on Executive Council's Report will meet Thursday morning at 10:00 o'clock in Room 719 to give consideration to that part of the report referring to the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' Union.

Any delegate interested in that section of the report will be heard before the committee at that time.

Thursday Night Mass Meeting

Secretary Morrison made the following announcement:

Delegates, guests and friends of the convention of the American Federation of Labor are urged to attend the mass meeting to be held in this hall tomorrow evening at 7:30 by the League for Human Rights, Freedom and Democracy. Speakers will include William Green, Matthew Woll, officers of the League, Gerhart Seger, Alexander Kerensky, Luis N. Morones and Max Zaritsky. This meeting will not interfere with other social events on the program, as it will be adjourned by 9:30.

New York Labor Parade—Motion Picture

President Green: The Chair wishes to make

this important announcement. At 11:30 o'clock tomorrow morning a motion picture of the labor parade which was held in New York City on August 12, 1939, preceding the convention of the New York State Federation of Labor will be shown in the convention hall. One hundred thousand members of organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor participated in this parade, and a motion picture was made. The officers of the New York City Central Labor Council and the New York State Federation of Labor have brought the pictures taken of this wonderfully impressive parade to this city, and it will be shown to the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at the convention tomorrow morning.

May I add to this announcement the following. This was a most wonderful parade. It began in the morning at 10:00 o'clock and the last of the parade was marching at 10:00 o'clock at night. It was made up of members of the American Federation of Labor in the City of New York. I was inspired when I saw it. I hope all who can will be here tomorrow morning at 11:30 o'clock to see this motion picture presented.

The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee on Organization.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Vice-President Duffy: The Committee on Organization is ready to report in full. All matters, subjects and resolutions presented to us have been dealt with and we have our report ready. However, there is one matter I want to bring to your attention and I want to make a suggestion, and I hope you will agree to that suggestion.

Yesterday morning I announced here that the committee would meet in the north room on the fourth floor and that all delegates who desire to appear before the committee should do so. Several delegates did appear and we heard them. After that we made up our partial report.

After we adjourned Delegate Hoffmann, of the Upholsterers Union, came to me and

wanted to know if he could not appear before the committee. I told him we had just adjourned but we would meet in the morning at 10:00 o'clock. We met this morning at 10:00 o'clock, completed our report, and Delegate Hoffmann did not appear before the committee.

When I came into the hall this morning I notified President Green that the committee was ready to report in full. Then Delegate Hoffman came to me and wanted to appear before us and I said, "We are already in position to report on everything presented to us."

When I came on the platform this morning President Green handed me this note, addressed to President Green:

"President Green:

"Through some misunderstanding we were unable to appear before the committee on Organization pertaining to Resolution No. 29.

"We now understand the committee is ready to report. We have requested Mr. Duffy for a hearing before the committee reports.

"Mr. Duffy says he has already informed you that the committee is ready to report and he will see what he can do about it.

"Will you please see to it that we get a hearing on Resolution No. 29 before the committee reports.

"Thank you.

(Signed) SAL B. HOFFMANN,
Upholsterers."

The suggestion I have to make to you is that the committee report on all matters, subjects and resolutions with the exception of Resolution No. 29; that the committee hold another meeting and that Delegate Hoffmann and his representatives appear before the committee at that time. We do not want any delegate to go away from this convention and say that he was deprived of his rights. I hope you will consent to agree to this suggestion. If you do, Secretary Ozanic will now proceed with the report.

President Green: If there be no objection to the plan outlined by Vice-President Duffy the representatives of the Upholsterers may meet with the committee at some later hour when it will be convenient. Hearing no objection, that course will be pursued.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Joseph Ozanic, of the Committee on Organization, who will submit the report.

Delegate Ozanic, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Organization Work

Earnest, aggressive and continuous efforts have been put forth in the organizing campaign which has been carried on by the American Federation of Labor during the past year. Along with national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor a most successful campaign has been waged among the unorganized workers of the nation. The success of this campaign is reflected in the increase of the membership of the American Federation of Labor. Hundreds of thousands of new members have been added and agreements have been negotiated between newly organized workers and their employers. In many instances these agreements represented the first contracts which had been negotiated between employers and employees through collective bargaining. Through this procedure wages have been increased, living standards have been lifted to a higher level, and thousands of workers have enjoyed for the first time the exercise of their right to be economically free and to negotiate agreements with employers in accordance with democratic procedure and in conformity with the principles of collective bargaining.

As reported to the convention held in Houston, Texas, during the month of October, 1938, an Organization Department was created and a Director of Organization placed in charge. This administrative procedure has proved to be quite successful. When Lewis G. Hines, who was appointed as the first Director of Organization, resigned in January, 1939, to accept appointment as Secretary of Labor and Industry in Pennsylvania, Francis P. Fenton, who had served as an organizer for the American Federation of Labor in Massachusetts, was appointed to succeed him and is now serving as Director of Organization for the American Federation of Labor.

Organizing work has been carried on in every field. We have first organized workers who do not come under the jurisdiction of national and international unions into local trade and federal labor unions. When a sufficient number of local trade and federal labor unions have been formed, national councils are set up. Through such a process organizing work has been coordinated, uniformity in the establishment of wage scales and working conditions has been facilitated, and the economic interests of thousands of workers have been promoted through collective action.

Over four hundred new local trade and federal union charters have been issued during the past year. These unions have been established among cement, beet sugar, alum

inum, fabricated metal, textile, agricultural, cannery and citrus, chemical, distillery and miscellaneous industries as well as office and white collar workers.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's Report and commends and congratulates the Council on the good work accomplished during the past year.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Beet Sugar Workers

In September, 1937, the American Federation of Labor inaugurated a campaign among the employes in this industry and established local unions in the States of Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, Montana, Utah, Wyoming and Washington. Since our last convention we have established new locals in Wyoming and Colorado. Much more effective work could be done in these fields if it were not for the fact that these industries are spread all over the Middle West and Western States, which makes the cost of organizing and servicing very high. However, in spite of this we are making splendid progress and have negotiated many agreements with sugar companies, providing for the union shop, 40-hour week, one and two weeks vacation for hourly and year-around workers, and have established seniority rules in the industry. We feel that substantial progress has been made, in the light of the fact that this is a comparatively new industry.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Office and White Collar Workers

We have been carrying on an active campaign among office and white collar workers, including insurance agents, under the direction of the Office Employees International Council which was formed at the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor. We have added to the present membership in the last year 39 new charters. We have negotiated many satisfactory agreements, providing for better wages, and improved working conditions. We earnestly request the whole-hearted support of the State federations of labor and the city central labor unions in bringing these workers under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Cement Workers

The Fifty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was held in San Francisco, California, in October, 1934, directed the Executive Council to launch and carry forward a special organizing campaign among the employes in the cement manufacturing plants. The records show that the organizers attached to the American Federation of Labor carried out the orders of the Executive Council. This has resulted in the affiliation of over 100 local unions with the National Council. It is significant to note that over 25 new local unions were organized from July 5, 1938, up to and including July 26, 1939. All of these unions function through the National Council of Cement Workers, which council held its constitutional convention September 11, 1939, for the purpose of receiving an international charter from the American Federation of Labor. Contracts have been negotiated between these federal labor unions of cement workers and their employers in practically every plant that has been organized throughout the country. These workers have been able to renew a number of their contracts calling for better conditions. It is significant to note also that these conditions were brought about without resort to strike.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's Report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Vice-President Bates: I just announced from the platform that the section of the Executive Council's report in reference to the organization of the cement, lime and gypsum workers would be heard in the morning. It is now brought to my attention that this same question is dealt with in the report before the convention. What position will we find ourselves in if the report of this committee is adopted and the Committee on Executive Council's Report brings in some report that is possibly at variance with the report now being considered by the convention?

Vice-President Duffy: The Committee on Organization is not dealing with the charter granted to the cement workers. We are only dealing with the progress made since the last convention up to the time that the charter was granted. The matter of the granting of the charter to the cement workers, as I understand it, is before the Committee on Executive Council's Report, and that committee will report on that subject.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: I move that this portion of the report of the Com

mittee on Organization be laid over for consideration until after the Committee on Executive Council's Report on this subject is made.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Aluminum Workers

We are carrying on an active campaign in this industry. However, we are confronted with many handicaps due to the active raiding policy of the C. I. O. which keeps our organizers busy offsetting their propaganda. Even with all of this we have 21 local unions affiliated with this international council. A number of splendid agreements have been negotiated in this industry and these workers are determined to carry on a definite and continuous campaign to organize all workers employed in the aluminum industry.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Fabricated Metal Workers

These workers have made a substantial gain of 15 new locals over last year. This council is acting as a coordinating agency to disseminate information to its local unions throughout the country. This is a growing and highly competitive industry which requires our organizers to not only serve the locals that we have but to carry on an active campaign among the unorganized in this industry.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Textile Workers

Since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor organized a National Council of Textile Workers, with a very substantial membership. Subsequently, we organized about 10 local unions of Woolen and Worsted Workers, former members of the U. T. W. A. These workers were organized while a suit in court was pending to the effect that some textile workers unions in Rhode Island never agreed to join the C. I. O. and that they were taking advantage of the constitution of the U. T. W. A.; that they represented nine or more dissenting local unions and thereby they had a right under their constitution to all the property rights of the U. T. W. A. as it affected them. This case was tried in the Superior Court of Rhode Island and the court sustained these local unions and found that they never waived their rights to their mem-

bership in the U. T. W. A., and that they had a right to re-establish their national union. This case is now pending before the Superior Court of Rhode Island on an appeal by the T. W. O. C. In all the law suits involved in this case, the courts have sustained the position of the U. T. W. A. and their constitution. These courts held that the transfer of those local unions to the C. I. O. was not in accordance with the constitution passed and approved by the convention of the U. T. W. A. and decreed that such transfer was illegal and without the consent of a convention of textile workers.

Subsequently, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor re-invested this international union with its charter, and since then the U. T. W. A. held their convention and elected new officers. They have established, under the constitution of the U. T. W. A., a Cotton Textile Federation in the South, a Woolen and Worsted Federation in the North; both of these federations are doing splendid work in organizing the workers throughout the country. We have increased our membership through the addition of 52 local unions in this field during the period since July 5, 1938, up to and including July 26, 1939. While constructive gains have been made, it will be necessary for the American Federation of Labor to keep organizers in this field for the balance of this year at least, until this international union is self-sustaining. We earnestly feel that with the vigorous campaign now being carried on in the textile industry that we can report by the next convention that we have established on a solid and firm basis the U. T. W. A., and that this will be another strong, self-sustaining organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's Report. It is encouraging to learn that the Textile Workers have increased their membership and have organized 52 new unions during the year ending July 26, 1939.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Federman, Fur Workers: I am not opposing the committee's report. What I would like to say is that we have today in Canada quite a number of locals of the textile industry chartered by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and the textile locals today are controlled by some of the C. I. O. organizers and the Communist organizers.

I would suggest to the President and executive Council that in the very near future those textile workers of Canada should be under the control of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion to adopt the committee's report on this section of the Executive Council's Report was carried by unanimous vote.

Agricultural, Cannery and Citrus Workers

The progress made in this field is still continuing in a very effective way. We have added to the roll 13 new local unions since July 5, 1938. Much opposition was encountered because of the attitude of the National Labor Relations Board, which lent assistance to the C. I. O. by accepting fictitious petitions which caused delay in the holding of elections where workers had signified an interest in joining the American Federation of Labor. We have met all of these attacks with promptness and dispatch, and as the report indicates we are not losing any of our membership, but as a matter of fact, are gaining members. We intend to coordinate our organization activities in the canneries in order to make our organization drive even more effective. This is still a large field, with many thousands of unorganized workers, which will call for a vigorous and active campaign of organization.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chemical Workers

The increase in membership among those employed in the chemical industry has been most gratifying. More than fifty local unions have been established in this field. We hope to coordinate these local unions into a cooperating collective unit within the near future. We have negotiated a number of very fine contracts governed by the Wage and Hours Division, and we look for great progress in this direction when we find it possible to establish stability and cooperation.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's Report. It is a source of satisfaction to learn that more than 50 Local Unions have been organized among these workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Distillery Workers

Organization activities in this field are carried on by organizers who work directly through the National Council which was organized some time ago. These organizers have negotiated agreements covering practically all of the workers in the industry. We are happy to report that we have made good progress in this field.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Commercial Telegraphers

The American Federation of Labor has been assisting the Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America in the organization of communication workers. We assigned organizers to assist this international union in organizing work in Washington, D. C., New York and Chicago. We are pleased to report that we won a very important National Labor Relations Board election in Washington, D. C., which has given impetus to the workers employed by the Western Union Telegraph Company to organize throughout the country. We are now in the process of negotiating an agreement with the Western Union Telegraph Company for the District of Columbia. In spite of great difficulties and the manifest hostility of the National Labor Relations Board toward this organization, in a number of instances substantial gains are being made and organization activities carried on in the marine and aviation division of communication. With the assistance of the entire trade union movement we are sure that the present vigorous campaign that is being carried on in this field will produce good results.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Miscellaneous

We have made remarkable progress in organizing the workers in the miscellaneous groups. We have chartered over 166 locals from July 5, 1938, to July 26, 1939, organizing approximately 8,000 workers in the miscellaneous field—that is, brush workers, salt workers, gypsum mill workers, organ makers, refrigerator workers, warehousemen, optical workers, drug company employees, bag makers, sugar refinery workers, greenhouse workers, fishery employees, newspaper employees, (varied) fertilizer workers, colored freight handlers, and others too varied to be mentioned at this time. The growth of organization in this field is certain to bear fruit during the coming year because many of these miscellaneous groups have a large potential membership among the unorganized. In many of these industries there are a large number of unorganized workers. The American Federation of Labor organizing staff has given a great deal of assistance to international unions in cases before mediation, conciliation, arbitration boards in various States and in National Labor Relations Board cases, in most instances assisting international unions in conferences with employers as well as during strikes. The international unions to which

special assistance has been extended are the following:

The Laundry Workers International Union,
American Federation of State, County and
Municipal Employees,

United Leather Workers International
Union,

International Glove Workers' Union of
America,

International Metal Engravers' Union,

International Ladies Handbag, Pocketbook
and Novelty Workers Union,

United Brick and Clay Workers,

The Commercial Telegraphers Union of
North America,

Seafarers' International Union of North
America,

United Textile Workers of America,

International Union Progressive Mine
Workers of America.

The officers and members of national and international unions, State federations of labor and city central labor unions have rendered most valuable assistance in all of this organizing work. In addition, the organizers of the American Federation of Labor have endeavored in every way possible to see that the affiliated unions were protected in their jurisdictional rights under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

This report of organizing activities and of service rendered as a result of the success which has attended our efforts makes it clear that the financial income of the American Federation of Labor should be maintained at least at its present level. Success in organizing work means the assumption of obligations to render service. This we have been and are doing through the organizing staff, the legal department, the research department, the legislative department, the Workers Education Bureau, and through the financial support as well as organizational support of the American Federation of Labor is giving to struggling national and international unions.

All of this organizing work and organizing activity calls for the expenditure of substantial sums of money. The American Federation of Labor is using all funds available in rendering service to the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor in carrying on organizing work among the unorganized. It is the firm opinion of the Executive Council that a more vigorous and active campaign, if such is possible, should be carried on among the unorganized during the coming year. We are planning to do this. It is our firm determination to organize the unorganized in every field and in all lines of industry into unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Based upon the facts, the wide experience of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and its intimate knowledge of the facts and realities of organizing work which must be met, the Executive Council recommends that the 59th Annual

Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize and direct the continuance of the one cent per member per month assessment which was first legally and officially levied by the 57th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and which has continued in effect ever since. The continuation of the income of the American Federation of Labor, at its present amount at least, will enable us to consolidate and hold the gains we have made, to protect the legal rights of the workers through service rendered by our legal department, to adequately and properly present the cases of subordinate unions which are presented to the National Labor Relations Board, and to continue to render the high and exalted service which the American Federation of Labor has always given to the workers of the nation.

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's report and commends the Council for the gains made during the past year through organization work.

We recommend that the organizing campaign—not only among miscellaneous groups but among all groups—be continued without let-up during the coming year.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Burke, Pulp and Sulphite Workers: I have introduced a resolution to increase the per capita tax, and that resolution has been referred to the Committee on Law. This report deals with the question of continuing the one-cent per member assessment, and in view of the resolution that I have introduced I move that that part of the committee's report relating to the continuance of the one-cent a month assessment be laid over until after the report of the Committee on Laws on my resolution to increase the per capita tax.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Coefield, Plumbers: Mr. Chairman, I cannot see any reason why a raise of per capita tax, which is a matter of law, should be confused with an assessment levied by a convention that is already provided by law. There is no similarity whatever between the two. Possibly a raise in per capita tax might take care of the situation, but by convention action this assessment has been levied and carried on for a period of several years, and the Laws Committee has nothing whatever to do with this, as reported by the committee just now.

I think we ought to adopt the committee's

report and continue the assessment, which we so sorely need.

Delegate Laderman, Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers' Union: President Green and delegates, I feel that this report, especially the conclusion, where it deals with the help rendered by the American Federation of Labor to ten small and struggling International Unions, deserves a little more time and consideration by the delegates. I know that this is something new. It is only a year since the Department of Organization was organized, and many of us take it for granted that we are entitled to get all of this help without saying a word about it.

I happen to be a member of a small International Union recently chartered by the American Federation of Labor, the International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers' Union. We would not be in existence today if it were not for the help rendered by this department and by the Executive Council and President Green, the Central Bodies, the presidents and the workers of the State Federation of Labor. I feel it is my duty and pleasure to tell the delegates of the great amount of work done by the organizers of the American Federation of Labor in the different localities. I want the delegates to realize that there are ten International Unions mentioned in this report, who have received assistance, small ones, new and old. These ten International Unions are not small because they haven't any more members to organize; they are small because there are many more to organize, but they do not have the financial facilities to do it alone.

Our Union has some 50,000 workers to be organized throughout the country. They are scattered from coast to coast, in the small towns in the East, the Middle West, and on the Pacific Coast. When we organize and receive a charter for ten thousand workers in the luggage, belt and pocketbook industry that is a problem, and we want to share this problem with the delegates. The problem is, how shall we organize the rest of these workers? Shall we levy taxes on these new members who came in only yesterday, young boys and girls who do not know anything about the labor movement? Shall we continually levy taxes on them and send out fifty to a hundred organizers throughout the country, and to every little town? Or, shall

we lead them, educate them to the fact that they are a part of a great movement and that they are solidified in that movement?

We cannot go to the workers in Oshkosh, Racine, Waukesha, or in the small towns in the East, Allentown and Poughkeepsie, and tell them that they must pay more money. We cannot put these organizers into the field unless we get the help of the American Federation of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor has helped us during this last year to the extent that we are growing every month and taking in new members. Only last month we organized 1,000 new workers in Syracuse. Yesterday I received a telegram informing me that we have signed up 450 new members in Allentown, Pennsylvania.

There are thousands and thousands of workers in these small towns, and this work can only be done through the great work rendered to us by the A. F. of L. organizers, not to minimize the great help of the Central Bodies in every community and of the State Federations of Labor. Then I must not forget that the International Unions throughout the country are doing yeoman service, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars that nobody mentions. There are people sitting in this room who are giving thousands of dollars to help organize the small unions, and they never boast about it. We don't know the great work that is being done.

I just met and thanked a member from Chicago. When we started organizing in Chicago he gave us, without five minutes' talk, \$500.00, and we raised \$17,000.00 in Chicago to organize the luggage workers. We are getting help from all the International Unions, and I say there isn't an organization anywhere in the country that is giving so much service for the two cents per member per capita tax paid to the American Federation of Labor. I wish it were more, because there is nothing that will stop us from going on with this great work.

I was in Oshkosh last week trying to organize the luggage workers there. When I went there accidentally I met an A. F. of L. organizer who was organizing these workers. He was there doing this work quietly but effectively. I appreciate this work. All of our members appreciate this work, because if it were not for this help our people would go

back to the sweat shop system of fifteen or twenty-five cents an hour.

I am sorry that President Reinlib of our International Union had to go to Allentown to settle the strike there, but I am sure I express his wishes and the wishes of all the members of our International Union when I thank President Green and the Executive Council, the Central Bodies and the State Federations of Labor who are helping us and building us up to the point where we can do our share for the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Killen, Pulp and Sulphite Workers: It is my wish to support our International President in his motion to lay this matter over until our resolution asking for an increase in per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor can be discussed. I do not believe there is any delegate on the convention floor who has in mind any doubt as to the need of this additional money to carry on the work of the American Federation of Labor.

However, there might be room for sincere discussion as to the manner in which that money is to be raised. We feel definitely that that need is going to be continued and perpetuated, and we wish he had the privilege of discussing the resolution which we have before the Committee on Laws, sometime during the period of this convention.

We feel if the report of the Executive Council pertaining to the one-cent assessment is sustained at this time our resolution naturally will not receive any consideration. We are merely asking for the opportunity to discuss our resolution at the same time that the matter of the one-cent assessment is discussed, so that the proposal can be out before this convention at that time.

I think our resolution should be given sufficient consideration by following such procedure.

A vote was taken on the motion made by Delegate Burke to defer action. The Chair was in doubt as to the result of the aye and nay vote, and a vote by show of hands was taken.

President Green: It is apparent, and it is the opinion of the Chair that the motion to defer action is lost. The question now

comes upon the report of the committee. Are there any further remarks?

Delegate Kotner, Federal Labor Union No 18887, Philadelphia: In the committee's report they named many organizations which they are trying to organize, but I failed once to hear the word "steel." I don't know what people think when they don't mention steel, because it is one of the biggest industries in the country today, with 790,000 people working in the steel mills. Those are not my figures, those are the government's figures.

John L. Lewis claims he has 400,000, which I doubt. I have talked to many steel workers in the State of Pennsylvania and they are perfectly willing to come into the American Federation of Labor. They do not belong to anything.

What I would like to know now is, why aren't organizers sent into the steel mills to organize the steel workers of the country? Seven hundred and ninety thousand people is a lot of people.

President Green: I want to say that this brother represents one of the finest steel Federal Labor Unions that has yet been established. It is composed of six or seven hundred members and it is a fine Federal Labor Union. It has negotiated a wage agreement providing wages, hours, and conditions of employment which measure up to the standards of wage agreements set by the American Federation of Labor.

I am happy and pleased indeed that you brought the matter to the attention of the delegates, for we have a number of these Federal Labor Unions organized, part of the American Federation of Labor, and the fact that these local unions were overlooked in the report is a matter of sincere regret. There are a number of them, and it is our intention to perpetuate them and to carry on organizing work in that field during the coming year. I want to make that statement for the benefit of the record.

Delegate Federman, Fur Workers: While this delegate mentioned steel, I am wondering why you do not mention the rubber workers in Canada. We had a little strike in Guelph, Ontario, a strike of the rubber workers, and the C. I. O. was trying to get members. They sent down six of their or-

ganizers and they did not succeed in getting the membership.

The American Federation of Labor was there, represented by Brother John Noble, Ontario organizer of the A. F. of L., and he succeeded in settling the strike and making a closed shop agreement.

I can report, in behalf of the membership of the rubber workers, that they decided to join up with the American Federation of Labor. There are thousands of workers in the rubber industry in Canada willing to join the Federation.

Delegate Ketner, Federal Labor Union 1887: I wish to inform you, President Green, that the membership of my union is not six or seven hundred, but twenty-two hundred.

President Green: Thank you for that information. Twenty-two hundred is better.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Organizing Pen and Pencil Workers

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Pen and Pencil Workers' Union No. 19593 is working under an all-union contract but are hampered by cheap labor in other pen and pencil factories throughout the United States who are not members of organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention commend the efforts made to organize this industry and authorize the officers of the American Federation of Labor to continue in this effort.

Your committee concurs in this resolution...

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting that A. F. of L. Finance Organizing Campaign in Textile Industries

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized Textile Workers in the United States have become demoralized through the disorganization of its union members because of the C. I. O.-A. F. of L. controversy; and,

WHEREAS, We, the Narrow Fabric Textile Federal Union No. 21577 of Middle-

town, Connecticut, reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor with the understanding that the A. F. of L. would use every effort at their command to help us by organizing the Narrow Fabric Textile Industry; and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America, having recently had their charter reinvested by the A. F. of L., have no funds sufficient to conduct any extensive organizing campaign; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Connecticut Federation of Labor at this 54th Annual Convention do everything in its power to see that the American Federation of Labor take immediate steps to finance a large-scale organizing campaign in the Narrow Fabric and all other Textile Industries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be referred to the 59th National Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Cincinnati, Ohio.

Your committee concurs in the principle of this resolution, with the hope that the Executive Council will give these workers everywhere a full measure of support and encouragement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Appointment of A. F. of L. General Organizer for Hawaii

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Territory of Hawaii has a large number of local unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, It is most difficult for International Unions to maintain a representative in the Hawaiian Islands; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to give every consideration to the appointing of a General Organizer who will be stationed in Hawaii.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Calling Upon National and International Unions to Consider Revising Constitutional Provisions Where They Bar Negro Membership

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The color bar and various

subtle forms of race discrimination, some open and others disguised, operate to curtail the right of Negro workers to various jobs, without regard to skill, training and experience; and

WHEREAS, Race discrimination by trade unions tends to divide the workers upon a basis of race and color, thereby playing into the hands of the employer who fundamentally cares no more for a white worker than he does for a black worker; and

WHEREAS, Whenever a trade union excludes a worker merely because of race or color, such exclusion weakens the entire labor movement, and lessens its power to fight for decent wage rates, humane hours of work and improved working conditions that will assure living standards commensurate with health, comfort and decency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Annual Convention, assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, in harmony with past declarations, go on record calling upon all national and international unions and departments, to eliminate the color bar and all forms of discrimination which serve to exclude workers from membership on account of race or color; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor again call upon the convention of national and international unions whose constitutions have color clauses and that practice discrimination against Negro workers, to create a committee to report on the question of the color bar and various forms of race discrimination to their next convention, for discussion and abolition.

Your committee concurs in the intent of this resolution and recommends it to the Executive Council in the spirit in which it is submitted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Continued Assistance of A. F. of L. in the Organizing Campaign of the Commercial Telegraphers

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers Union.

WHEREAS, The Eighteenth Regular Convention of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union has taken note of the favorable progress which has been made in organizing the Western Union Telegraph Co., resulting in certification by the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D. C., and in the granting of charters in many of the large cities of the nation; and

WHEREAS, President Green and Director of Organization Frank P. Fenton deserve the thanks of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union for the manner in which they have encouraged and assisted in the work of or-

ganizing the Western Union Telegraph Co.; and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union, in convention last month has given careful consideration to ways and means of accelerating this organizing work, but requires the continued aid of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the continuance of all possible efforts on the part of its officers, organizers and affiliated national, state and central bodies to the end that the telegraph employees of the nation may be organized under the banner of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union: For the information of the delegates I wish to add some facts in connection with the Western Union organizing campaign, particularly the delegates representing the central bodies and state bodies, some of whom have been circularized recently. The information contained in the resolution only hits the high spots.

The Western Union Telegraph Company has some 43,000 employees throughout the country, 15,000 of whom are messengers. The National Labor Relations Board has seen fit to put the messengers into the same bargaining unit as the non-messengers. The C. I. O. crowd are working on the messengers. They pull what they call educational strikes from time to time. They have one on now in San Francisco, and they are circularizing the central bodies and the State bodies, and I believe some of the delegates here have been circularized, with information to the effect that the Western Union is unfair to organized labor.

I am not prepared to say that the Western Union is fair to organized labor as yet. There have been negotiations in Washington for the last six months, but we have not yet reached the stage where we have been able to bring them across the line to the point of signing an agreement. But we are a long, long ways from calling the Western Union unfair to organized labor, because the C. I. O. crowd pull a few messengers out here and there.

I have information from San Francisco to the effect that out of 800 employees of the Western Union in San Francisco 15 attended

the meeting, along with 15 longshoremen—not the longshoremen of the I. L. A. but the Harry Bridges longshoremen, and out of these 30, 15 telegraphers and 15 longshoremen, it was doubtful whether a majority by a show of hands were all in favor of a strike. Nevertheless, they called a strike and are now circularizing you and collecting money all over the country.

The Postal Telegraph Company has seen fit to seek a little free advertising in this convention and I am willing to give them a little free advertising. They saw fit to sign a closed shop agreement on the basis of a fifty and one-half per cent vote, including thirty-three per cent messengers. They signed a closed shop agreement with the C. I. O., forcing the C. T. U. members to join the C. I. O. This closed shop agreement calls for wages ranging from \$50.00 a month up to \$100.00 a month. The union scale of the Associated Press and the United Press and the International News for telegraphers ranges from \$195.00 to \$288.00.

This closed shop agreement which the C. I. O. has signed forces non-members of the C. T. U. and members of the C. T. U. to join that organization or lose their jobs. Some of our members right here in Cincinnati have lost their jobs in the Postal Telegraph because they did not want to join an outfit that would sign that kind of an agreement.

Down in Washington they are trying to help the Postal Telegraph bondholders pull their chestnuts out of the fire by pushing a merger with the Western Union. The C. I. O. crowd is now coming to us with a so-called labor unity program. They are soliciting the help of Miss Perkins and everyone else they can think of and asking us to shake hands with this Communist outfit. My reply, endorsed by our convention last month, was that if John L. Lewis is willing to spend \$100,000.00 to take the Postal Telegraph into that kind of a closed shop and has succeeded to that extent, then let John L. Lewis take notice of the official communication addressed to him a year ago, calling his attention to the fact that the Commercial Telegraphers' Union is just as much of an industrial union as he ever thought of, that we are organizing the Western Union, and we ask him not to continue this subsidy to the C. I. O. crowd and help them take a few messengers out of their jobs. John L. Lewis referred that

communication to Rathborne, who is charged with being a member of the Communist Party. We have known that for a long time, but it is coming out in the open now, and we might as well call the attention of the communications industry of the nation to that fact at this time.

We are not in war now, but we may be. The commercial communications industry is one of the first lines of defense. The marine radio officers are also in the first line of defense, and there should be no finger of suspicion pointed at any organization calling themselves an American organization and having to defend themselves from Communist leadership.

This C. I. O. crowd is controlled and dominated by the Communist Party, and there is no question about the danger to the communications industry of this country.

Getting back to the Western Union Telegraph Company, we have been certified in Washington, D. C. after a year of maneuvering, with the Labor Board trying to jockey us out of the position we were in. We have locals in Indianapolis, El Paso, Columbus and Cleveland. We have three organizers in New York City headed by Rose Sullivan, one of the best organizers in the American Federation of Labor; two in Chicago headed by John Schreier, and while we have only signed up 7,000 out of 43,000, we believe we have reached the ears of at least half of those 43,000 employees of the Western Union Telegraph Company.

One of the reasons why we are in favor of the resolution is that the Western Union employees are buffeted from one side to the other. They have the company union to begin with. They have the check-off system, whereby the company union collects the dues. They are being pushed by the A. C. A., the C. I. O. crowd, and they are being solicited by the C. T. U., and it is impractical to try to collect dues during a heated campaign of that sort.

That is the reason that for the time being the Western Union employees, while they lean toward the American Federation of Labor, have not yet been freed from the chains of the company union. They are not yet in position to finance their own organizing campaign.

I call on the delegates from the Central

Bodies, some 125 of them, to go back to your communities and try to get a charter for the Western Union in your locality. Our headquarters in Chicago will cooperate with you. Every A. F. of L. organizer has been asked to cooperate with you, and it is only a question of time until we will build up a strong organization in this Western Union industry. If you will give us your support we will appreciate it from the bottom of our hearts.

I want to add again that we appreciate the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, and we ask the cooperation of all the delegates when they go back home.

The motion to adopt the committee's report on Resolution No. 34 was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Ozanic: That concludes the partial report of the committee, and we will report later on the other two matters we still have for consideration.

Vice-President Duffy: The Committee on Organization will meet tomorrow morning at 10:00 o'clock in the north room, fourth floor, to take up Resolution No. 29. All members of the committee will please take notice.

Addresses of Fraternal Delegates

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that the fraternal delegates will deliver their addresses to the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at the convention on Friday morning about 10:30 or 11:00 o'clock. May I ask that all be present during the morning for the purpose of listening to the messages which these distinguished visitors will bring to us!

Delegate Volz, Photo Engravers: Reporting for the Committee on Law, I would like to announce a meeting of the committee at 10:00 o'clock Thursday morning in Parlor H on the fourth floor.

President Green: Are there further announcements? If not, the Chair will entertain a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn until tomorrow morning.

Delegate Meehan, Painters, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, Thursday morning.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the convention adjourned at 4:45 p. m. to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Thursday morning, October 5th.

Fourth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 5, 1939.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

ABSENTEES

Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordges, A. S.; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, R. J.; Burr, R. M.; Cahir, Elizabeth M.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Demko, Frances, Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Gross, J. E.; Hansen, H. I.; Heymanns, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly, Tom; Kelly, John P.; Killingtonworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Powers, Jos.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Clyde S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

INVOCATION

Gerhard W. Grauer, D. D.,
Pastor of Philippus Evangelical
and Reformed Church

O God, Thou mightiest worker in the universe, source of all strength and author of all unity, we pray Thee for this Federation of workers.

We are grateful for the ties which bind us to our fellow men, for our common toil in industry and marts of trade; for our joint inheritance as citizens of this nation.

As our work binds us together in toil and danger, may our hearts be knit together in a strong sense of our common interests, help us to face the common needs and burdens. Grant us patience and prudence in all difficulties. Raise up leaders of able mind and large heart and give them Thy counsel. Bless all classes of our nation and build up Thy kingdom among us. Build up a great body of workers strong in body, clear of mind, glad to work and striving together for the final brotherhood of all men.

We thank Thee for our country where we are concerned about life, not death, where we meet to make conditions better, not worse.

Help us to build our society on the basis of love and concern for others, not only on the basis of our own personal returns, and grant that the day may come when all men shall live a more abundant life; we ask this not only because it will be better for men, but because we believe it to be Thy divine plan for the world. Amen.

President Green: The Chair will call upon

Delegate Milliman, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees; Delegate Duffy, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, and Delegate Lawson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor, to call upon Dean Russell, of Columbia University, who is here in the hotel and who will address the convention within half an hour this morning, and escort him to the platform.

President Green announced the transfer of the section of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees" from the Committee on Resolutions to the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read invitations from the following organizations and individuals to hold the 1940 convention in their cities:

F. H. Rein, General Manager, St. Louis Convention and Publicity Bureau; Arthur J. Beauregard, Secretary-Treasurer, Providence Central Federated Union, Providence, Rhode Island; Maurice J. Tobin, Mayor, Boston, Massachusetts; W. Walter Williams, President, Seattle Chamber of Commerce, Seattle, Washington; David Levine, Chairman, City Utilities Committee, Seattle, Washington; Arthur B. Langlie, Mayor, Seattle, Washington; James A. Noe, New Orleans, Louisiana, and W. C. Thomas, City Comptroller and Executive City Clerk, Seattle, Washington.

The Secretary also read the following message from Senator Claude Pepper:

Washington, D. C.,
October 5, 1939.

Hon. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor in Convention
Assembled
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Please allow me to extend to you on this occasion my greetings and good wishes. I believe sincerely that the cause of labor grows stronger in the hearts of the people every day because more and more does everyone realize that not only spiritually as the Master approved it, but economically each of us in this day is our brother's keeper. The common cause challenges all of us to our best. Our consciences will let us do no less.

Regards.

CLAUDE PEPPER,
U. S. Senator.

President Green: Yesterday the convention instructed the President of the American Federation of Labor to send telegrams to the Governor of Oklahoma and the Attorney General of the United States. Your instructions were carried out. I sent the telegrams. I have copies here. I will read them to you, and they will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

Secretary Morrison read the following copies of telegrams:

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 4, 1939.

Honorable Leon D. Phillips,
State House,
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

I am directed by the officers and delegates in attendance at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor now meeting at Cincinnati, Ohio, to protest against the importation of men to take the place of the employees of the Semi-Acme Anthracite Coal Company who have been forced into idleness because they exercised their right to join the Progressive Mine Workers' Union through freedom of choice. We appeal to you to prevent the importation of strikebreakers and to prevent the imposition of an injustice upon honest workmen who are seeking to exercise the right to join a union of their own choosing as provided for in the National Labor Relations Act.

WM. GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 4, 1939.

Hon. Frank J. Murphy,
U. S. Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

By direction of the officers and delegates in attendance at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor now meeting at Cincinnati, Ohio, I am officially appealing to you to exercise such power as may be vested in the Department of Justice against the importation of men to take the place of employees of the Semi-Acme Anthracite Coal Company who have been forced into idleness because they exercised the right to join the Progressive Mine Workers of America, a union of their own choosing. I appeal to you to prevent the importation of strikebreakers across state lines into Oklahoma for the purpose of taking the places of men who are on strike. We hope you may find it possible to intervene and prevent the imposition of an injustice upon the employees of the Semi-Acme Anthracite Coal Company.

WM. GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

President Green: The motion picture showing the parade of unions, members of the

American Federation of Labor, which was held in New York on August 12, will be shown here about 11:30 o'clock today. Those of you who wish that your wives and your friends might see those pictures, please advise them so that they will be here at 11:30 o'clock.

I want to present to you this morning Brother R. Schwartz, representing the Ex-Patients' Tubercular Home of Denver, Colorado. He has addressed our convention in the past. I will call upon him now to come forward and talk to you. I present our friend, Mr. R. Schwartz.

MR. R. SCHWARTZ Ex-Patient Tubercular Home, Denver, Colo.

President Green, officers and delegates of the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor—I do certainly appreciate the opportunity which is now extended to me by President Green, and I consider it a great honor to appear before this convention and extend my thanks and appreciation to the national officers of the American Federation of Labor and the representatives of the various national and local unions that are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It is also gratifying to say a few words before your convention because we have received the support of international officers and local officers that has made it possible to go on with our humanitarian work.

I do not intend to make a speech, but I take this opportunity to again come before the convention and express our appreciation and refer to the fact that 122 representatives of organizations and international officers visited our institution when you held your convention in Denver. Since then we have been able to get much more support from the labor organizations than we had previously received. In 1938 we organized a Trade Union Committee with Max Zaritzky as Chairman, and we were able to raise money for the year 1938-39, thereby taking care of more infirm men and women who come to our doors from the ranks of labor.

We have been in existence 31 years. We have never charged a penny to any individual who has come to our institution. Patients can stay there for three, four, or five years if necessary. We have patients coming from all parts of the country. At no time have we asked any questions as to whether a patient is a Catholic, a Protestant, or a Jew. We will not draw any distinction so far as race, color or creed are concerned. I want to again extend the appreciation, not only of myself, but of the directors of the Ex-Patients' Tubercular Sanitarium.

Sunday Service

Secretary Morrison made the following announcement:

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 5, 1939.

American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Arrangements have been made for Mass at 10:30 a.m. on Sunday, October 8th, in Saint Louis Church, Eighth and Walnut Streets, for the delegates of the American Federation of Labor Convention, now in session in this city.

President Green: A great scholar, a distinguished leader in the world of education, accepted the invitation, extended him in your behalf and for you, to journey from New York City to this convention for the purpose of addressing the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention. We are fortunate indeed in that we are privileged to listen to an address from this great, outstanding educator from Columbia University. I know you have been anticipating the pleasure of listening to his address this morning. He is William F. Russell, Dean of the Teachers' College of Columbia University, New York.

You recall the meeting on Education for Democracy which was held in New York City a few weeks ago. Dean Russell led in that great movement, which was climaxed by this very interesting educational meeting. Representatives of labor were present. He wanted them there; he asked that they be there so that the labor point of view upon the subject of education and democracy could be presented to that historic meeting. Representatives of great educational institutions from abroad were present.

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to present to you William F. Russell, Dean of Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City.

DEAN WILLIAM F. RUSSELL Teachers' College, Columbia University

Mr. Green, it is a great pleasure for me to have this opportunity to address the American Federation of Labor. I am not a professional public speaker. I am a professor, a schoolmaster, and I did not quite know how I would be received, because I noted yesterday, according to a statement in the

Chicago Daily News, that Mr. Padway said, "God deliver us from college professors and army generals in administrative positions", and I am a college professor in an administrative position, and here I am.

I hardly know how to title my address. It is not an address, it is just a talk. You know the story of the three little children in the family who had seen the shooting star and one of them said, "I wish it may, I wish it might, to grant the wish I wish tonight." Then one of the children said, "Marry, what did you wish for?" She said, "A new doll." "And what did you wish for, Willie?" And he said, "A new pair of skates." And Johnny, who was the serious member of the family, was asked what he wished for, and he said, "I wish these 'isms' was 'was'm's'." It is the "isms" and "was'm's" that I want to talk to you about this morning, because I have been greatly concerned about this question for years past. In fact, one of my few experiences with union labor was when I was building my house, and Jasper McLevy was the man who put the roof on. We used to talk about Communism and Socialism and things of that type in those days. I had been worried about those I met in Russia during the war, who thought of capital and labor as being in fundamental opposition, that there was a fundamental conflict between those who owned and those who earned, and that the only solution to this conflict came by a process of violence.

For many years past I have been taking a vacation in the summer in France. I go there to climb in the Pyrenees, to get away from the worries I have at home. About four years ago Mrs. Russell and I reached Paris one Saturday and we saw on the walls of that town notices reading: "Big meeting for peace," out in the big park at St. Cloud. We went out to this great meeting, trying to figure out what was going to occur. Our taxi stopped as we were half way up the hill, because we were in the midst of heavy, crawling traffic. We got out and walked, and as we walked we saw vendors with little red flags that you could pin in your buttonhole. Here they were, saying "Buy the words and music", and it was the Communist song. There were men there with little emblems for your hat and for the lapel of your coat—always the hammer and sickle, and boys and girls with their arms on their shoulder marching in lockstep were chanting, not "Hay foot, straw foot," but "Down with the national defense." We saw them weaving in and out of the crowd shouting, "Encore la guillotine," which means, not soak the rich, but kill them.

We got out into that great big park, and they had a huge platform on one side, and I give you my word there were more people than I have ever seen anywhere. I know that I, coming from New York, should not bring up the World Series in Cincinnati, but nevertheless it was a huge crowd, ten times the size of a World Series crowd. The Paris papers estimated there were five hundred thousand people in that park. Up would get these people to speak, and up would go the

first. I saw one little child carried on his father's shoulder, with his baby fist clenched high in air, and never one French flag, always the red flag—"Down with the national defense,"—"Encore de la guillotine." I would hate to see that kind of thing happen here.

But down in my part of the country, down in the Pyrenees, I saw the reverse of it, which was just as bad. I have a lot of friends there, hotel keepers, dentists, druggists, grocery store keepers, farmers, guides, waiters, all kinds of people. When I go down there, it is necessary for a fat man like me, who leads a sedentary life, to get a little practice for climbing. I cannot start the minute I get there, so I used to take the train to a point within twenty to twenty-five miles of where I was living and walk back.

I remember one time I was going through the country and I stopped at a little house and the lady of the house brought me some wine from the cellar. She said, "Are you from South America?" That was a compliment to my French, because they did not recognize me for an American. I said, "No, I am from North America." She said, "I lived in San Francisco 25 years ago." She talked very broken English. She refused to take any money, and I wanted to give her a souvenir. I had a one-cent piece and I said, "Here is a coin with an engraving of Abraham Lincoln on it." She said, "What is this?" I said, "An American coin," and she said, "I never saw anything like that in San Francisco. We had 'two-bit,' 'four-bit,' 'six-bit' and one dollar."

When I got into this town where my friends were, there again I found a Communist meeting called for the park for Sunday afternoon. But what horrified me was that my friends, the people I knew, had gone to the opposite extreme. Five different people handed me a book written by the Pretender to the Throne of France, in which they were advocating the return of the monarchy. Fifteen or twenty of the people I had known before as members of parties something like our Democratic or Republican Party had left those parties and had joined the Croix De Feu, the Fascists. They were saying that the deputies were no good, that the government was made up of a bunch of crooks, "We have no confidence in the people who are ruling us. All we can do is to call back the Pretender to the Throne, the Emperor of France, or else join the Croix De Feu, the Fascist or Nazi Organization."

Caesar wrote that all Gaul is divided into three parts. If Caesar were writing two years ago it would have been, "All Gaul is dividing into two." On Bastille Day in Paris, after the parade of the morning was over, I saw 130,000 members of the Fascist Party leave the Place de la Concorde and swing up the Champs Elysee to the Arc de Triomphe, and at the same time three hundred thousand of the Communist or radical group were walking toward the Bastille, and four college professors were leading the parade.

A country can divide into two. One group can march in one direction and the other group in another direction, but sooner or later the procession will turn and brothers will kill brothers. If you have ever stopped to think why it is that England and France are in the jam they are today, if you have wondered why they didn't take action back four years ago before these dictators got the power they have, I can tell you the answer. The answer is not tiredness or weakness on the part of those in high place in the French or English governments. The weakness lay in the division among the people.

My friends, we must have no division like that in the United States now or in the future. Anything we can do to bring ourselves together into one great unit we must do. What makes unity in a people? I think my Scottish ancestry had unity in those clans when they descended from the highlands into the lowlands and stole the sheep and the cattle of the people that were there. There is union that comes from greed, the union of the pirate crew. We don't want that kind of union today.

France today is unified solidly. Those divisions I saw two, three, four, or five years ago are gone. What brought that about? That is the unity of the sheep huddling against the wolves. It is the union caused by fear. It is union, but when the cause of the union, fear, is removed, division comes again. There is unity, I think, that comes from mutual friendship and understanding. There is disunity that comes from ignorance and prejudice and self interest. As a schoolmaster I feel that unity keenly. I have noticed for years past a growing rift coming between the schools and the public. Once back in the early days of the little school district in a little New England town meeting there was close intimacy between the school, the school trustees and the people. The people made their will known by neighborly contacts. There was unity during the development of our public school system.

Whenever I have discussed this with any audience, no matter what it is, I say the finest illustration of cooperation between the public schools and the public was given us back in the 30s, in the early days in New England and Maryland, when associations of workmen demanded free education for their children. That was the origin of the public school system of the United States, and it was close cooperation between the people and the schools.

We at Columbia University have been trying for several years past to make the business man and the farmer and the working man and the educator see eye to eye on the major problem of education, and we have had conferences at our college in which laymen, laboring people, women's organizations, farmers, merchants and manufacturers have spoken and teachers have replied, and vice versa. These are the lay conferences that have started and which have been so successful.

Last summer this culminated in a great

movement for which I am thankful to you, President Green, Mr. Woll and your Educational Committee for cooperating with us. We did bring together in New York representatives of all aspects of business, labor, agriculture, every phase of American life, to consider problems of saving our country and defending it against the ravages made by ideas from abroad. We know that if we see each other, if we talk to each other, if we trade ideas, while we may disagree fundamentally, in the long run we will have more unity than ever before. Unity can come from mutual interchange of ideas and acquaintance. But, members of the American Federation of Labor, unity that comes from greed is unsatisfactory. Unity that comes from fear will not last. Unity that comes from mutual understanding is not quite enough. What is it that brings people solidly together and enables them to carry on? It is, I think, the conscientiousness of a common purpose that is over and above and beyond ourselves.

I know that people refer to the building of those great cathedrals, and as I go into these small towns in England and France and see these extraordinary structures and then read the translations of mediaeval accounts of their construction, I am amazed that those little towns could ever do what they did. Chartres is the most beautiful structure in the world, but the one that impresses me is the cathedral at Beauvais, which is one of the biggest of all and which is nothing but the choir of the cathedral which those people projected. The choir of this cathedral alone is so big it looks like a big cathedral. They certainly had the American spirit, they were going onward and upward, bigger and better than any other cathedral that had ever been.

In 1932—and this I might say is a typical college professor's address—I thought I wanted to do something in honor of George Washington, that being the 200th anniversary of his birth. So I bought a set of Washington and started to read it. I started at the beginning, and every time he said something about the ideals of our country I wrote it down. I omitted most of what he wrote about, seeds, plants, crops and the like, but every time he mentioned a book he had read I noted it down and bought it. I did the same thing with Benjamin Franklin, with Thomas Paine, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe. I am not a scholar, I don't have time to be. I am the head of a big organization, but at night after the guests had gone from dinner and my work was done, I would pick up one of these books and I covered the books that these men read all the way back to Aristotle. If you take one book a week for thirty weeks in the year and one book a day for two months in the summer and carry that process on for the next year, you can cover the whole literature of the ideas of the founding fathers of our country and of the sources from which they got their ideas.

I think from that little course of reading I got an idea of what our country was far different from what I had obtained from textbooks and books in history. What happened

was that about 235 years ago, somewhere between 1680 and 1715, the people of this world got a new idea. Before that time they had been hopeless. They thought you could not do much with the world and you could not do much with man himself. The world to these people back before 1700 was something like my golf game is to me. I stand up on the tee and I see a spot on the fairway 275 yards away. It looks perfectly simple to put that ball in that place, and I hit it, and off it goes into the rough. I know what is the matter, it is a matter of grip, stance, following through, left elbow, looking up—it is a matter of things I could control, yet I get up there and "bang" it goes, the same way. All I can do is pray.

That is the way your ancestors and mine looked on the world—you can't do anything about your economic life, you can't do anything about your health, and you can't do anything about yourselves. You are predestined. And then all of a sudden, under the influence of great scholars like John Locke and Francis Bacon, men said "The world can be controlled, we can make of it what we want, and we ourselves can make of ourselves what we want." And out of that came a realization that it was possible for men to bring into realization here in the world the ancient ideals that men had held for generations back, the ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity and happiness.

Liberty was not a positive thing. They had lived under tyranny. They could not worship God as they saw fit. They could not even sign their names to what they had written. Most of the big books in France from the years 1750 to 1760 are not signed, no names on them at all, because the men who wrote them were afraid they would be put in jail. They had a little blank card that said, "Please, Jailer, put So-and-So in jail until such-and-such a time." They were called letters de cachet, and you could put into jail whomever you pleased as long as you had cards.

They wanted to have a share in government, and another thing they wanted—and I think union people sometimes should study this—they wanted to be free of the domination of government in business, they wanted to be free of the domination of what they called the guilds, which were something like labor unions as they once were.

If you study the French Revolution for the first two years you will see they were taking government out of business every day. Old Colbert, who was the French Minister—the NRA was nothing compared to him. He had volume after volume telling you what was to be manufactured and under what conditions.

These were things that our ancestors started with. They wanted to be free from tyranny. When you see the Statue of Liberty standing with her hands like this, let me tell you she is standing wrong; she should be standing with her hands toward Europe, in this way. That was what liberty meant to them.

Did you ever stop to think that when they had that Constitutional Convention, there in the Speaker's chair was the greatest American of his time, the man everybody trusted, George Washington, and here was a country bankrupt, with no national defense, no organization, and the easiest way to put that country on its feet would be to say, "Mr. Washington, you run it!" They refused, because they were afraid of the man who would follow. Our government never was intended to be perfect. It was supposed to be the kind that would be as good as it could be under a good man and yet not very bad under a bad man.

Our ancestors feared tyranny, they feared privilege. They did not want to see the good things of life determined by the accidents of birth and wealth. They did not want to see the man taken from his home in the dead of night and incarcerated at the sweet will of some tyrant.

Have you ever noticed that in most towns in Europe there is no other side of the railroad tracks? Every house looks alike, the hovel and the palace alongside each other. That was because of fear of the tax gatherer who would collect taxes unjustly. Our ancestors wanted a country where they would have an equal voice in the government and where their children would have equal opportunity. That is what they meant by equality.

I will not discuss fraternity. The idea was that if men were the sons of God they would be brothers and there would be no war.

The fourth idea is a pretty difficult idea to explain. When Jefferson wrote the words "pursuit of happiness" in the Declaration of Independence, scholars generally believed he had in mind the words George Mason had written three weeks before in the Virginia Bill of Rights, in which he described it as "the means of acquiring and keeping property and the pursuit of happiness and safety." In other words, happiness, the great goal, was that men would have the right to earn their living, the right to the fruits of their labor, and thus they would be happy and safe.

Nowhere in the world have men believed that this could be, save with us. Chinard, the great scholar, said the people of Europe never believed they could be happy, they only hoped they could be less unhappy. While in France you see "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" written over the buildings, nobody ever firmly believed in it. But believe me, we believed it here, we thought that might be achieved among us. We thought we could be free from tyranny and have liberty. We thought we could be free from privilege and have equality. We thought we could be free from poverty and steer that sharp, narrow course between misery on the one hand and materialistic opulence on the other.

Liberty, equality, fraternity, happiness — these are the American ideals, the great traditions to which you and I are heir. If we can see that we are marching along, labor, agriculture, business and education, marching

together toward that goal, there will be no division amongst us.

That is why I wanted the Congress on Education for Democracy. That is why I want every organization in this country firmly and strongly to adopt a positive educational program in that direction. I want our people to know that we are the heirs of this great tradition. I want them to know what it is like to live under a tyrant, what it is like to live when we have no equality of opportunity whatsoever, when we have no equal voice in government. I want them to know what it is like to live under conditions that most other countries have to live under today.

It is education, I am convinced, that will bring this to us, education inspired by the examples of men like you and me. Each one of us should catch the spirit of the fathers of our country. Each one of us should make ourselves a little unit spreading this idea amongst all our friends, clearly seeing what it is that our country hopes to do and what this heritage is that has been given to us.

In the first inaugural address of one of the Presidents of the United States he made the statement that "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the perpetuation of the republican model of government may be considered as finally staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people."

What has happened to the fire of liberty in the world today? Believe me, in most places it has flickered and gone low. What has happened to the republican model of government? It has weakened before Communism, it has failed before Fascism. It is being weakened every day in all the nations at war.

The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, the perpetuation of the republican model of government, may be justly considered as finally staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people, and it is up to you and to me and to all of us to make that experiment work.

Who was it that said that "The republican model of government may be justly considered as finally staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people?" It was George Washington, in his first inaugural address.

President Green: Permit me to convey to our speaker this morning our deep appreciation of the visit which he made to this convention and of the scholarly address which he delivered. His analysis of the principles of freedom, democracy and education strike a responsive chord in the hearts and minds of the officers and delegates in this convention. One of the chief objectives of this convention is to mobilize our intelligence, our knowledge and our strength in defense of our common heritage—education, liberty, freedom and democracy. I assure Dean Russell

that all in attendance at this convention respond wholeheartedly to the fine, splendid warm sentiments he expressed this morning. He can count on the American Federation of Labor to cooperate to the fullest extent in the furtherance of either a national or international movement having for its purpose education in democracy, the perpetuation of democracy, and the maintenance of our free, democratic form of government.

I thank you for your visit this morning. Your address will be included in the permanent proceedings of this convention. I hope the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor will read it over and over again and study it.

Please remain with us as long as you can.

Announcement—Union Restaurants

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employee: Mr. President and delegates, at the opening session of this convention our local representatives distributed throughout this hall a booklet showing a list of places where delegates could be served by union people, especially in the restaurants. Today our local business agents report that the delegates are patronizing non-union restaurants in Cincinnati. That is not necessary. The Old Vienna Restaurant, in the Carew Tower, has given us a lot of trouble in this city, and some of our delegates, with their badges on their coats deliberately walk in and are served there by non-union employees.

President Green: Please take note of this announcement made by Delegate Koveleski.

Delegate Hickey, Federal Labor Union No. 20388, Battle Creek, Michigan: I would like to ask all the delegates of Federal Labor Unions to meet immediately after the adjournment of the afternoon session in the rear of the hall.

Vice-President Bugniazet: The Committee on State Organizations will meet Friday morning at 10:00 o'clock in the north room on the fourth floor.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

Delegate Noxon submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the 59th

Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The undersigned, representing your Auditing Committee, appointed in accordance with Article 3, Section 5 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, respectfully submit the following report for your consideration. We have examined and audited all the books and records of the American Federation of Labor covering all of the financial transactions for the period beginning September 1, 1938, and ending August 31, 1939.

We are pleased to report that all books and records were found correct in every respect. We have personally counted the securities recorded on the books of Secretary-Treasurer Morrison as being owned by the American Federation of Labor, and found them correct as recorded. We are listing below these securities. We have verified the cash balances on hand through the medium of letters written by the banks where funds are on deposit. These letters certify as to the amount on deposit to the credit of the American Federation of Labor at the close of business August 31, 1939.

The total receipts and total expenses under each classification are as follows:

Receipts

Balance on hand, August 31, 1938	\$ 443,631.19
Per Capita Tax	583,972.13
American Federationist	385,732.68
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals	256,958.58
Initiation fees	63,442.98
Reinstatement fees	7,726.00
Supplies	20,194.84
Interest	11,531.25
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	20,756.82
Disbanded and suspended unions, and miscellaneous receipts	8,371.13
Assessments	441,563.29
Total Receipts	\$1,800,249.70
Grand total	\$2,243,880.89

Expenses

General	\$1,437,311.71
American Federationist	200,864.44
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions..	41,770.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	17,430.38
Total expenses.....	1,697,376.53
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1939.....	\$ 546,504.36

Recapitulation

In General Fund.....	\$ 44,540.82
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	501,963.54
Balance on hand, August 31, 1939	\$ 546,504.36

Gompers Memorial Fund

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1939.....	\$ 118,073.23
Interest on fund investments.....	15,510.89
Total receipts.....	\$ 133,584.12
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1939	\$ 119,458.87
Balance on hand August 31, 1939	\$ 14,125.25
Funds deposited as follows:	
1266 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. Stock.....	\$ 1,266.00
Riggs National Bank checking account	5,359.25
U S. Savings Bonds:	
Series B: M21870B, M21871B, M21872B, M21873B, M21874B, M21875B, M21876B, M21877B, M21878B, M21879B. Maturity value, \$1,000.00 per bond; maturity date, April, 1946. Purchased April 10, 1936 @ \$750.00	7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1939	\$ 14,125.23

**The American Federation of Labor
Building Fund
Receipts**

Balance on hand, August 31, 1938	\$ 20,448.13
Rents	\$ 31,845.00
Refund of overcharge on water rent...	37.59
Sale of waste paper	24.62
Reimbursement on Fire Loss.	3.77
Redeposit of outstanding checks to Building Fund	19.34
Total receipts	\$ 31,430.32
Receipts and balance	\$ 51,878.45

Expenses

Maintenance:	
Payroll (building employees)	\$ 17,478.10
Taxes	3,219.36
Electricity	1,780.46
Fuel (coal) ..	233.76
Supplies	1,341.55
Upkeep and repairs	1,703.52
Plastering and painting	2,079.60
Cleaning windows	385.00
Insurance (liability)	376.84
Water rent ..	181.23
Hauling ashes and trash ..	149.00
Upkeep of rest room (laundry, etc.) ..	11.76
Upkeep and repairs of elevators	768.10
Social Security Tax	
Unemployment Insurance ..	522.62
Old Age Benefits ..	178.53
Rent of Safe	
Deposit Box	
Fire replacement	7.28
Total Expenses	\$ 31,129.01
Balance on hand August 31, 1939	\$ 20,749.44

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Recapitulation

Receipts and balance	\$ 51,878.45
Expenses	31,129.01
Balance on hand August 31, 1939	\$ 20,749.44
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. (1218 shares)	\$ 1,218.00
Riggs National Bank (checking account)	12,031.44
U. S. Savings Bonds:	
Series B: M273333, M273334, M273335, M273336, M273337, M273338, M273339, M273340, M273341, M273342. Maturity value, \$1,000.00 per bond; maturity date, July 1946. Purchased July 21, 1936, at \$750.00	7,500.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1939	\$ 20,749.44
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We have checked the bank balance and counted the securities in this account and find them correct as reported

Your committee has counted all securities and determined that the funds of the American Federation of Labor are deposited and invested as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%) \$ 225,000.00	
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%) 2,070.32	
U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%) (\$50,000.00) @ 98 18/32	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds (2¾%) 100,000.00	
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2¾%) 1,531.25	

Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds	\$ 377,882.82
Riggs National Bank (Subject to check)	124,225.54
City Bank (Subject to check)	2,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (Subject to check) ..	2,000.00
300 Shares Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (stock)	15,000.00
396 Shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock	396.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (Collateral deposit) ..	25,000.00

Secretary-Treasurer's balance, August 31, 1939	\$ 546,504.36
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The numbers and denominations of the securities listed above are as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%) 14426F	\$ 5,000.00
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28631A	10,000.00
28632B	10,000.00
28633C	10,000.00
28634D	10,000.00
28635E	10,000.00
28636F	10,000.00
28637H	10,000.00
28638J	10,000.00
28639K	10,000.00
28640L	10,000.00
28641A	10,000.00
28642B	10,000.00
38459K	10,000.00
29974D	10,000.00
29975E	10,000.00
29976F	10,000.00
29977H	10,000.00
31874D	10,000.00
33783C	10,000.00
29981A	10,000.00
29982B	10,000.00
29983C	10,000.00

Total	\$ 225,000.00
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U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	
816F	10,000.00
817H	10,000.00
1097H	10,000.00
1098J	10,000.00
17113C	10,000.00

Total	\$ 50,000.00
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U. S. Treasury Bonds (2¾%)	
2727H	\$ 100,000.00
396 Shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation Stock @ \$1.00	396.00
300 Shares Union Labor Life Insurance Co. Stock @ \$50.00	15,000.00
Total par value	\$ 390,396.00

In conclusion, we wish to advise that we made a careful study of the Bookkeeping system employed by the American Federation of Labor, and are favorably impressed with the manner in which transactions are recorded. The system is well adapted to the purpose for which it is intended.

Finally, we wish to express our appreciation to Secretary Morrison and his assistants for the cooperation extended to us in the performance of our work.

Auditing Committee,
JAMES W. CLOSE, Chairman,
C. B. NOXON, Secretary,
FRANK KASTEN.

Chairman Close moved the adoption of the report of the Auditing Committee. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Chairman Close, for the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

The credentials of the Typographical Union delegates, which have been held in abeyance, will be reported on at the afternoon session.

Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union — Harry O. Perlee, 1 vote.

Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor — William McGeary, 1 vote.

President Green: Now we will be privileged to see this beautiful labor parade picture. As I stated yesterday, we have been accorded the privilege of seeing this picture through the courtesy, kindness and accommodation of Secretary Quinn, of the New York State Federation of Labor, George Meeney, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, and their associates of New York State and New York City. We will be privileged to see a parade of the dignity and strength of labor in New York City.

Following the showing of the picture of the New York labor parade, the convention was again called to order by President Green.

President Green: I am sure you will all agree with me that that was a wonderful picture and a wonderful parade. It demonstrates in a most wonderful way the unity and solidarity of the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and these sturdy men and women who participated in that parade were paid-up members of the American Federation of Labor.

I wish to thank from the bottom of my heart, for you, our friends from New York who presented this picture for us. It is, in my opinion, one of the outstanding events of the convention. I want to give proper credit to Arthur H. Fix, Business Representative of Motion Picture Operators, Local No. 327 of Cincinnati, Ohio, and those associated with him for giving their services gratis in the showing of this picture. I wish to convey to Brother Green of the International Association of Theatrical Stage Employees and his associates, the Motion Picture Operators, everybody who participated in the showing of this picture, the thanks of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

The Chair asks if there are any announcements. It appears that there are no committees ready to report, and we have completed all the work we have on hand this morning. I presume most of you will want to listen to the report of the World's Series in New York over the radio between now and, say, 3:00 o'clock this afternoon.

I hope that every one of you who listens to the radio, will keep on praying, praying, praying for the Reds to win the game. It seems to me quite appropriate and proper for us to recess until 3:00 o'clock this afternoon, and the Chair will entertain a motion to that effect.

Delegate Madsen, Painters, moved to suspend the rules and adjourn until 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon. The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

At 11:45 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 3:00 o'clock p. m.

Fourth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 3:00 o'clock, p. m.

Absentees

Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordges, A. S.; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, R. J.; Burr, R. M.; Cahir, Elizabeth M.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Demko, Frances, Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Gross, J. E.; Hansen, H. I.; Heymanns, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly, Tom; Kelly, John P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterlolo, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Clyde S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Cincinnati, Ohio
October 4, 1939.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

My Dear President Green: Greetings and best wishes for a successful 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The United Hebrew Trades is proud to voice its greeting at this moment, for today, amid material and spiritual crisis, the American Federation of Labor stands justified in its steadfast policies of moderation and social responsibility.

Today we can see clearly that the American Federation of Labor was right when it rejected the false and irresponsible Communist, Nazi, Fascist ideologies. The world cannot be remade by disregarding decency and judicial order. The American Federation of Labor always condemned flagrant abuse of justice in the name of an obscure future justice. The world grows through present actions. The end does not, never did and never can justify the means. We need merely to turn our eyes to Europe, to the unholy alliance between Communism and Nazism, to see the results of trying to justify evil means by so-called good ends.

Today, when all right thinking people recoil in horror from the sight of an Hitler-Stalin attack upon freedom and national integrity, we can see the true worth and value of this great American Democracy. We of the labor movement can appreciate fully the

sound philosophy and dependable outlook of the American Federation of Labor.

The United Hebrew trades is proud to point out that throughout these difficult years it has stood by the American Federation of Labor. It applauded its unflinching courage to declare the truth even when truth was unpopular. The United Hebrew trades has drawn courage and inspiration from this stand. And let me, at this time, add that President William Green has been throughout the driving force and spirit of this great liberal stand. His courage and truthfulness have been worthy of the high post he holds.

The American Federation of Labor is not only a force in the world of economics and labor. It is a force in that world of thought where a true democratic spirit is born among citizens. The citizens of the United States form one of the greatest liberal and social instruments of the world. It must be remembered that the American Federation of Labor is a potent liberalizing force within that great body of citizens.

The United Hebrew trades is proud to remind you that the American Federation of Labor was the first to champion the cause of the oppressed minorities in Europe. It has always been first to raise the voice of protest and lend its generous aid to the victims of political, racial and religious persecution and condemned the aggression upon smaller nations by ruthless, irresponsible governments.

We are proud to send you this greeting, proud to recall your splendid record. We are sure that the American Federation of Labor will face the future problems with the same determination and courage and regard for truth with which it has faced problems of the past. The heart and the loyalty of the United Hebrew trades will be with you throughout. Whatever the future holds in store for all organized labor, we know that the role of the American Federation of Labor will continue to be front-line leadership in constructiveness, energy, intelligence, and an all-conquering courage.

Fraternalty yours,

MORRIS C. FEINSTEIN, Secretary,
United Hebrew Trades.

New York, N. Y.,
October 4, 1939.

Fraternal greetings to you and to the delegates at this A. F. of L. historic convention. The leadership of the American Federation of Labor for the welfare of labor, for tolerance, democracy and American ideals remains unshaken. May they continue with increased power and influence.

LOUIS WALDMAN, Chairman,
National Council of the Social
Democratic Federation,

Wilmington, Del.,
October 4, 1939.

William Green, President,
A. F. of L. Convention,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Greetings. We hope deliberations of convention will benefit all who work. Meeting of Central Labor Union tonight went on record protesting further division of labor by expulsion of Brewery Workers and I. T. U. We hope delegates will give deep thought before taking any decisive action.

WILLIAM J. McCLAFFERTY, JR.

A communication from John F. Collins, Mayor of Providence, Rhode Island, was read in which he invited the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city. A letter containing a similar invitation was read, signed by David Levine, President, and Charles A. Stubenrauch, of Local 30, International Jewelry Workers, Seattle, Washington.

Church Services

President Green introduced to the convention Mr. James Myers, Industrial Secretary, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Mr. Myers: The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, with the cooperation of the Cincinnati Council of Churches, takes pleasure in announcing that officers and delegates to the American Federation of Labor will occupy pulpits in a number of churches on Sunday, October 8th, speaking on the general subject of the Church and Labor.

President William Green will preach at the Ninth Street Baptist Church, 21 West Ninth Street, at 7:30 p. m. Mr. Herbert K. Elvin, British Fraternal Delegate, will preach at the Madisonville Methodist Church, 6130 Madison Road, at 10:45 a. m.; Spencer Miller, Jr., will deliver a radio address under the auspices of the Council of Churches at 9:30 a. m. and also preach at Calvary Episcopal Church; Prof. George Counts, President American Federation of Teachers will speak at the Lincoln Park Baptist Church, Betts and Freeman Avenue, at 10:45 a. m.; Mr. John B. Robinson, Vice-President Journeymen Barbers International Union, will speak at the St. Peter's Evangelical Congregational Church, Main and McMicken Avenue, at 10:15 a. m.; Mr. Roy M. Brewer, President Nebraska Federation of Labor, will speak at the Columbia Baptist Church, 3714 Eastern Avenue, at 10:30 a. m.; Mr. Gilbert E. Hyatt, International News Service, at the Shiloh Methodist; Mr. M. P. Webster, Vice-President Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at the A.M.E. Zion Church, Broadway and Sixth Street, at 11:00 a. m., and Mr. Kenneth I. Taylor, President Massachusetts Federation of Labor at 9:30 a. m. at the College Hill Presbyterian Church, 5742 Hamilton Avenue.

Delegate Beck, Warehousemen Union No.

20542, Cincinnati: We sent a telegram to you, President Green, with regard to the warehousing situation and we have been wondering why it has not been read. We would like to have it read on the floor of this convention.

President Green: The Chair has endeavored to handle all that in a judicious way. We haven't come across your telegram yet, and when we do we will submit it to the convention.

Delegate Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department: There is a large number of taxi cab companies in Cincinnati, and only two of them are organized and have agreements with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs. Those organized are the Parkway and the Grannan. Both of these companies have starters at the Fifth Street entrance of the Netherland Plaza Hotel. The Yellow Cab Company is not union.

Report of Committee on Credentials

Delegate Close, Chairman of Committee on Credentials: This portion of the report deals specifically with the credentials presented by the delegates from the International Typographical Union. Their credentials were held back to give the delegates of the International Typographical Union a hearing. We will submit our report now:

Your Credentials Committee gave careful consideration to the credentials submitted by Claude M. Baker, President, Glenn L. Mitchell, Nicholas M. DiPietro, Elmer David Manning, William H. Harris and Henry E. Clemens, representing the International Typographical Union, and to the question of the legal right of said delegates to participate in the proceedings of the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The financial record kept by Secretary-Treasurer Morrison shows that the International Typographical Union failed to pay the one cent per member per month assessment which was levied by the Fifty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was held at Denver, Colorado, and the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention, which was held at Houston, Texas.

The proceedings of the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention show that one year ago delegates representing the International Typographical Union were accorded seats in the

convention in response to their appeal to be accorded a wider opportunity to prevail upon the membership of the International Typographical Union to pay the one cent per member per month assessment due the American Federation of Labor. It is fair to assume that all concerned, both the representatives of the International Typographical Union and the delegates in attendance at the Houston Convention, acted in good faith. The delegates from the International Typographical Union were seated because their co-delegates at the Houston Convention firmly and fully believed that the International Typographical Union would, during the course of the ensuing year, pay the American Federation of Labor the full amount of the assessment due.

Now President Baker and his associates advise the Credentials Committee that they lacked authority, consequently they were unable to pay the assessment due the American Federation of Labor or to give any assurance whatever that said assessment would be ultimately paid. Instead, they submitted a resolution which they advised was adopted at the convention of the International Typographical Union which was held at Fort Worth, Texas, beginning August 19, 1939. It is clearly set forth in this resolution "that continued affiliation can not be dependent upon the International Typographical Union paying said assessment." When your Credentials Committee was confronted with this ultimatum, it was forced to consider Section 2 of Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which reads as follows:

"Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided for in Article XII, Sections 1 and 2, have been paid in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention."

Section 1 of Article X referred to in this section, reads as follows:

"The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used

only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention."

These quotations from the constitution of the American Federation of Labor clearly show that conventions of the American Federation of Labor possess full, complete and unlimited authority to levy assessments by a majority vote at either a regular or a special convention; and furthermore, international unions which have failed to pay assessments levied at either a regular or special convention are ineligible to representation in either a regular or a special convention. A study of the record made at conventions of the American Federation of Labor and of the laws of the American Federation of Labor makes it clear that full authority is conferred upon conventions of the American Federation of Labor to levy assessments, and the same record shows that the assessment of one cent per member per month which the International Typographical Union has refused to pay, was imposed by more than a majority vote of the delegates in attendance at the convention; in fact, the record clearly establishes the fact that the delegates in attendance at the Denver Convention unanimously voted to levy the assessment and the delegates representing the International Typographical Union all voted to levy said one cent per member per month assessment. Thus, the International Typographical Union assumed a contradictory position. Its delegates voted to levy the assessment which the International Union stubbornly refuses to pay.

For obvious reasons, it would be disruptive of the morale of the membership of the American Federation of Labor and a blow at definite legal procedure for the American Federation of Labor to require all national and international unions affiliated with it, with the exception of the International Typographical Union, to pay the assessment of one cent per member per month in order to

be entitled to representation at conventions of the American Federation of Labor. It would be in violation of orderly procedure for the American Federation of Labor to permit one international union to enjoy special favors, to be exonerated from the payment of the assessment, and to require all other international unions to meet their obligations and to pay the assessment in full. For these special reasons your Committee on Credentials recommends that the delegates from the International Typographical Union be denied seats in the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Your Committee on Credentials further recommends that the law regarding the payment of the assessment due from the International Typographical Union and its right to be represented in conventions of the American Federation of Labor be strictly enforced; furthermore that the officers and membership of the International Typographical Union be advised that the International Typographical Union will be required to pay the assessment due the American Federation of Labor in order to be represented at future conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted,
JAMES W. CLOSE, Chairman
C. B. NOXON, Secretary
FRANK KASTEN

Chairman Close: I move the adoption of the report of the committee.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: You have heard the report of the Credentials Committee, and it is regularly moved and seconded that the report be adopted. Are there any remarks? I am sure that the delegates in attendance at the convention will gladly extend to President Baker of the International Typographical Union the privilege and opportunity of making a statement to this convention in case he desires to do so. Are there any objections? No objections.

I am pleased to present President Baker of the International Typographical Union to the convention. I know that 90 per cent of the delegates are acquainted with him. We do not regard President Baker as in any way responsible for the existing situation which prevails in the International Typographical Union. We know his feelings in the matter

and we believe we understand his desires. I believe that if he could have his way the assessment due to the American Federation of Labor from the International Typographical Union would be paid and the International Typographical Union would be maintained in good standing in the American Federation of Labor.

President Baker, International Typographical Union: President Green and friends—This is perhaps one of the saddest days in the history of the American Federation of Labor, and I am quite confident that it will eventually be recognized as an equally momentous occasion by the members of the International Typographical Union. It is true that as one member of the International Typographical Union I did strive to stem a tide of propaganda which was designed to create discord. Ours is a democratic organization, democratic in the extreme, and you all know democratic bodies move slowly and rather deliberately.

Delegates from the International Typographical Union carried out the word to the 58th Convention of the American Federation of Labor and attempted, in so far as it was within their power, to bring about a restoration of the good fellowship which previously existed. In that effort we were unsuccessful. We are here by direction of our 83rd convention in Fort Worth. Unfortunately it was indeed that on the eve of our 83rd convention there should have been delivered to the International Typographical Union in convention assembled what was construed by the delegates as nothing more nor less than an ultimatum.

On August 18—and let me say it was purely by coincidence that these incidents occurred at the time they did. Ordinarily there would have been a period of 30 days between the meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the convention of the International Typographical Union. This year, for the first time in more than a decade our convention met in August. On the eve of that convention the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor took an action at Atlantic City. That action was delivered to the International Typographical Union during an address by Secretary Morrison three days later.

In order that you may know just what did transpire I will read the action of the Executive Council, which is as follows:

"The Executive Council decided that in the event the International Typographical Union at its coming convention or by its executive board failing to make provision for the payment of the assessment, that the Secretary-Treasurer be directed to return their next per capita tax check, and if any check is received in the meantime that the same be held until the final action of their convention is known on this question."

Three days later our convention answered in the language read by the Chairman of your Credentials Committee, by the adoption of a resolution which, among other things, stated that continued affiliation could not be dependent upon payment of the assessment.

Subsequently we were directed to present ourselves and to receive the answer of the American Federation of Labor. There could be arguments, some sincerely made, some speciously made. We have been made well aware of these arguments throughout the past four years. But we have brought to the Credentials Committee the answer of our organization, and all that can be said or need be said at this time is that the decision now rests with the American Federation of Labor.

I can assure you that, so far as those for whom I speak are concerned, there is no bitterness, and I am confident that there will come the day when again the family of labor will be as one and the International Typographical Union will take its rightful place in that family.

President Green: Are there any further remarks?

Vice President Tobin: I would like to ask for information. Does that suspend the International Typographical Union from this Federation?

President Green: Not this action. The convention itself would be required to take some affirmative action with respect to that phase of the situation.

Vice President Tobin: Has the Executive Council taken action on the acceptance of the per capita tax of the International Typographical Union?

President Green: The Executive Council took action at the Atlantic City meeting which was held during the month of August.

That action, as I understand it, was in conformity with the law of the Federation quoted this afternoon, which provides that an international union cannot be accorded representation in a convention unless it has paid tax or assessments levied by the American Federation of Labor. The Council supplemented that act by instructing the Secretary-Treasurer to return any per capita tax back to the International Typographical Union in the event per capita tax was sent in.

Vice President Tobin: Then the law of the Federation, as I understand it, is that an organization that owes three months' tax is automatically suspended according to the constitution.

President Green: I am not familiar with the section to which you refer.

Vice President Tobin: I think that is the law, but I am not sure.

President Green: I think perhaps the proper classification would be that "The union would be in bad standing with the American Federation of Labor," and they could not be represented in conventions of the American Federation of Labor unless they placed themselves in good standing.

Vice President Tobin: I think it can be interpreted somewhat differently, Mr. President, but even accepting your explanation, the fact that an international union is in bad standing means this: That it is entitled to no consideration whatever from this Federation or its affiliated bodies while it is in bad standing. It is in just the same position as if it was a suspended organization. It is in the same position that a member of a local union is. A local union when three, four or six months have passed cannot be placed in good standing until all indebtedness is paid.

The action of the International Typographical convention was that they would not pay any more tax if their delegates were not seated in this convention. The Executive Council of this American Federation of Labor supplemented that by saying, "We will not accept their tax unless they pay their assessment." When I say a union is in bad standing, to my mind it is suspended, and it will not be in good standing according to the laws of this Federation until all indebtedness is paid.

It is something that never before happened in the history of the International Typographical Union in its affiliation with this American Federation of Labor. It practically places the Secretary of this Federation without membership in this Federation, or any other member of the International Typographical Union. Those are the brutal facts in this case. In the whole history of the International Typographical Union it complied with all decisions of this Federation up to now.

I regret very much that this condition has arisen. The labor movement has been helped by the International Typographical Union, and the International Typographical Union has been substantially helped by the labor movement, and if there is any officer who, through his influence, is responsible for the separation of the International Typographical Union from the American Federation of Labor—I repeat, if there is any officer responsible for it through his attitude, he has committed a serious crime, in my judgment, against the membership of the International Typographical Union and against the American Federation of Labor.

That brings me up to this question: During all these years of my participation in the conventions of this Federation and my activity, or inactivity, as a trade unionist, extending over a period of thirty-five years, I have always heard it advocated that we must patronize in every possible way the label with which the International Typographical Union is connected. I refer to the Allied Printing Trades label.

There are five organizations that control the Allied Printing Trades label. If there is any organization connected with that five, are we as trade unionists to continue to go out of our way to demand the label of an organization that is not in affiliation; if the membership of the International Typographical Union desires the patronage of our organization, it seems to me that the sooner this situation is remedied, the better it will be for that membership. I know I for one am not going out of my way to help an organization that is not affiliated with this body. I would like some information as to whether or not we will be expected to have the label that represents an organization that is not in good standing appear on the mil-

lions of dollars' worth of printing done for and paid for by the general membership of this organization.

I want to leave those statements here for the consideration of the delegates of the International Typographical Union that are not seated. I have sat beside their representatives for thirty-three consecutive years in those conventions, and I don't think there is any reason for their being separated now. I remember that away back the International Typographical Union has paid assessments to this organization. I know that during their struggles they have been very near requesting an assessment from this organization. I know that if, at any time in their history, they needed an assessment it would be gladly given by this Federation. Now, when this Federation has levied an assessment, not to destroy any other unions, as has been falsely and maliciously stated in their literature, but for the purpose of defending the Federation from being destroyed, they should be willing to pay it.

This Federation was created in the beginning by the International Typographical Union, and it seems to me it is poor grace, it isn't an evidence of gratitude, the gratitude which in the old days was exemplified and carried out by the membership of the International Typographical Union, whom I believe has not been fully informed of the actual situation.

The American Federation of Labor has helped the International Typographical Union. Every one of us has gone on preaching for their label. We assisted the International Typographical Union in their eight-hour fight when they were practically bankrupt.

I say now, as far as I am concerned — and we use their label on everything that leaves our place—that I don't know whether you can expect us to carry on in the future as we have in the past, purchasing products bearing the label which represents an organization which is not in good standing with this Federation.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: Mr. Chairman, I fully appreciate that the President of the Typographical Union occupies a very embarrassing position in reporting to this convention the action taken by their member-

ship. Before making the comment I have in mind I will ask that the Secretary read the closing sentence of President Baker's statement to this convention.

President Green: You refer to a statement last year?

Delegate Brown: No, the statement that President Baker made just a few moments ago. I believe the stenographer has a record of the last sentence of his remarks. I would like to have that repeated.

The convention reporter read the record, as follows, from President Baker's statement:

"I can assure you that, so far as those for whom I speak are concerned, there is no bitterness, and I am confident that there will come the day when again the family of labor will be as one and the International Typographical Union will take its rightful place in that family."

President Green: Is that what you referred to?

Delegate Brown: That is what I referred to, President Green. In other words, after the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations have been compelled to fight to maintain this institution, to defend ourselves from the attacks of those who publicly announced that they intended to try to destroy this movement, the membership of the Typographical Union tell us in so many words that after we have carried on the fight and convinced the labor movement and the public in general that discipline has been restored, and that decisions arrived at have been complied with, and when those who have left the house of labor have returned, then we of the Typographical Union will also return.

It reminds me of the non-unionists who, when called upon to join the labor movement, have told us that after we have organized the shop or job and have secured improved conditions, we can count on them. The Typographical Union, from the information conveyed to us by their President, Mr. Baker, takes the position that we of the American Federation of Labor shall carry on and give from our resources to defend ourselves from the attacks of those who have declared war on us, and after we come out victorious, as we will, then the Typographical

Union will say, "The job is well done; now we come back home."

That does not sound good to me. I agree with Brother Tobin. There should be some understanding with reference to the Allied label. If the Typographical Union has decided to stand on the sidelines and by their action give aid and comfort to John Lewis and his lieutenants, then I say the remaining printing trades should get together and make possible a label that represents only those printing trades that are part of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Burke, Papermakers: A point of information, Mr. Chairman. Isn't it true that at one time the American Federation of Labor levied an assessment upon its membership for the benefit of the members of the International Typographical Union?

President Green: Yes, President Burke, that is true. The American Federation of Labor imposed an assessment upon the millions of workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for the express purpose of raising money for the International Typographical Union in order to help it in its hour of distress.

Delegate Martel, Detroit Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman and members of the American Federation of Labor convention—I hope that in the discussion on this subject this afternoon those who are prone to attack the International Typographical Union on account of something which is the outgrowth of a political situation inside the International Typographical Union, created not entirely by the members of the International Typographical Union, will keep in mind in their criticism of the membership of that organization not only its alleged delinquencies, but the services it has rendered to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations over a long period of years.

Something has been said here today of the support given the printers by the demand for the label. That is true, and the printers have always appreciated the kind support they have received from the other trades. But are the other trades in position to charge that the printers withheld their support when they were in need of it? I think the history of the trade union movement of

our country will show that the membership of the International Typographical Union, man for man, local for local, has made as great a contribution to the American Federation of Labor and its institutions over the period of years that it has been in existence, as any other group of individuals in any other branch of the American Federation of Labor.

I realize, Mr. Chairman, that there is nothing this convention can do or will do other than to deny the membership of the International Typographical Union representation in this convention. I appreciate the embarrassing situation that the officers of the American Federation of Labor find themselves in when they are collecting an assessment levied by this organization from every International Union in the American Federation of Labor and the International Typographical Union refuses to pay it—not because they can't afford to pay it, but as a matter of principle so far as those in possession of responsibility are concerned, those who can order the payment of this assessment have refused to order it.

My friends, we find this situation, and it is no secret. This controversy grows out of the activities of the late President of the International Typographical Union, whose voice was often heard on the floor of this convention and who participated in the decisions and policies of this organization. He was succeeded before his death by another who those on the outside felt could bring the International Typographical Union closer to the policies and the activities of the American Federation of Labor. It is unfortunate that it has not had that result. I think the International Typographical Union is wrong in not paying that assessment. It is no longer a question of whether or not it has been levied in accordance with the law. It is no longer a fine, technical question, it is a moral question, and if the other International Unions of the American Federation of Labor can and do pay this assessment for the purposes for which it is levied, I think my fellow printers ought to pay it. And I say to you, my friends, they should not be attacked and criticized for the confusion in their minds that grows out of the internal situation in that organization.

It is unfortunate that the new International

President and those associated with him in the administration, who secured enough votes to elevate themselves to positions of leadership in the International Typographical Union, were unable to convince the membership to carry the vote that would authorize the payment of this assessment. Today, my friends, we find ourselves in this position, that while there is division politically at least in the official family of the International Typographical Union, there is no one in authority to pay this assessment without a referendum vote of the membership.

There are some of us who had hoped that this convention might change its policy by abolishing the assessment and raising the per capita tax, and I am sure the International Typographical Union membership would want to pay its per capita tax on the same basis as any other International Union. Possibly that arrangement might avoid the confusion in the ranks of the International Typographical Union over the question of the legality and the purpose of this assessment. But apparently, from the action taken yesterday, by the continuation of the assessment, the proposed raise in per capita tax is destined to defeat.

There has been some talk of a non-partisan campaign being launched in the International Typographical Union, to invite the membership from both the dominant political parties of that organization to join and submit to the membership for a vote the question of its relationship to the American Federation of Labor. I assure you, my friends, that you need not put the heat on the International Typographical Union or its membership as a means of getting them to assume their obligation as you see it. I am fearful that instead of that bringing the desired results it will bring the opposite results. Those of you who know printers and have come in contact with them know they have a spirit of independence and they resent outside interference, they resent anyone trying to tell them how to do their work or how to run their organization. I think they might be better left to realize what their relationship is through their own processes without having the heat put on them by people outside of the International Typographical Union.

I assure you, my friends, that this ap-

pears to be a temporary lapse, so far as they are concerned. They are sincere in what they are doing, they are doing what they think is right, but it is the confusion that has prevailed and has caused the existing situation, and in time the printers will be able to see through the clouds and work this thing out for themselves here with the rest of the American Federation of Labor.

I was not privileged to hear the remarks of our International President here as read by the reporter, at the request of the acting President of the International Association of Machinists. I doubt whether Mr. Baker intended his remarks to mean that he would be back when the C. I. O. is back. I do not always agree with Claude Baker, but I think he is too good a trade unionist, I think he sincerely wants to be in the American Federation of Labor, whether the C. I. O. is here or not, and I resent any effort to place that implication on his remarks.

I hope, my friends, that the members of this convention will keep these things in mind. There is nothing we can do to stop the adoption of the report of the committee, denying these men a seat here, because as they told our representatives, this is in accord with the law. They are interpreting the law and you are going to back it up. But I ask you, my friends, to be tolerant and considerate of this organization and what it stands for, and you need have no fear that the membership of the International Typographical Union will get so far off the track that you will have to draw a line between them and the rest of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Any further remarks? If not, may the Chair impose upon your patience for just a moment for the purpose of making a few observations? First of all, I want to express my deep regret for the failure of the International Typographical Union to comply with the laws of the American Federation of Labor, just the same as other International Unions now represented in this splendid 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. We ask of them nothing more or nothing less than we ask of all other national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

But for some reason or other, I know not

why, I cannot understand why the membership of the International Typographical Union have taken what seems to be an uncompromising position in their refusal to pay the small assessment legally levied by the highest authority within the American Federation of Labor, as other International Unions have done during the past two years.

We have diligently endeavored to keep the International Typographical Union in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. We have endeavored to meet the difficult situation in a broad, fraternal way. As evidence of that fact, may I refer to the splendid, big, generous action of the Houston convention of the American Federation of Labor. That convention accorded representation to the International Typographical Union when it was in arrears for one year's assessment to the American Federation of Labor. It did that in order to help and assist, so that there would be no bitterness, and we were moved by a genuine desire to do all that was in our power to keep the International Typographical Union in good standing with the American Federation of Labor.

Now a year has rolled by, it has gone, and we are officially advised by the representatives of the International Typographical Union that representation in conventions of the American Federation of Labor must not depend upon the payment of the assessment due the American Federation of Labor. Who, then, has made it impossible for these delegates to be seated in this convention? Surely not the American Federation of Labor.

I earnestly hope and trust that in due course of time sound, good judgment will prevail in the International Typographical Union; that that splendid organization which has been affiliated with us for so many years will measure up to its responsibilities and to the high standard which we have set for it, and that it will generously pay the assessment due to the American Federation of Labor, come back home and take its place in the family of labor. But until that is done we are prohibited by our law, according to the delegates from the International Typographical Union representation in this convention.

I can now better answer the question asked by Vice-President Tobin just a while

ago, because I have looked up the law, and I will read the two sections covering the point raised by Vice-President Tobin. This will be my answer to his inquiry. I read from Section 2 of Article X:

"Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided in Article XII, Sections 1 and 2, have been paid in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention."

Would the delegates representing the national or International Unions in this convention be willing to accord representation to another International Union in this convention when the record shows you have paid every dollar you owe and the other International Union has refused to do so? Then, Section 3:

"Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article."

There is the answer, Brother Tobin, to the inquiry you made.

Delegate Coleman, Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, what would be the status of local unions in Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor, in accordance with this law? Would they take the same standing as when the other organizations were suspended?

President Green: The answer I will make to that, Delegate Coleman, is this: That in my opinion that deals with International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. There are other sections in here that deal with the affiliation of local unions chartered by International Unions, in the Central Bodies and State Federations.

Delegate Coleman: That law would prohibit a local union of the Typographical Union being seated in a Central Labor Union or State Federation of Labor?

President Green: Not that section. There

is another section that deals with that. I am of the opinion that the Executive Council of necessity must act on that.

We would like to have the International Typographical Union remain with us and we shall do all that lies within our power to bring them back.

It is my opinion that we must deal with this organization in a charitable way, in a big way, in a broad way, and endeavor to prevail upon them to see their error through persuasion, through education and through understanding.

This American Federation of Labor always rallies to the support of a National or International Union affiliated with it when it is in great distress. We have made a splendid record in that direction. I recall when the United Mine Workers of America, whose President led the C. I. O. and contributed more than any other individual toward the establishment of this dual rival union, was in great distress. The days of adversity comes to every union. All have passed through such days, and the United Mine Workers passed through such a period, and in their hour of distress they appealed to the only source from which they could expect help. That was the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and they did not appeal in vain. We responded wholeheartedly. Many of the members of our unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor made great sacrifice in order to contribute, and in the appeal sent out for financial help for this affiliated union, a union that was then affiliated with us, we contributed out of the small earnings of the American Federation of Labor in their hour of distress, more than three-quarters of a million dollars.

We did the same thing when the International Typographical Union was in distress. That is the law of the Federation. Every man and woman associated with it is moved by the influence of that law, to rally to the support of a fellow member in distress. We are anxious to do it and willing to do it. Our Central bodies and our State Federations of Labor in every city have rendered service of the highest order to the membership of the International Typographical Union. Our national unions all publish their official magazines, and every one of them demand that these magazines shall be printed in shops

where members of the International Typographical Union are employed, and through that process we make a distinct contribution toward the promotion of the common welfare of the membership of the International Typographical Union.

I recall when our Chicago Federation of Labor mobilized its entire strength and supported the International Typographical Union when it had that tremendous fight with that notorious printing company, the Donnelley Printing Company in Chicago, and when a great public service corporation gave that company the contract to print its booklet containing the names and addresses of the subscribers, the Chicago Federation of Labor launched a court attack and carried it to the Supreme Court of the United States, and as a result of that suit, instituted and sponsored by the Chicago Federation of Labor, that public service corporation was compelled to rebate to its subscribers in Illinois many millions of dollar. That was the attack made by the Chicago Federation of Labor for the International Typographical Union.

Now, my friends, I am sorry. We want to continue to give that service. Do you think there is any other movement that can give that service to you? Can you get it from any other source? I ask you to answer that question.

We have central bodies in every city. We have State Federations of Labor in every State. We have our national unions functioning. Do you need their help? Well, perhaps some time you will, and we are ready to give it to you, we are ready to help and support you, and all we ask in return is that you do nothing more or nothing less than other unions affiliated with the American Federation. Surely you could not expect us to ask for anything more or less.

This is a sorry day for me. I feel and because I have worked as my strength will permit to build up and maintain this great institution and keep it intact. Our report on our little contribution we asked our National and International Unions to make in order to carry on our organizing campaign is contained in the report of the Executive Council. Does it mean anything to add almost half a million to the membership of the American Federation of Labor in one year? That is what we did last year.

You contributed toward the achievement of that purpose. We ask why every International Union affiliated with us did not do likewise. I am sorry. Nobody will be helped, nobody will be made happy because of this situation except our enemies. They will rejoice. We, and the friends of our movement will be unhappy because a Union that has been affiliated with us from the beginning has allowed its membership to lapse.

We ask you to go back home to your members and tell them the truth, appeal to them and try to persuade them to come back to the American Federation of Labor, to correct the mistake they have made, and in a patient, serviceable way we will help you all we can and bring you back home to the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Ryder, St. Louis Trades and Labor Union: I would not like this convention to feel the entire membership of the International Typographical Union is opposed to levying the assessment. I live in St. Louis and we voted almost two to one to levy this assessment. I would like that to be known as a matter of record.

It does seem almost paradoxical that we find ourselves in this unhappy position today, inasmuch as the records will show that the International Typographical Union was a leading factor in organizing this body. We regret it as much and we are as sad as the officers of the Federation. But we do want you to know as a matter of record that the St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8 voted two to one to levy this assessment.

Vice-President Tobin: I don't like to prolong this discussion, Mr. Chairman, but perhaps as a matter of historical importance to the convention, may I ask if you can give us the amount of money that was raised through the assessment levied by the American Federation of Labor for the International Typographical Union in the eight-hour fight?

President Green: Secretary Morrison advises me that we contributed in excess of \$58,000.00 in that eight-hour fight, for the International Typographical Union.

Vice-President Tobin: What I also had in mind was that there was a clause in the constitution suspending a union which is three months in arrears, the same as the

law which is in existence in nearly all International Constitutions.

I am not directing my remarks to the representatives of the International Typographical Union here as much as I am to the membership of the International Typographical Union who are outside and who will read the proceedings of this convention. I am quite friendly with both factions in the I. T. U. and always have been. I am perhaps more interested in this question than any other delegate outside of the printers themselves and those of the printing trades.

The first lesson that I received in the labor movement came to me through something that happened in Boston. I remember that great apostle of the trade union movement, Frank Foster, a member of Typographical Union No. 13. I knew George Tracy, Tom McCullough and others, and I feel that if their spirits could come to this convention, those men who helped to found this Federation, they would regret the action of the membership—while it is legally the action of the membership, in reality the action of the membership has been caused by certain officers and leaders within the International Typographical Union, who in many instances misinformed the membership as to the real purpose of this assessment.

This is not only serious in so far as this Federation is concerned, but it is also serious because it will reach into every Central Body and state branch throughout the nation chartered by this American Federation of Labor. It disfranchises every representative of a Local Union of the Typographical Union in every Central Body and state branch. There isn't any use of us joking about it. No delegate is entitled to a seat in a Central Body or in a State Branch if his International Union is suspended by this American Federation of Labor. That is the law that has been in force as long as I can remember in this Federation.

The representatives of a suspended International Union are entitled to no consideration or representation whatsoever in a Central Body or State Body. Some of our finest leaders holding office in our Central and State Bodies are members of the International Typographical Union. This is a serious crime that has been committed against this labor movement by men whose personal

feelings caused disagreement on some policies in their own organization, allowing that feeling and that bitterness to reach into the very foundations of this American Federation of Labor.

An old-time printer, a man whom I have known for thirty years, who has held office in a State Federation, prevailed upon one of our local unions the other day to write to me and ask if he could take out membership in our organization. I wrote back that it could not be done under our laws, that he must work at our craft in order to hold membership. If any of these disfranchised members of the American Federation of Labor obtain membership within other unions in order to hold their representation in State Federations and Central Bodies, even if the laws of some International Unions may permit them to hold membership, it is a subterfuge and not an honest membership. It can be done, but it is not the proper way to proceed, it is unreal and deceptive.

Tom Donnelly, representing the Ohio State Federation of Labor, is a printer. Brother Martel is a printer, and they may take membership in some other union, but it does not cover the representation as it should be in the craft in which they were trained and in which they held their membership for many years.

That is what this situation has done, and that is the crime committed by the attitude of these officers in refusing to pay their assessment and comply with the law.

Brother Martel, who represents the Detroit Federation of Labor, said they were in hopes that we might raise the per capita tax to two cents. This is just about as good a time as any to explain that point. Such an excuse is what I call a very poor reason for evading or not paying the assessment. There is a substantial difference between a per capita tax and an assessment. It takes a two-thirds vote of this convention, by roll call, if there is any doubt, to change the constitution and increase the per capita tax. A majority vote can authorize the levying of an assessment or can remove an assessment.

I am giving away no secrets when I say that I don't believe you can change the per capita tax by a two-thirds vote in this convention, because there are many organizations now that are paying their tax and

finding it rather difficult; they are paying this assessment to comply with the law. I know from my knowledge of the Federation that we could not change to an increase in the tax. I also know the organization I represent would not feel like voting in favor of raising this per capita tax from one to two cents, but we have voted to continue this assessment.

I am in hopes that some day in this Federation this assessment may be lifted from the shoulders of the International Unions. I do not expect this assessment to go on indefinitely. I hope the time will come when we will be relieved of it. The International Union I represent has a very low tax or revenue. We cannot raise our tax between our conventions. We cannot levy an assessment on our membership. We have no power to levy an assessment. We have never levied one assessment. We paid into this Federation of Labor last year, \$84,000.00 in tax and assessments, not speaking of the tax paid by our local unions to central bodies and state bodies. Of that amount, \$42,000.00 was the assessment. We are not anxious to throw our money away, but we believe this assessment should be paid by us.

The International Typographical Union has a per capita tax four times as large as ours. Their membership is about one-third or perhaps one-fourth as large as ours, and if we could afford to pay that tax because we believed it was necessary to defend this Federation, not to destroy other unions, but to defend this Federation, I don't know why the International Typographical Union should not have done so, and I repeat that the membership of the International Typographical Union would have paid the assessment if the matter had been placed before them as I am trying to place it before this convention for the record, and for the membership of the International Typographical Union.

I merely bring out these facts to show the difference between the per capita tax and the assessment. Isn't it rather extreme, isn't it willful evasion—(I won't say criminal, but I feel like saying it)—that they will say, "We will pay the one-cent tax but we won't pay the one-cent assessment." In other words, we will pay this two cents a month if you make it a tax, but we will not pay the two

cents if you make a one-cent tax and one-cent assessment. To my mind that is about the closest shaving of hairs that I have ever heard of in the history of this convention.

I wanted to make these few explanations, not in bitterness against the men who happen to be here, because I know them well, I meet them in Indianapolis quite often. But I am making it again in the hope that they will realize what they are doing. I repeat they are going to disturb every Central Body in this country, and every State Federation of Labor—and for what purpose? For the purpose of hanging on to their own individual opinions; that is, they want to differ with us not in principle, but because it is their idea that they are right and not the majority in the convention.

I am of the opinion, Mr. Chairman, that some of the expressions made in this convention on this subject should be embodied in a circular, and if the International Typographical Union will kindly consent to give us a list of their membership, we will try to inform them of the real facts, the real reasons, why this assessment was levied and why it should be paid.

President Green: Are there any further remarks? If there are no further remarks, all those who favor the adoption of the committee's report will please say "aye." Those opposed will say "no."

The motion is unanimously carried, and it is so ordered.

Cardinal Mundelein

Delegate Thomas J. Burke, Building Service Employees: Mr. Chairman, the people of our nation and especially the people of Chicago have suffered a great loss in the passing of George Cardinal Mundelein, the Archbishop of Chicago. He was a wonderful man, a great leader, and labor's friend always, and I ask that the President be directed to send a telegram of condolence expressing the sympathy of this convention in the passing away of Cardinal Mundelein.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chairman will carry out the wishes of the convention promptly.

Tribute to Deceased Members

President Green: It seems most fitting and appropriate for us to pay our tribute of respect to the memory of the representatives of organized labor, officers of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who passed away during the present year. You all recall that we pay this tribute at each convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Since we have a fine representation here at this moment, I am going to ask Secretary Morrison to read the list of the names of those who have passed away during the past year, so far as we know, and then we will add to this list any whose names are not included and pay a silent tribute to their memory.

Secretary Morrison read the following list:

List of Labor Officials and Representatives Deceased Since the 1938 Convention

Clay McKenzie, Former Secretary of Knoxville Central Labor Union and Editor of the Knoxville Labor News. Oct. 31, 1938.

William E. Bryan, Former President of the United Leather Workers International Union. November 21, 1938.

John J. Hynes, President of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association for 25 years; also Vice-President of the Metal Trades Department, Railroad Employees Department and Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, November 30, 1938.

Max Dyer, Former Recording Secretary and Business Manager of the Central Labor Union of Kansas City, Missouri, December 6, 1938.

I. W. Haskins, Executive Board Member, The United Garment Workers Union of America. December 20, 1938.

James Hatch, Former President, Upholsterers International Union, also President of old New York Building Trades Council. December 21, 1938.

E. G. Hall, Former President Minnesota State Federation of Labor and Vice-President of the Cigarmakers International Union. December 28, 1938.

Matthew Murray, International Vice-President, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electrical Railway Employees of America. January 6, 1939.

A. F. Schmid, Retired Secretary-Treasurer of Local Union No. 44, Upholsterers International Union. January 7, 1939.

O. F. Thum, Former President Colorado State Federation of Labor, and co-founder of the Pueblo Courier and the Colorado Labor Advocate. January 10, 1939.

E. A. Torres, One of the founders and General Secretary of the Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico, and established and published first labor paper in Puerto Rico. February 23, 1939.

George J. Schneider, Former Vice-President International Brotherhood of Papermakers for 33 years, official of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and Member of Congress. March 12, 1939.

John J. Stretch, President of Local Union No. 21, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, Chicago, Illinois. March 29, 1939.

Frank Farrington, Formerly member United Mine Workers of America, and General Organizer American Federation of Labor. March 30, 1939.

J. W. Hixson, Organizer of Ohio State Trades and Labor Assembly in 1884, and charter member of Theatrical Stage Employes Union No. 155. April 1, 1939.

Budd L. McKillips, Member International Association of Machinists and representative of the Labor News. April 6, 1939.

J. J. Forrester, Former President Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Member of President Wilson's First Industrial Conference, member U. S. Railroad Labor Board, and fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. May 1, 1939.

John E. Curtin, Former Secretary, Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union. May 6, 1939.

Ora Casey, Official of the St. Louis Street Car and Bus Employes Union. May 27, 1939.

A. M. Hughes, Vice-President of the North Carolina State Federation of Labor, member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. July 2, 1939.

Robert Hesketh, Secretary-Treasurer, Hotel and Restaurant Employes International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America. July 3, 1939.

Joseph A. McInerney, President of the Building and Construction Trades Department, American Federation of Labor; former President International Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, and former President of the New York Building Trades Council. July 10, 1939.

Charles D. Keaveney, Vice-President International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. July 13, 1939.

William W. McFadden, Former President of Dayton, Ohio, Firefighters Union. August 8, 1939.

John M. O'Hanlon, Secretary-Treasurer and Legislative Chairman New York State Federation of Labor, Member International Typographical Union Local No. 52, Editor and legislative correspondent for The Legislative Labor News. September 1, 1939.

Timothy A. Hill, Secretary-Treasurer of Local No. 9, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers. September 2, 1939.

George T. Sanderson, District Organizer for the American Federation of Labor. September 6, 1939.

W. J. McCain, Secretary, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers International Association. September 8, 1939.

Andrew J. Kennedy, President Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada. October, 1939.

John P. O'Flaherty, Vice-President, International Association of Fire Fighters.

A. F. Wesslyn, Vice-President, International Association of Fire Fighters.

Maurice LaBelle, First Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, and delegate to many conventions of the American Federation of Labor. August 4, 1939.

Louis Driber, Third Vice-President, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

James Casey, Member International Executive Council, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. July 13, 1939.

Charles Reed, Assistant to International President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. August 9, 1939.

George H. Hopkins, President, Ohio Firefighters and President of Central Labor Union, Canton, Ohio.

Victor S. Purdy, Past President, Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.

W. A. Curran, Former Business Representative, Chicago Plumbers' Union No. 130.

James W. Garvin, Former Business Representative, Chicago Plumbers' Union No. 130.

Charles Anderson, Pittsburgh, Pa., delegate from United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters for twenty years.

Joseph S. Thompson, Member of State Federation of Labor Executive Board, Oklahoma State Federation, and Past President, Oklahoma City Trades Council.

Pat Drea, Past President, Plasterers' Union, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Henry W. Baisse, Legislative Agent, Cleveland Federation of Labor and member of International Typographical Union. February 5, 1939.

James F. Monger, Chicago, Illinois, former National Treasurer, National Association of Letter Carriers.

Charles Ingalls, Oswego, N. Y., former Member of Executive Board, National Association of Letter Carriers.

At the conclusion of the reading of the list the audience arose and remained standing in silence for a brief period.

Announcements

Delegate Milliman, Maintenance of Way Employees: This evening at 7:30 o'clock in this hall there will be a meeting of the League for Human Rights, Freedom and Democracy. The speakers will be William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor; Gerhard Seger, Alexander Kerensky, former Premier of Russia, and Louis Marones, Secretary of Labor in the Cabinet of former President Calles, of Mexico, now Secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

I have been requested by the committee to say to you that every delegate that is interested in the preservation of his liberty and the preservation of his trade union should attend this meeting tonight. Who amongst us here has any idea of what the truth is as far as conditions are on the other side of the water? It has been said that "It can't happen here." We heard that when we went into the previous war. We also know something about the curtailment of liberty when we recall the prohibition law. Such laws are child's play compared with what we may be confronted with in this country.

The meeting tonight may be a historic meeting, and one of the most important meetings that members of organized labor will be called upon to attend.

President Green: As I announced before, the fraternal delegates will address the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention tomorrow.

The Commander of the American Legion will also address the convention tomorrow. I will appoint a reception committee for the Commander to meet him and escort him to the hall. I will appoint President Berry of the Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; Brother Gust Anderson, of Portland, and Delegate Birthright, President of the Barbers' International Union, on that committee.

Furthermore, let me announce for the information of the delegates and officers to this convention that these impressive and beautiful signs that are installed here were installed by Local No. 3, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, of New York City. That is their contribution to the campaign for the shorter work day and the shorter work week.

Secretary Morrison: The Allied Council of Federal Employees wishes to announce a dinner dance to be held in this Hall of Mirrors

Saturday night at 6:30 in honor of William Green.

President Green: The Chair wishes to substitute the name of Delegate J. A. Wilson, of the Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, for that of President Berry, on the committee of reception for the Commander of the American Legion.

At 5:15 o'clock p. m., the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Friday, October 6.

Fifth Day—Friday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 6, 1939.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 a. m.

ABSENTEES:

Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordges, A. S.; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, R. J.; Burr, R. M.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Demko, Frances; Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Gross, J. E.; Hansen, H. L.; Heymanns, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly Tom; Kelly, John F.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Powers, Jos.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Clyde S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

INVOCATION

Rev. A. B. Rich
Avondale Presbyterian Church

Eternal God, from Whom we come, to Whom we belong and to Whom our service is due—we worship Thee because Thou art very good. We cannot by wishing find Thee out. Before ever Thou hadst created the heavens and the earth, from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art great. As the wind doth blow all around the world yet fans our cheeks, yet so art Thou. Help each one of us in the silence of his own heart to say, "Oh, God! Thou art my God."

Grant Thy blessing upon the American Federation of Labor here in session assembled, guide their deliberations, help all of them, leaders and members, to realize that in these trying times their responsibility is not only to labor but to all America. Make us certain that labor and capital are not enemies, but partners in the glorious enterprise of building a better world. Give us a vision of a world so ordered that each man may love his neighbor, whether that neighbor be black or white, brown or yellow, whether he be German or American, whether he lives near you or across the world. Give us a world where peace on earth, good will to men may come true. Amen.

Committee to Escort Senator Taft

President Green: An invitation was extended to Senator Robert A. Taft to address our convention. He accepted, and has planned

to come and speak to the convention today. I cannot tell at the moment just what time he will arrive or just what hour he will speak. His home is in Cincinnati, as you know. I want to appoint a committee to serve as a reception committee and to escort him to the hall when he arrives. I will appoint President Lindelof, Painters and Decorators Union; President Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers Union; and Brother Chauncey Weaver, of the Musicians Union, to act as a reception committee to Senator Taft.

Secretary Morrison read letters and telegrams from the following associations and individuals, inviting the Federation to hold its 1940 convention in New Orleans, Louisiana:

El Lysle Schaffenburg, President, New Orleans Hotel Association; Earl K. Long, Governor of Louisiana; Robert F. Maestri, Mayor of New Orleans; C. G. Staubitz, President, New Orleans Association of Commerce; J. J. O'Leary, President, Louisiana Hotel Association, and Ed. P. Fletcher, President, New Orleans Restaurant Men's Association.

Secretary Morrison also read the following telegram:

Hon. William Green, President
The American Federation of Labor Delegates
Assembled at the 59th Annual Convention,
Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.

In order to successfully continue the organization of warehouse employees and in order to consolidate the gratifying gains thus far accomplished, certain warehouse federal labor unions have respectfully submitted to the proper bodies at this convention several resolutions asking for the creation of an international union for warehouse employees. These resolutions were submitted in good faith, and were motivated solely by a sincere and honest desire to achieve the birth of an international union which would bring credit to our parent, The American Federation of Labor, and to our brothers within this great household.

In furtherance of our cherished desires, as expressed in the resolutions submitted, we have proceeded with open minds. We have urged our cause with a logical and sensible presentation of existing facts and arguments. We have invited and appreciated the advice of our elders. We have at all times been anxious to chart our course within the limits of our democratic constitution and precedents established.

And, today, as evidence of our good faith

and of our desire to achieve our cherished ambition through the proper procedure, we are withdrawing from this convention the resolutions submitted. In their place, we are to make application for an international charter for warehouse employes. Our elders advise us that the submission of an application for an international charter for warehouse employes is the proper initial step. This application for an international charter will afford us, and all other interested parties, the fair opportunity to present the full facts of the case at hearings, which under the proper proceedings, are held by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, during the period of time between this convention and the next one convenes.

We shall welcome these hearings to be held. We shall await the notice of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to appear before them on this matter. We are confident that a full opportunity to state our cause will be afforded. We have implicit faith in the democratic ideals and procedure of The American Federation of Labor.

Let us state, therefore, in conclusion, that this action taken by us is one of good faith and complete confidence in fairness of our cause. We wish to do only that which is right. And we thank God that under the democratic structure of The American Federation of Labor, our plea can and will be heard and determined with justice to all.

WAREHOUSE UNION 18571,
Philadelphia.
GROCERY UNION 20541,
Pittsburgh.
FEDERAL LABOR UNION 20407,
Pittsburgh.
WAREHOUSE UNION 21102,
Baltimore.
WAREHOUSE UNION 21104,
Washington.
WAREHOUSE UNION 20558,
Richmond.
WAREHOUSE UNION 20542,
Cincinnati.
WAREHOUSE UNION 21505,
Cincinnati.
WAREHOUSE UNION 21958,
Cincinnati.
GROCERY SUPPLIES UNION 20658,
Chicago.
MERCHANDISE UNION 20475,
Chicago.
HARDWARE UNION 20549,
Chicago.
WAREHOUSE UNION 19897,
Jersey City.

President Green: Are there any objections to the request contained in this message being granted? Hearing none, the request is granted, and the representatives of the Federal Labor Unions are invited to meet with the Executive Council when we hold a session immediately following the adjournment of this convention.

Report of Committee on Organization

Chairman Duffy: The committee has one resolution to report on to this convention. This is all we have except the section of the Executive Council's report with reference to a charter for Cement Workers which is before the Committee on Executive Council's Report. When they report we can make our report.

Delegate Ozanic, Secretary of the Committee, read the following resolution:

Organization of Workers in Furniture Industry

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the General Executive Council be directed to make a study and give careful consideration to the problems of the workers in the furniture industry and endeavor to work out a plan to eliminate conflicting jurisdictions of various unions with a view to effecting a thorough organization of the workers in this industry, so that better and more uniform conditions may be established.

Your committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for further study and consideration along the lines suggested.

Secretary Ozanic moved the adoption of the recommendation of the committee. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

President Green: I esteem it a privilege and a pleasure to present to you the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. He comes to us direct from a convention, a wonderful convention, held by the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress in London, Ontario. We are always happy to welcome and receive the fraternal delegates from the Dominion of Canada. There is such a warm, friendly, cooperative relationship established between the people of Canada and the people of the United States, and particularly between the labor movement of Canada and our great American Federation of Labor, as to make it a distinct pleasure for us to receive and listen to an address from our fraternal delegate from Canada. He is a member of an international union chartered by and in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. He has been long affiliated with them, a distinguished member of that

organization, the Cigar Makers International Union, the union to which my distinguished predecessor, Samuel Gompers, belonged.

I now take pleasure in presenting Fraternal Delegate D. W. Kennedy, Third Vice President of the Cigar Makers International Union of America, from Toronto, Canada.

D. W. KENNEDY

Fraternal Delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, to American Federation of Labor Convention

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 6, 1939.

President Green, officers of the Executive Council, delegates to the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, 1939, honored guests and visitors—yes, and friends: Before beginning a resume of some of the more important happenings of the last convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, I desire to just make a little preliminary statement. It so happened that this year the Congress in Canada held their convention two weeks later than usual, and therefore I make that explanation so that some of my friends will understand just why I was not here at the opening on Monday.

I feel it is beyond my power to express the high honor conferred upon me, in being chosen as the Fraternal Delegate of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, to convey the loyal and heartfelt greetings of the International Trade Union Movement in Canada, to this convention of the American Federation of Labor, the father and outstanding champion of the bona fide International Trade Union Organization, on the North American Continent.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is also the sincere advocate of international trade unionism, and may that mutual spirit of co-operation and understanding be forever continued on both sides of the imaginary boundary line. The crusade to improve the living standards of the workers is not finished. We must ever keep in mind the last words of that grand apostle of justice—the late Samuel Gompers—quote, "Say to them that as I kept the faith I expect they will keep the faith. They must carry on."

The Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was held in the Masonic Temple, London, Ontario, September 25th to 30th.

Addresses were delivered by President R. Hessel of Trades and Labor Council; Mayor Allan Johnston, R. A. Rigg, representing the Federal Minister of Labor, and Hon. N. O. Hipel, Ontario Minister of Labor.

Robert J. Tallon, Secretary-Treasurer of the Congress, acted as President, owing to

the regrettable illness of President P. M. Draper, who informed the convention of his retirement from office, upon the advice of his physician.

The Credentials Committee reported 432 delegates from the Atlantic to the Pacific, including Brother E. L. Whentley, First Vice President of the Brotherhood of Operative Potters, as Fraternal Delegate from American Federation of Labor. Due to the outbreak of war, the fraternal delegate from the British Trade Union Congress, Mr. George Hicks, M. P., and General Secretary of the Amalgamated Building Trade Workers, cancelled his visit to Canada, so that his services may be utilized for the benefit of his native land.

Some of the more important matters considered by the Congress are as follows: Following the Niagara Falls Convention in 1938, Executive Council, in the early part of 1939, suspended from affiliation the seven C. I. O. organizations operating in Canada, due to the Pittsburgh, Pa., convention having definitely established a dual organization to the American Federation of Labor.

The suspended organizations were: United Automobile Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Fur Workers, International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, United Rubber Workers, Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

At the London Convention of the Congress, 347 resolutions were submitted, of which 44 advocated what was termed "Trade Union Unity"—in other words, urging the reinstatement of the suspended C. I. O. organizations.

A substitute resolution was presented by the Resolutions Committee, which reads as follows: "Your Resolutions Committee having been instructed by the convention to consider and report on that section of the Officers' Report appearing on Pages 29, 30 and 31, and dealing with the suspension of the C. I. O. Unions and at the same time giving consideration to Resolutions Nos. 27 to 70, dealing with trade union unity, beg to report as follows:

"We have carefully read and considered the Officers' Report dealing with this matter, the circumstances which faced your executive at the latter part of 1938 demanded the suspension of the C. I. O. Unions in order to retain in membership during 1939 those organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which have in the past, and do now, represent the vast majority of the organized workers in this Dominion and whose affiliation has over a long number of years assisted to build and give influence and prestige to this Congress."

We find that in suspending the C. I. O. Unions the Executive Council was within its rights and in full accord with the resolutions of the convention of last year, which stated: "That action taken shall be on terms acceptable to International Trade Unions and thus avoiding any disregard for or defiance of their laws and policies." This is corroborated by the fact that closely following

our last convention the Committee for Industrial Organization held a meeting at Pittsburgh, Pa., which they themselves have designated as the first convention of the Congress of Industrial Organization, and which action resulted in them becoming definitely dual to the American Federation of Labor, also changing the relationship with this Congress as it existed at our last convention.

To maintain the strength and authority of our Congress it is essential and necessary that the action of the Executive be confirmed and that a roll call vote to reach a decision on this issue be now taken in accordance with provisions in Section 7, Article III of the constitution.

The resolution submitted shows a desire that every effort should be continued to assist in whatever development shall take place that would lead to reuniting the forces of organized labor in this Dominion, and in concurrence with this view we recommend that the incoming Executive assist wherever possible and hold themselves in readiness to do their utmost to heal the breach so that labor can continue to grow in solidarity and strength within the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

The foregoing resolution to expel was adopted by 232 yeas and 95 nays.

The constitution of the Congress was also amended, to provide that organizations expelled from the A. F. of L. would automatically be suspended from membership in the Congress. It was also provided the same rule will apply to membership in Trades and Labor Councils and Provincial Federations of Labor chartered direct by the Congress.

Another important resolution adopted by the Congress related to Foreign Relations, with only sixteen dissenting votes. Resolution as follows:

"Whereas, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, a year ago, at its Niagara Falls Convention, declared: 'We are meeting with the black clouds of war overhanging Europe, threatening to engulf the world, devastating cities and towns, raining bombs and slaughtering women and children;' and whereas, this Congress further declared for the need and necessity to render help to all democratic countries whose independence and integrity were being challenged, and at that time urged upon our Government to co-operate with other peace-loving countries of the world in whatever steps are deemed essential to destroy the reign of terror imposed by Nazi and Fascist dictators, and thus remove the menace of international lawlessness; and whereas, we have in the past commended our brothers in Britain and France for their stand in defense of those nations who have been singled out for attack and destruction by dictatorship powers, assuring them that should the time ever come when, through their action in defence of democracy and the rights of the workers in any land, they might be in need of our assistance and help, that we would rise to their defence; and whereas, in all Fascist and Nazi nations the free trade union movement

has been outlawed, its property and funds confiscated, its leaders persecuted, in many cases ruthlessly murdered, thousands of its most active members are now in prison or languishing in Nazi concentration camps where dreadful terrorism is being used to break down their health and spirit, similar treatment being meted to democratic political organizations and institutions, thus destroying not only the trade union movement, but also the medium through which the common people in any of these countries could utilize constitutional and orderly methods to bring about improvement or changes in their social and economic structure of democracy; and whereas, the trade union movement has supported all conciliatory efforts that have been made to preserve peace, which unfortunately have failed, and it has become necessary to resort to arms in order to prevent the aggressive action of Germany and her allies from destroying the independence of Poland and other nations where democratic government still exists.

"Therefore, be it resolved, that this 55th Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada reiterates its stand of former years and pledges its unwavering support of our membership to the Canadian and British Governments to the end that the threat of aggression may be removed for all time and that democratic privileges, institutions and rights may be restored to the people now suffering under the heel of dictatorship; and be it further resolved, in order that the full resources of the country may be utilized for the achievement of victory, it is essential that profiteering and greed must be eliminated in the production of the sinews of war, and the supply and distribution of home requirements; to this end we urge that the machinery of production and the wealth of the nation be mobilized to serve the country's interest instead of those of individuals and corporations, so that there will be an equitable contribution on the part of capital, comparable to that of the sacrifice of human life."

Fraternal greetings from the American Federation of Labor were conveyed by E. L. Wheatley, of the Brotherhood of Operative Potters; From the International Labor Organization at Geneva, by James Wilson, and from the Dominion Legislative Board of the Railway Transportation Brotherhoods by William L. Best.

By the unanimous vote of the convention, P. M. Draper, of Ottawa, was elected honorary president for life.

Officers elected were: President, Tom Moore (Carpenters and Joiners), of Ottawa; Secretary-Treasurer, Robert J. Tallon (Machinists), of Calgary, Alta.; Vice Presidents, P. R. Bengough (Machinists), of Vancouver; James Whitebone (Motion Picture Operators), of St. John, N. B., and Arthur D'Aoust (Paper Makers), of Hull, Quebec. Fraternal Delegates: To British Trades Union Congress, Frank H. Hall, (Railway and Steamship Clerks) Montreal; to the American Federation of Labor, D. W. Kennedy (International Cigarmakers) of Toronto.

Vancouver, B. C., was selected as the next convention city.

In closing, Mr. President, I just wish to make a few remarks. It is not necessary, of course, to most of the delegates at least, to mention the Cigar Makers International Union of America. We are struggling along under adverse conditions at the present moment. Many, many years ago we were on top of the heap. I have continued in that organization, and I consider it a grand honor, for the last 46 years, and I hope that when my time comes those that are left behind me in the family will be able to say that "Dad carried his card right to the end."

You will note in this resume that I have just read that it was the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, so you see that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is by no means a young child. Their first convention was held in 1884, just a little later, than the real birth of the American Federation of Labor. And we take pride in our Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. We have our troubles sometimes, but now we are in a better position than we have been for many years, and we will continue to remain in that position in collaboration with the American Federation of Labor. I thank you.

President Green: I thank Brother Kennedy, in your behalf, for his visit to this convention and for the most interesting address which he delivered. I shall ask him to carry back to Canada the warm fraternal greetings of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention and our pledge of cooperation and support in full to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We appreciate your presence. We are happy to listen to your address, and we hope you will have a very pleasant visit with us all during your stay in this city.

I am now happy to present to you the fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. His visit this year is the more appreciated by the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention, because he made the trip in the face of danger to himself. We are grateful to him because he was willing to take such a risk in order to bring to this convention a message of greeting from our colleagues across the sea. We have maintained this custom of exchanging delegates with the British Trades Union Congress almost from the formation of the American Federation of Labor, with unbroken regularity, and as a result of the exchange of fraternal delegates between the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor, the ties of friendship, fraternity, good will and brotherhood have been strengthened.

We here in America entertain the deepest and most sympathetic and friendly interest in the development of the economic, social and industrial welfare of our brothers across the sea. There is a common bond of interest, an indestructible bond of interest, and in the present difficulties in which our fellow workers in Great Britain are engaged they may rely upon our sympathy to the fullest at all times and under all circumstances.

I know you will be pleased to listen to the message which Brother Elvin has brought to us. I know he will deliver a most instructive and inspiring address. I have the pleasure of presenting to you now the fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, Herbert H. Elvin, who is the General Secretary of the National Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers. He is also an Ex-President and now Vice-Chairman of the British Trades Union Congress. He has been honored by his brothers in Great Britain. He honors us now by his visit to this convention. I esteem it a privilege and a pleasure to present to you this morning Fraternal Delegate Elvin.

MR. HERBERT H. ELVIN (Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress.)

It is with the greatest pleasure that I bring to you all, representing the American Federation of Labor, the warmest greetings of the British Trades Union Congress, and best wishes for your future progress and success.

I have chosen as the title for my fraternal address what I understand is the threefold slogan of America: liberty, democracy, union. Coupled with this is the idea that as time brings its changes in a forward outlook, words embrace a new and enlarged meaning.

Take these three words as an illustration: Liberty, democracy, union. Before 1914 we linked up democracy and government as meaning electoral determination; liberty in a casual way as demonstrating increased license; and union typical merely of organized effort for individual gain.

There is no doubt that in our country the Great War brought about an important change in outlook, which is having its effect upon industrial relationships. Prior to the war the general attitude of the employer was that his business was his own, which could be managed without outside interference. The worker demanded merely increased wages. Today in the mind of the worker there is a spirit of equality. There is no inferiority complex on the part of the enlightened worker. The new idea of the purpose of industry sprang into being: to earn a living was simply an incident of labor. Men have been put to work

to death, but we have learned to work for life. In other words, that toil was never meant to be a curse, but the means of regeneration: "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou live."

To put it in another way: today ideology is the science or realm of ideals; the ideologist is one who has ideas, but without special significance; the idealist is one who has an ideal and strives after it. The struggles of the future are basically fixed by an attitude of mind. Consequently the attitude of trade unionists is changed from the mainly physical (assistance) to the mainly ethical: that which is concerned with human character and conduct. Democracy today stands for a constructive program embodying liberty and full life.

Again, today democratic idealism has three facets: spiritual, economic and political. The spiritual is the basis, the economic the form, and the political the means. None can rob us of the spiritual outlook. The economic has been frustrated by man. The means have to be employed to secure our rights. Those means are propaganda and research, industrial activity, and legislative effort. Democracy connotes today a great sacrifice and self-discipline on the part of each unit, and internationally of each community.

A Long Tradition

Present-day British trade unionism has a long tradition behind it. We have our Tolpuddle Martyrs of over a hundred years ago, rank and file members of our trade unions. You, too, have your heroes and heroines who have been prepared to make sacrifices for the common cause.

In this there is a common link between the Old World and the New:

"Hereditary bondsmen know well that
Who would be free themselves must
strike the blow."

We are proud of our history. Our forbears passed down to us a fine spirit. They faced unscrupulous opposition with courage, buoyed up with high ideals, and by defying hatred with steadfastness to principle they struck a blow for freedom. The past produced its heroes, the present its plodders; not as those who toil laboriously, but as those who study to make steady and sure progress. It is important to realize in this the special characteristic of the British Trades Union Congress. It is not a single entity, but a federation of trade unions. For it to assume powers which belong to self-governing organizations would be to court disaster, and the story of the past few years has shown that the march of events prevails upon its autonomous bodies voluntarily to yield power to the General Council in the interest of the movement and the workers as a whole. Herein lies the real strength of the British Trades Union Congress. Here is revolution in a silent, effective and lasting form.

In this connection it is interesting to note another change which has taken place in the activities of the Congress. At the Congress of 1898 a strong protest was raised against political questions being introduced into Con-

gress. Said the protester: "They should aim at benefiting the conditions of the working men, their labor and their wages, and not make themselves a stalking horse for political topics." The political topic was the South African War. We have travelled far since then. Today we accept the fact that "politics" is the science of the welfare of the people, and anything which affects the interests of the workers demands the attention of Congress. Consequently, since last September we have not ceased in taking an active part in protesting against the rape of Abyssinia, the piratical attack by Japan upon China, and the barbarities perpetrated by Mussolini and Hitler upon loyalist Spain.

Further, the British Trades Union Congress is building for the future. Colonial issues are of importance to British workers. There are problems of native and colored labor. There is the question of emigration. Through its relatively newly-established Colonial Advisory Committee (consisting of experts in Colonial affairs) we hope to assist our colored comrades in trade union organization and deal effectively wherever possible with the vexed question of peopling other suitable parts of the British Empire. Sir Walter Citrine, our General Secretary, played a prominent part in the work of the Royal Commission appointed last year by the British Government to inquire into the working conditions and life of the workers in the West Indies.

To us, therefore, democracy, liberty and cooperation today make a tremendous appeal. Behind our material demands there lies an ethical ideal. The right to work connotes the right to live in the fullest sense. Social issues become trade-union concepts, because all social evils spring from industrial inequalities. A classless society can only spring from industrial equality expressed in the true status of the right to equal participation in the produce of industry.

The New Trade Union Leader

With the growth of this larger conception, the task of the trade union official is more varied and enlarged in influence.

Today with us the really successful trade union official relies more upon reason than the bludgeon to secure for his people the benefits of organization. He has had to become an organizer, negotiator, lawyer, and statesman, all in one.

In the task of training such officials the British Trades Union Congress is playing its part. Through its Education Committee besides being connected with the Workers' Educational Association, The National Council of Labor Colleges, two Adult Educational Institutions; it provides industrial summer schools for workers, and young officials; by means of scholarships it sends promising young men and women trade unionists to Ruskin, the working class residential college in Oxford (founded by an American admirer of Ruskin), who compete successfully with the ordinary undergraduates in the Economic Diploma Examinations; it provides contacts with workers abroad through International

Schools; it sends young workers every year to the International Labor Organization at Geneva to study international problems. We have also our links with the great Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.

Is it surprising, therefore, that in Great Britain, with this enlarged vision and practice, trade unions are now recognized as an integral part of the state organism; that it is consulted increasingly both by the Government and employers on industrial and social problems; and that it has 'a representatives on Government Departmental Committees and Royal Commissions?

So the great words, liberty, democracy and union, take on a new meaning with us. We aim for liberty, the right to develop our personality to the full; for democracy, that security which will permit us to work out our own salvation in a planned and common equality; for union, by which all people will work together for the realization of that society which shall have for its foundations, love, truth and justice.

Significant illustration of the change which has taken place is the fact that in the field of law in our country the term of master and servant has given way to one of employer and employed. The workman has emerged, and is still emerging, into the still greater stature of partner in industry.

Science and Trade Unionism

It is a trite saying that knowledge is light and power. The great urge among modern trade unionism in Great Britain is to know. And in handling the new great and important tasks which have come to us in the course of our development, we have been made more generally conscious that there is a vast reservoir of knowledge at our disposal to solve modern industrial, economic and social problems. We desire to acquire the facts of experience as discovered by the world of science. It is the duty of the scientist to dispense the knowledge he has gained by research or by experiment in the laboratory for the benefit of the community as a whole. I desire to pay a tribute to the British scientists who have readily acknowledged this duty and through their organization, the British Association, are placing at our disposal their vast reservoirs of knowledge. The lines of demarcation regarding the activity of the scientists and that of the British Trades Union Congress are recognized. It is the task of the Trades Union Congress to determine policy and that of the scientist to supply us with the facts, so that from the commencement our policy shall be framed upon a scientific basis.

From what I have said it can be visualized that this new partnership between labor and science is likely to have far-reaching effects upon the future of Great Britain. Take, for example, the question of location of industry. The old non-scientific method of starting and developing industry in any district has led to unnecessary industrial depression and area distress. Planned industrial location with town planning, preceded by research,

can well prove to be the solvent of the unemployment and housing problems, and Britain, indeed becoming in course of time really "a green and pleasant land."

Workers' Leisure

Linked with this important development is another activity of far-reaching consequence, viz., that of workers' leisure. The shorter working week has received a setback owing to recent decisions at Geneva, but that of holidays with pay has gone forward. May I be permitted to say, as one of them, that the British labor advisers at the I. L. O. Conference of 1935 took the most prominent part in the passing of the convention for holidays with pay? This convention brought the question in our country right to the front of practical politics, and, arising from the unanimous report of the Government Department Committee, continued progress has been made, with the result that some 11 million workers in Great Britain now have at least a week's holiday with pay. In 1940 we expect a much bigger advance.

The corollary of this is the provision of holiday facilities for workers. Until a greater improvement in the economic position of trade unionists has taken place, hundreds of working class families will not be able to make the best use of holidays with pay. We are, therefore, giving close consideration to the possibility of securing facilities within the pockets of the ordinary workers to enable them to leave home for the holiday period.

To sum up: the law of life can only be a complete experience of self-fulfilment. To achieve this the day must end when the young will be deprived of their right to develop their personality in school, when workers will be robbed of their right to live, when human beings will be "cribbed, cabined, confined" within a system which prevents them finding themselves.

I hope from what I have told you, you will gain a picture in part of what is taking place in the British Trade Union movement, and a lively idea of the efforts we are making to make our land brighter and better for our people.

World Relationships

Another fateful outcome of 1914-18 is that the fight for human equality is set more than ever in the international arena. At Geneva especially that is revealed in struggles which have taken place for an International Industrial Bill of Rights, as outlined in the guiding principles of the International Labor Organization.

We were glad, with our Continental and South American colleagues, to welcome your affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions. We have learned the lesson of national dependency: "No man, no nation, can live unto themselves alone." This is particularly true of trade unionists. The ramifications of industry and the scope of

economics are world-wide in their influence. We can only work out our industrial and economic emancipation by international co-operation. For this reason I should like to see the phrase "hands across the sea" translated into, "living stones in a new edifice," the edifice to be a real Temple of Labor, but engaged co-operatively in working out the vision of Walt Whitman:

"I dreamed in a dream I saw a city,
invincible to the attacks of the whole
of the rest of the earth.

"I dreamed that was the new city of
Friends.

"Nothing was greater than the quality
of robust love, it led the rest:

"It was seen every hour in the actions
of the men of that city, and in all their
looks and words."

In this connection I would like to make a few suggestions.

Attached to the British trade union and labor movement is the British Workers' Sports Association. It is young in years and is fighting an uphill battle against prejudice, but I mention this to emphasize its motto: "Peace through Sport." We believe that rivalry on the sports field is better than the struggle on the battle field. This means association, knowledge, respect, confidence and good will. With these good components peace is more likely between nations. I should like to see the struggles between Yale and Harvard and the Cambridge and Oxford Universities repeated between the young Trade Unionists of the U. S. A. and Great Britain at our International Workers' Olympiads.

As a Governor of Ruskin College, Oxford, the oldest working class residential college for trade unionists, I have been pressing that it should not only be a national but an international workers' college. We are beginning to get students from European trade union movements, and this year the British Trade Union Congress will be sending to us, in addition to the other annual scholarships it gives, young trade unionists from India and the West Indies. I was interested to notice that the Interdepartmental Committee on Co-operation with the American Republics had recommended to your President that \$40,000 should be set aside every year to provide for 20 post-graduate fellowships for students from American Republics. I should be delighted if, as a result of my visit to your great convention, in the interests of international working-class relationships, arrangements could be made for us to receive regularly every year for either one or two years students from the American Federation of Labor. I am convinced that this would do us all—British, American, European, and Asiatic—much good. The world needs a still closer alliance of British and American democracies.

Your association with us and other trade union centres is invaluable. The totalitarian states have wrought havoc with democratic movements. Their advance has been a blight upon the Garden of Democracy. All that has

meant for the workers freedom of association, physical development through the medium of workers' sports movements, culture, have been ruined. This fact throws additional responsibility upon those of us who remain. At home each country is called upon to develop a powerful united expression of determined men and women for the maintenance of democratic institutions and principles; and abroad, a co-operative influence upon governments in the furtherance and maintenance of democratic ideals. Your continued adhesion to the International Federation of Trade Unions will have an increasing importance in the realization of this two-fold purpose.

There is another link between America and Britain and the world of labor which I believe is going to have profound influence upon world industrial relationships.

We gave you Sam Gompers. The little lad from Whitechapel, in the East End of London, not only played a splendid part in the growth of your great Federation, but you in part—perhaps unconsciously—repaid that deed in sending him to France in 1918-19 to participate in the birth of the International Labor Organization.

By transplanting what I believe is from a clause of the U. S. A. Constitution as the first guiding principle of the I. L. O., he placed on record a vision which if realized will revolutionize the world:

"Labor should not be regarded merely
as a commodity or article of commerce."

This principle equates the dignity of labor in the highest moral sense. It sets the foundation of Labor's International Charter, and declares that industry's prime aim should be as a handmaid to humanity.

This principle follows the preamble to Part XIII of the Versailles Treaty:

"Whereas, conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and the harmony of the world are imperiled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required. . . ."

Place these two together and there immediately come to our minds the words of a great prophet of Israel:

"Nation shall not lift up a sword
against nation, neither shall they learn
war any more. But they shall sit every
man under his vine and under his fig
tree; and none shall make him afraid."

In these three quotations we have a wonderful vision and inspiration: disarmament; the recognition that all workers have a personality and are not mere machines; and their permanent industrial and economic security established.

The I. L. O. stands for the great truth that even if the world secured world disarmament it would not get rid of war. World peace can only be obtained and established upon the basis of universal economic, industrial and social justice. The U. S. A. today has a greater opportunity to work for this

great end than ever it had. I wonder whether she, together with the wholehearted and determined assistance of the great American trade union movement, will lead the world toward the realization of this goal.

It has been said that "modern man is a great divider." It is certainly an extraordinary feature of the 20th century that in the age which has seen the greatest development of collective action (the interest of the individual swallowed up in the greatest good for the greatest number), collective bodies have been used by individuals to drive a wedge between countries and movements; and thus individuals have been motivated by an ideal. In Italy, Germany, are to be found illustrations of what I have said; and can we not find illustrations of the same fact in the working class movements of the various countries of the world?

The Fatalist says that divisions must come. But whilst we retort that "woe be unto him by whom the offense cometh", we should all endeavor to find the unifying force. Just as Paul said to the early Christian church when divisions began, "Keep the unity of the spirit," so we, whilst being tolerant with one another as to methods (instead of magnifying methods into principles as is so often done) must hand our forces for the common ideal of making men economically, politically and socially free.

Your State Senate has done me a great honor. I drafted a message which was signed by other British Trade Union leaders, and sent to the great Moral Rearmament Gathering held on the 4th of June last. In that message I stated:

"Attending the Labor Party Conference now being held at Southport, we rejoice to see how the ideal of moral rearmament is taking hold in the United States. To us, moral rearmament means both changed lives and a conception of society based on the principles underlying Christian teaching. Belief is more than mere expression. Faith means action—to translate the ideal into reality and secure that world peace combined with economic security envisaged by the prophet Micah. We send across the ocean greetings to men and women who, having seen the vision, are prepared to strive for its achievement, and express the hope that there will be such a rising tide as will bring about the establishment of God's kingdom on earth, overwhelming all opposition."

The New European War

Since preparing my address what may possibly be another world war has been started.

Here I must mention a misstatement made yesterday from the platform. A speaker said that the democracies, France and England, were in a jam because thousands were following the paths of Communism and Fascism. This is not true regarding Great Britain. Both Communists and Fascists in my country are alike negligible in numbers and influence.

It is a pity that responsible persons can make statements of this character.

I have referred to the attack upon democracy by Fascism. These ideologies are the antithesis of one another. Force or justice must prevail in human relationships. There must either be lawlessness or the rule of law, the basic principle of which shall be each for all and all for each. The clash between the two was inevitable. It has come.

When war was declared it was considered by the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress whether, under the circumstances, it was desirable to send its delegation to your convention. It was unanimously decided that if ever an occasion had arisen when the custom of sending fraternal delegates to the annual parliament of each great movement should be honored, this was one. It was felt that it was most important that the great movement represented by your convention, and as many as possible outside it should understand clearly, particularly the attitude of the trade union movement in Great Britain to this great crisis. This is why I am here.

During my already short stay with you, I have realized that the decision of our General Council has been more than justified.

I have discovered the keen desire of all kinds of representative opinion in your community to know how the British labor movement stands. I have been informed of their anxiety as to the lack of publicity. I had already sensed this myself from reading your newspapers, and have taken steps to try and get this remedied. I would, however, urge you to remember the great difference between publicity and propaganda. I hope that my country will never descend to the latter, whilst it may improve the form of the first. At the same time you may have greater publicity and a lack of vital information. This I have noticed, too. Your country cannot obtain a true reflex of the position in Great Britain without a clear understanding of the policy of our labor and trade union movement. In this respect your newspapers can render first class service to the cause of democracy by publishing what I may have to say and I hope that I will be able to enlighten your great movement through you, its delegates, of our position. At this juncture certain factors need to be emphasized.

Firstly, the British trade union movement is behind the British Government because the latter has changed its policy.

The great war of 1914 to 1918 made a profound impression upon Great Britain, particularly in two directions:

(a) A school of thought was developed that in future we should stand aloof from future European entanglements. Great Britain was outside of Europe, and if European countries cared to destroy one another, that was their business.

The leading exponent of this school was Mr. Chamberlain the Prime Minister, and in fairness to him it must be said that he was

sincere in his deliberate policy to keep Great Britain out of any European war. But the way to disaster is often paved with good intentions.

The object of this school was to destroy the effectiveness of the League Covenant. It has succeeded. The method adopted was either not to oppose, or to appease, the aggressor. This has failed. We warned the Prime Minister that he might postpone but that he could not prevent war by attempting the impossible. Bullies are never appeased.

(b) This school of thought was countered by another policy. The great war revealed that no nation, however great, could live unto herself. We are members one of another. An ideal state of society cannot be secured by a materialistic conception of life. Co-operation must be the law of life, not individualism.

The British trade union movement has always been the advocate of this principle. Hence it has wholeheartedly supported the League Covenant as the great instrument of world peace. Because of this it has unhesitatingly condemned the succeeding gross betrayals of the principles of the covenant, which betrayals it contends are largely responsible for the present state of world affairs.

Events have completely justified the contention of our movement, and as the present British Government has turned from its policy of isolation in European affairs and has adopted, it is true only in part, the policy of collective security, by standing up to the aggressor nation, we are behind the government.

I should, however, be failing in my duty to you if I did not make it clear that there is a section of the movement which does not agree with the large majority view already expressed by me. It holds that because of the government's policy in the past we should not attempt in the slightest degree to assist the government, but this is a relatively small minority view.

The second factor to emphasize is that as a movement we have deliberately and definitely refused to accept the invitation to the government to be represented in the Cabinet. There are two reasons for this:

1. We have learned our lesson of the great war. We entered the government then and found ourselves handicapped in our criticism of the government in relation to its policy. Our representatives in fact were hostages. We are not going to have the same experience again.

2. Today we are the only alternative government to the present government, which we were not in 1914 to 1918. We are, therefore, not only going to hold ourselves free to criticise the government, but if need be shall lend an attack upon the government if, in our opinion, its policy at any time is not in the interest of the country and world peace, in order that it might be replaced by us.

Whilst we are taking up this attitude of independence to the government, we are conscious of the demands of the situation upon

all citizens. We have, therefore, for many months past, been in consultation with the government, discussing with them the part the trade union movement can play in the present struggle. We have decided to co-operate on some of the special committees appointed by the government, some of them at our own request, but we are pressing particularly upon the government that its policy among other things shall cover:

1. The continuance and extension of the principles of collective bargaining.
2. No industrial conscription.
3. Control of food prices.
4. The elimination of war profits.

Accordingly, whilst we are with the government, we are not of the government.

The third and last factor is that the British trade union movement has a definite world peace policy, which it intends to press upon the government. As workers we have nothing but the best feelings towards those of the countries who are opposed to us. We include in this the citizens of the Soviet Republic. Whilst the British trade union movement, as a whole, has never been in sympathy with the philosophy behind Sovietism, we have been the greatest defenders of Russia when it has been attacked by its enemies based upon prejudice and hatred. Because of this we deplore that the Soviet Government has for some extraordinary reason which we cannot understand, betrayed the principles it has professedly stood for, for so many years. She has affirmed, and by her alliance with Hitler, what many have said, that in her heart she is anti-democratic and has been the enemy of true liberty. This has been contributed to by her outrageous action towards Poland.

Whilst naturally I have not been in touch with developments in Great Britain since I left nearly four weeks ago, I believe that I know sufficiently of the mind of the movement to state most emphatically that we are not going to be a party to the continuance of the war for war's sake. The workers always suffer most in struggles of this kind. We shall always be ready to consider a negotiated peace, but we must be satisfied that there is a real desire for a lasting world peace and the desire to redress wrong, whether it refers to Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, or the German people. When the time of negotiation comes, in the view of the British trades union movement, in addition to what I have just stated, the following features at least must be the basis of a future world peace:

1. The rehabilitation of the League Covenant which will carry with it disarmament and arbitration in international disputes, of whatever kind.

2. The acceptance of absolute free trade and service between all nations of the world.

3. The setting up of machinery by which every nation will have the right to the distribution according to their need of the raw materials of the earth.

4. The enjoyment by all peoples of a full life by international regulation of working and social conditions.

In other words, it has to be continually emphasized, until achieved, that world peace cannot come about until there is international justice in the spheres of politics, economics, industrial and social life. We believe that towards this end the principles of the League Covenant and those of the International Labor Organization can play a helpful part if only all nations will be prepared not to live for themselves but for the good of humanity as a whole.

With an attempt to avoid future misunderstandings, in view of present discussions in your country, I desire to say most emphatically that as far as the British trade union movement is concerned, there is not the slightest desire that the great American Republic should be involved in the war. You alone must determine your own policy without the advice of or unaided by outsiders. I have explained to you our policy. We have determined upon it and shall follow it because we consider it is our obligation to make a supreme sacrifice in the interests of and the preservation of democracy. We believe that right will triumph over wrong, and when that time comes we shall insist that justice, and not revenge, as in 1919, shall be the basis for a lasting world peace.

We hope that all nations will be associated in that endeavor.

I trust that in my epitome I have given you an idea of the attitude of the British trade union movement in the present struggle and of its policy for the realization of world redemption not only from the horrors of war, but from those equally grave experiences due to the inequalities and injustices which exist today in national and international relationships.

President Green: We deeply appreciate this philosophical, educational and highly interesting address delivered by Fraternal Delegate Elvin. I noted that the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention listened with rapt attention to the delivery of this address. It seems quite fitting and appropriate for me to just refer to the affiliation of the American Federation of Labor with the International Federation of Trades Unions. This is based upon the fact that Brother Elvin referred to our affiliation with that international labor movement.

It is our desire now, as it has always been to co-operate in the promotion of international well-being among the masses of the world through affiliation with the International Federation of Trades Unions. Prior to our affiliation with this international movement it was clearly understood that it

was a fixed policy, definitely accepted and applied, that the so-called controlled labor movements of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany and Communist Russia could not be admitted to the society of free, democratic, independent nations. We, the trained veterans in our movement, know the difference between the so-called Red organizations of labor, or Labor Fronts, as they term them in the totalitarian countries, and the free democratic movements functioning as democratic organizations in free, democratic countries. The distinction is definite and clearly understandable.

Furthermore, we never drew a line of distinction between the government-controlled Nazi labor movement of Germany, the government-controlled Fascist labor movement of Italy and the government-dominated and controlled Communist labor movement of Soviet Russia. None of them are free. They operate in strikeless nations. The movements are controlled and dominated by the governments of these totalitarian nations.

For some reason best known to the British Trades Union Congress, fully justified, no doubt, in their opinion, that great democratic movement departed a year ago from the traditional policy which it had heretofore pursued. It adopted a resolution instructing its delegates to the International Federation of Trades Unions, the Congress which met a few months ago, to invite and accept the Soviet Unions into membership. The fraternal delegate from Great Britain shakes his head "No," but that was the report. The resolution was introduced and the vote was taken as to whether or not an invitation would be extended to the government-controlled movement of Russia to become a part of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Our delegate was instructed to vote against the admission of these Communist organizations into the International Federation of Trade Unions, and when the vote was taken the representatives of Great Britain, France, Norway and Mexico voted to admit them. The representatives of the United States, Luxembourg, Belgium, Holland and some others that I cannot now name, voted against it, and the motion to admit the Soviet representatives into the affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions was defeated. But

it required the votes of the United States delegation to defeat the proposal to admit them into membership.

I am not saying this in a spirit of criticism, because some time ago the representatives of the governments of Great Britain and France were negotiating with the representatives of Soviet Russia for the purpose of forming an alliance against Hitler. Events reveal the fact that when Stalin and his associates were negotiating with Chamberlain, Daladier and his associates, they were also dealing with Hitler at the same time.

Now it seemed quite appropriate, as a matter of national interest, that some gesture should be made. But now I think that our good friends in Great Britain and France will feel under obligation to the United States delegation to the International Federation of Trade Unions because it defeated the proposal to bring Russia into the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The alliance between Hitler and Stalin is complete. We wonder what further developments will take place. Like thieves they have divided the spoils. They partitioned Poland, and one said to the other, "You have this and I will take that."

Now I want to say in the most friendly fraternal terms to Brother Elvin, go back home to Great Britain and tell the British Trades Union Congress that the American Federation of Labor will remain in affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions so long as it is made up of the labor movements from free democratic nations. But they cannot have the American Federation of Labor and the Communist movement in the Federation of Trade Unions at the same time.

(Applause).

When the Communists come in the American Federation of Labor will discontinue its affiliation.

Brother Elvin referred to the Ideology or the philosophy of Fascism as compared to democracy. We agree with that wholeheartedly, but we would amend that by including Nazism and Communism as well. It seems quite proper for me to make these remarks because I know there are a large number of officers and delegates in attendance at this convention who were not informed as to what took place at the last

meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Our Committee on International Labor Relations, to which the report of our delegates to that Congress was referred, will report upon it to the convention later on. Then you will have the whole picture before you.

I want to thank you, Brother Elvin, for your splendid address, and I thank you sincerely for your visit. We ask you to carry back to the membership of the British Trades Union Congress the sincere greetings of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

Now I have the pleasure of presenting to you a distinguished American, the leader of a great movement with which we maintain a fraternal relationship. I refer to the newly elected National Commander of the American Legion, Raymond J. Kelly. You know the fine relationship that exists between the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor. Only about a week ago I attended the great convention of the American Legion which was held in Chicago, Illinois. I submitted to that impressive convention a message from the American Federation of Labor. I was accorded a most warm and cordial reception. Now the new Commander was elected at that convention about ten days ago. He has just assumed the duties and responsibilities of his position as National Commander of the American Legion.

We are honored highly because he is coming to us to deliver his first message after being elected Commander of the American Legion. I am pleased indeed to introduce him to you this morning. We all know him as he has lived and served in the city of Detroit. He has always been sympathetic toward the philosophy and administration of the American Federation of Labor.

I present to you with a feeling of great pleasure Raymond J. Kelly, National Commander of the American Legion.

MR. RAYMOND J. KELLY
(National Commander, American
Legion)

President Green and ladies and gentlemen of the convention:

It is a matter of great pleasure to me, that my first official appearance as a speaker

since my elevation to the position of National Commander of the American Legion, is before the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Side-by-side throughout the years, the Federation and the Legion have worked earnestly and seriously for the best interests of our people and the preservation of the fundamental institutions of our country.

I now again pledge you the support of the greatest of veterans organizations. The American Legion. As two great American organizations, we naturally have much in common. Our continued friendship and cooperation are yours for the solution of the mutual problems which confront us.

The foremost stabilizing influences in the United States today consist of the American Federation of Labor and The American Legion. Together we represent every conceivable cross section of American life. The voices which we jointly raise in behalf of the country we revere, are typical of the soundest thought of our generation.

Naturally we sometimes follow different roads to our destinations. Opinions and practices may differ. Fundamentally we have been in definite agreement.

Within the Legion's ranks are many men who carry the card of membership in the American Federation of Labor and we have a number of Union Labor Posts of the American Legion.

You and I are interested in enjoying the greatest measure of happiness as human beings in this short span of life. Under our American system, the fruition of that hope and ambition depends upon political freedom, economic opportunity, and above all else the security of our nation, both from within and without.

Today a far-flung and tragic international drama is being staged. The gravity of the situation confronting our country need not be repeated to the delegates of this convention.

We stand united in our efforts to keep this nation from embroilment in any foreign war, no matter what the pretext and no matter what the pressure. Every last man and woman of us would rise in instant response to any command for the defense of our homeland. That goes unquestioned. We are patriotic American citizens — pledged under our constitution to the duty of bearing arms in defense of our country.

The unfolding scene abroad presents many paradoxes. The slowness and deliberation with which both sides in the struggle move against each other should be full of implications to all thinking Americans.

Not only is there a jockeying for position occurring between the armed forces along the West Wall and the Maginot Line. There is being pursued a definite policy of watchful waiting from Europe as to the attitude which will be assumed by the United States.

The position which our country will take is the object of constant solicitude from abroad. I believe that a weak and vacillat-

ing America will result in a serious threat to our status as a neutral nation.

A strong and united America has a far better chance of keeping at peace. Down thru the years, the American Legion has advocated a comprehensive policy of national defense. We believe that in this practical world in which we dwell no idealistic means of preventing war can succeed under present conditions, or for many future years.

Now as never before is it necessary that we enjoy internal peace. Whatever we do, it is highly important that it be done by a united America. We must let the old world know in unmistakable terms that our people will unanimously support a constructive peace policy promulgated from Washington. If the warring nations believe the United States to be torn by dissension from within, then will Europe be more prone to take advantage of what it considers to be our weakness.

The old World will consider that it can commit overt acts with impunity, insofar as Uncle Sam is concerned.

Now, more than at any time in our history as a Republic, it seems to me that peace should prevail between the employer and the employee in this country.

Industrial peace at home, gained by just settlements of controversial issues between labor and capital, can aid immeasurably in convincing other nations that the time is not ripe on their part to take advantage of what they might believe to be a strife-torn America.

Events of the past six years in this country have brought to the nation's consciousness, as never before, the inherent dangers to the very foundations of our country from what has been the lack of understanding of the fundamental problems of employer and employee.

Achievement of a permanent and lasting industrial peace has been rendered almost impossible by the efforts of Communist-inspired cliques to gain control of the labor movement in this country.

The disclosures before the Dies committee this Autumn definitely made known such a situation, of which many serious-minded American citizens have been cognizant for several years.

May I compliment the American Federation of Labor for its unceasing efforts in combating the agents of alien ideologies who have attempted to bore into your organization. These efforts antedate. You have been successful to a high degree in keeping the Federation a repository for pure Americanism. The American Legion salutes you.

Those who would implant foreign revolutionary doctrines in the ranks of honest and law-abiding workmen must be trampled until they can never rise again.

The pursuit of this policy on the part of the labor movement of driving out these professional agitators is an all-important element in the development of a strong national defense for this country.

The American Legion says, yes, by all

means, develop the armed forces of the Nation to a maximum of strength and efficiency, suitable to a legitimate peace-time establishment.

But we also appreciate that without the united backing of those who labor in our industries, the outward forms of our defensive structures will be but a hollow shell.

Sabotage and malingering from within can cause our collapse more quickly than any potential invasion from across either the Atlantic or the Pacific.

Of even greater importance than the curbing of these saboteurs who have attacked your organization as well as our own is for us to see to it that the inroads they have already made in our educational and religious institutions are checked.

The pressure of an enlightened public opinion alone can defeat these propagandizing agencies.

At our national convention in Chicago last week, we were privileged to be addressed by your great leader William Green. He pledged to us anew your friendship. He likewise pledged to us your united efforts to prevent the involvement of our Nation in this war, following whatever may be the best avenues to reach that peace objective.

At Chicago we told the American people that in a representative form of government such as ours, those delegated to assume the reins of government shall be informed emphatically that the will of our people is to stay out of war, and that it is the responsibility of these leaders to make the proper decisions to prevent war.

We Demand That Congress Remain

The Legion again advised our representatives in Washington that from its experience in a troubled world, a fundamental necessity in keeping our country out of war is to maintain an adequate national defense.

Above all else as a nation we must endeavor to keep our individual relationships as a free people on a sane basis during the days to come. We know ourselves by nature to be a tolerant and kindly people. Let us by all means remain so.

If there is one parting thought to emphasize, it is that this country was founded upon tolerance. We have prided ourselves upon the ability to see the other man's side, regardless of whether or not he agrees with us. Periods of great stress in our nation's history sometimes bring with them a dangerous spirit of intolerance.

Tolerance in the American manner is too precious a heritage to be lost. It is part of our duty to see that the bitterness existing in the world today does not destroy the ideal of American fair play.

I know of no finer phrase to close these remarks than to repeat in behalf of The American Legion, the pledge which your president, William Green made to our convention in Chicago—That we as an organization likewise are irrevocably committed to the preservation of our common heritages, individual liberty, our democratic form of

government and our democratic institutions at any cost.

At the conclusion of Commander Kelly's address President Green presented him with a convention badge.

President Green: I wish to thank the Commander of the American Legion for his visit here this morning and for the inspiring address which he has delivered. We have striven earnestly in all the efforts we put forth to cooperate fully with the American Legion in furtherance of all our efforts to reach the objectives outlined in the address. Commander Kelly, we wish for you a successful administration during the coming year, and may you have a good time.

Now I have the honor to present to you another distinguished American citizen, a member of the United States Senate, a representative in the United States Senate from a great state, a state many of us believe is the greatest, of all the states, the State of Ohio.

I extended an invitation to both the United States Senators from Ohio to attend and address our convention. I am pleased to report to you that Senator Taft, who lives here in Cincinnati, accepted our invitation promptly, laid aside his duties in Washington at a time when we all know it was difficult for him to leave. He came here from Washington this morning in response to my invitation, for the purpose of meeting you, greeting you and addressing you. We appreciate that action very much, and take great pleasure in introducing to you Senator Taft from Ohio.

HON. ROBERT A. TAFT United States Senator from Ohio

President Green, members of the American Federation of Labor, fellow citizens:

As a citizen of Cincinnati, it is a pleasure to welcome the American Federation of Labor Convention to the happiest and most American city in the world; at least it was the happiest until the two recent baseball games in New York. It is an honor to be invited to address the largest and most representative gathering of laboring men anywhere in the world. You are, in fact, a great democratic institution. You have no business, and you take no orders. Each one of your unions is a self-governing institution, and you come here to confer and work out the best solution of your common problems. There may be more dissent and difference of opinion in your organization than in some others, but if there were no dissent or difference of opinion, it would mean that there would be no freedom of thought.

I come here from Washington, where the Senate is still debating the proposed amendment of the neutrality bill. During the two weeks I have been there, I have been tremendously encouraged. I have been encouraged because I feel confident today that we are determined to stay out of the war, and that the American people can stay out of the war. Regardless of the result of this particular debate, the American people are united in their determination that we shall not become involved in European quarrels. That determination is not going to be changed. In the World War there was a desire to stay out, but there was nothing like the determination to remain at peace which exists today. The American people have sometimes changed their minds, but it has taken many years to do it, and in the present case the reasons against our becoming involved in the European war are so strong that that point of view will not be changed.

My own position is a simple one—what things as a practical matter will keep us out of war? We were dragged into the World War principally because our ships were sunk and our people drowned. Under present conditions I do not think our ships or people belong in the war zone. The best way to prevent such incident is to prohibit our ships going to Europe, and to limit the travel of our citizens to that which is absolutely essential.

Another element which may create a feeling for war is the extension of credit to England and France, creating a financial interest in their success. That happened in the World War. Credit extended to Europe at best is likely to inflate artificially our manufactures, resulting in a serious reaction when the war is over. So from our own economic standpoint, as well as from the point of view of peace, credits should be limited. This is the cash and carry plan, and personally I believe it is the one plan which will tend to reduce the chances of our becoming involved.

People do not seem to realize that the embargo on arms is very limited. In the World War 87% of our shipments were of materials other than arms, ammunitions, and implements of war. Foodstuffs and steel and machine tools and materials for ammunition are being shipped today in American ships through the submarine zone, and are just as likely to be torpedoed as if the ships contained arms. The Germans and the British recognize no distinction between arms and most of the other things which are not forbidden by our embargo. The importance of the shipment of arms has been greatly exaggerated.

As for the arms embargo policy itself, I have never approved of the policy. I see no difference between shipping arms and shipping the materials with which arms are made. I see no difference between shipping automobiles and shipping airplanes. An arms embargo, in time of war, helps those countries which have built up a tremendous armament in time of peace. It discriminates against the peaceful countries which have not fully prepared to meet the onslaught of an ag-

gressor. It either discriminates against every little country, or it forces it to build up its own munition plants, and take all its people away from productive enterprise. It is an illegal embargo. Today we can ship arms to Mexico and Japan and Russia and Italy, but we cannot ship arms to Canada, England and France. The importance of the embargo is overestimated. If the embargo is not repealed, airplanes will be made in Canada instead of the United States. Some of the parts and materials will be made in the United States and shipped across the border.

I see no reason why the removal of the embargo tends towards war. The most neutral position for us to take, it seems to me, is to say to all nations: "If you come to this country, pay cash, and take the goods away in your own ships, you may buy in wartimes whatever you may buy in peacetime." If this bill is adopted, however, let no foreign nation feel that it indicates any desire on our part to interfere in the outcome of the European war.

We should not let the war excitement divert us from our domestic problems. These problems are just as important as they ever were. In all probability the happiness of the people of this country depends much more on their solution than on the kind of neutrality act which we adopt. The question whether the New Deal has failed in its main purposes must still be decided by the people at the polls in 1940. There are many questions pending before Congress and its committees of vital importance to industry and to labor in the United States.

I wish to discuss today, very briefly, the question of amendments to the National Labor Relations Act, pending before the Committee on Education and Labor, of which I am a member. We have had elaborate hearings, and I doubt if any more complete facts can be gathered by the House Committee which is now making its investigation of the Board. My conclusions are formed after hearing some of the testimony and reading the rest.

The National Labor Relations Act marks a great step in the history of labor. I must give credit to your representatives, to Senator Wagner and others, who worked out the theory of the law. All parties have long recognized the right of labor to bargain collectively. They had recognized it in theory. Before 1932, I do not know that anyone considered a method by which it might be protected by law. It was a new idea largely, which all political parties approved when it was proposed. With the protection of the law, many unions have been organized, where before the employers had effectively prevented unionization. The law is responsible for the spread of unions, although it is rather significant that the strongest unions are still those which organized themselves and do not rely entirely on government assistance. There must be a natural desire to form a union, and an advantage to its members, or it is likely to fade away. In view of the situation, it is essential that amendments to the act do not weaken in any way its basic purpose to insure the right of collective bargaining.

Unfortunately, the administration of the act has been biased and prejudiced. In my own opinion, some of the decisions of the Board have resulted in the grossest perversion of justice which this country has ever seen. In case you think my statement too strong, I would like to read the conclusions which your own leaders have reached. Mr. William Green told the Committee: "The Act, once hailed as labor's Magna Carta, has been distorted into an instrument of oppression by the partial and biased administration of the present Board. . . . The Board continued on its course of usurping and abusing powers."

Your convention in 1937 adopted resolutions which said: "It is with deep regret that frankness impels us to report to you that the National Labor Relations Board has administered the act contrary to its letter, spirit and intent, with manifest bias and prejudice against the American Federation of Labor, and in favor of dual and rival organizations."

Your counsel, Judge Padway said: "The Board wouldn't change the rule for us. But when their pet baby, the C. I. O., is in there and is going to be wiped out, the rule is suddenly changed. That is talking as frankly as I can. That is my conclusion of it."

I can say that the statements of your officers in convention are fully borne out by the evidence given to the Committee on Education and Labor. Your officers have been concerned about a distinct prejudice in favor of the C. I. O. against the A. F. of L. There has also been from the evidence in some cases an intense bias and prejudice against the employer. While you are not so directly concerned, nevertheless you wish justice to be done, and there is a real danger that continued unequal administration of the act might wipe away the act itself, and the essential rights which it guarantees.

In my opinion, if the act had been impartially administered by a board anxious to encourage unionization, but discourage unnecessary strife, there would be few proposals to amend today. The Board is given such wide power that it could have corrected inequalities in the act itself. But the conditions which exist and the manner of administration has shown defects to exist which should and can be corrected without affecting the basis of the act. I have not reached complete or definite conclusions as to what the amendments should be, but I can outline my tentative conclusions.

First. There should be a new Board, as you recommended. Whether under the present Administration this would result in the appointment of persons less prejudiced than the present Board, I do not know. Therefore, it is no all-inclusive remedy for the situation.

Second. I believe that Mr. Green's suggestion of a complete outlawing of company unions, dominated or controlled by the company, together with a wider latitude to the employer to express his opinion as between other unions, so long as it does not amount to coercion, is a wise amendment. The Board

has used the provision intended to discourage company unions as a weapon against the A. F. of L. It is natural that employers should wish to deal with the more responsible, long-established unions, and express some preference for such unions as against those whose history is one of irresponsibility and violence. Yet the slightest expression of opinion has been used as an excuse for invalidating elections, and even invalidating contracts with the older union.

The Chairman of the Board himself told us that if an employer stated to his employees that the organizers of the C. I. O. union were Communists, even though they were Communists, it would amount to a violation of the act, which would invalidate an election if those employees then voted for a more American labor union. Such a policy not only discriminates against the older unions, but violates the employers' freedom of speech. How any employer's opinion can result in coercion of a workman voting at a secret ballot election, it is hard to see.

The amendment which you suggest is entirely practical, because it is always easy to distinguish between a company union and a real union. A board which cannot tell the difference between an A. F. of L. union and a company union ought to be dismissed while men with real labor experience are appointed in their place. The Board has repeatedly abrogated contracts with A. F. of L. unions, contracts made in good faith and entitled to respect.

The ignorance of the Board in these cases reminds me of the story of a Catholic priest who one morning delivered a sermon on the subject of matrimony. Two old Irish women, Mrs. O'Rourke and Mrs. Flannigan had listened to the sermon. When they came out of the church Mrs. O'Rourke said to Mrs. Flannigan, "Wasn't that a lovely sermon on matrimony?" "Yes," said Mrs. Flannigan, "it was a fine sermon, and I wish to God I knew as little about it as he does."

Perhaps it is not entirely ignorance which prevents the Board from distinguishing between a company union and an American Federation of Labor union.

Third. The right of craft unions to exist, the right of members of the craft to decide whether they wish to join a craft union or be merged in a general plant union, should be safeguarded by the act. The Board has repeatedly destroyed craft unions, and shown its desire to assist the philosophy which demands their destruction. These unions are the oldest in the country. They recognize the special treatment to which skilled employees are entitled. Their existence is entirely consistent with the unionization of other employees in other unions. They should be protected.

Fourth. The question of elections should be definitely regulated by law. The Board has used its power to call elections at times thought favorable to one union as against another. It has arbitrarily refused to hold elections. It has refused to entertain employer petitions. In my opinion, the Board should be compelled to order an election on

the petition of a labor union or an employer, provided that an election has not been too recently held, that there is a reasonable basis to support that the men desire a change in the conditions which exist, and that the petition is brought in good faith. While I think the Board should act promptly to fix the date of an election, I would give it considerable power to postpone the actual date for a considerable period, so that all parties would have ample opportunity to present their case to the voters.

The Act should also prescribe the form of ballot, and require that all unions, other than company unions, be entitled as of right to a place on such ballot.

Fifth. The law should be amended so as to limit the Board's discretion in the matter of evidence and subpoenas, which has been so arbitrarily exercised. Anyone should be entitled to subpoenas unless obviously sought in bad faith. There should be no secret files containing evidence to which the parties are refused access.

Sixth. In my opinion, there should be a separation of the judicial and prosecuting functions of the Board. This has not been recommended by your committee, but it seems to me obvious that a man cannot be a prosecutor and a judge in the same case and be fair. However, I do not favor Senator Burke's amendment providing that the judicial end of the job be handled by the District Courts. I would rather incline to a judicial section in the Department of Labor, similar to the Board of Tax Appeals in the Department of the Treasury, which has worked well. I see no objection to having the same department appoint the judicial board and the prosecuting division, but neither one should be appointed by the other. It seems obvious to me that a man cannot be impartial in a case which he himself has originated, and the prosecution of which his subordinates have prepared.

Seventh. Senator Burke's bill provides for various unfair labor practices on the part of employers. I do not agree with the principle of this proposal. The whole purpose of the act is to encourage collective bargaining, and even if there are unfair labor practices on the part of the unions, it should not be a cause of action against such unions. On the other hand, it seems unreasonable that men who engage in illegal acts, break union contracts, engage in sit-down strikes in violation of contracts, or perform other illegal acts, should have any right to back pay, or even in some cases to reinstatement. The Supreme Court has recognized the unfairness of some of the Board's orders in this respect, and the principles laid down by the court might be recognized in some specific provisions of law.

I feel very hopeful that amendments to the act may be adopted at the next session of Congress. Hearings were delayed until it was too late by the Administration itself. Those who oppose every correction of present conditions have many friends on our Committee, but the injustice of the present situation is so clear, popular demand for amend-

ment so insistent, that action will surely be taken. The act can be amended now without any weakening of its basic purposes, but if resentment against unjust administration becomes too strong, there is real danger that public opinion will destroy the act without distinguishing between sound principle and unjust administration.

President Green: You have made it clear that you deeply appreciate the visit of Senator Taft to the convention and the very frank, honest, sincere and illuminating address which he delivered. We are pleased to have his expression of opinion regarding the administration of the National Labor Relations Act. We welcome such suggestions.

I wish to report to the convention that Senator Taft is a member of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate, and attended meetings of the committee with regularity and manifested deep interest in all the efforts which the American Federation of Labor representatives presented to that committee.

For you and in your name and your behalf I thank the Senator for his visit to our convention and for the address which he delivered.

Supplemental Report, Committee on Credentials

Delegate Noxon, for the committee, reported as follows:

We have received credentials and recommended the seating of delegates as follows:

Hugo Ernst, representing the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

William J. Fallon, representing the Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor: I would like to invite all members of the Typographical Union who are here to meet me in the rear of the hall immediately after adjournment. That includes delegates from central labor bodies and local unions.

President Green: Delegate Martel wishes all printers who are here, including visitors, to meet with him.

Delegate McCurdy, Baltimore: I move that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourned to 3:00 o'clock this afternoon.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 1:15 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to 3:00 o'clock p. m.

Fifth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 3 o'clock.

Absentees

Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordges, A. S.; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, R. J.; Burr, R. M.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Demko, Frances; Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Gross, J. E.; Hansen, H. I.; Heymanns, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly Tom; Kelly, John P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Powers, Jos.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Clyde S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

Sunday Church Service

Secretary Morrison read the following announcement:

A special Mass has been arranged at Saint Louis Church for Sunday morning next, October 8, at 10:30, to accommodate the delegates to your convention.

Arrangements are being made for the broadcast of the sermon to be delivered on that occasion.

May I assure you that the priests of Saint Louis Church deem it a privilege to be of service to the members of your organization and extend a hearty welcome to all to attend the Mass next Sunday.

With an expression of deep esteem, I am

Sincerely your,

REV. JOHN E. KUHN, Rector,
Saint Louis Church, Cincinnati.

President Green: I want to present to you now a very dear old friend whom you all know. He is a fixture in the American Federation of Labor and is now serving as Labor Adviser to the International Labor Office. All of you know Brother James Wilson, who served so many years on the Executive Council and who attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many, many years as a delegate representing his International Union. He also served with distinction as a member of the Executive Council for many years. He is held in high regard and high esteem, as you all know, by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. He has been closely associated with the work of the International Labor Organization and he can tell his story

in a most interesting and convincing way. We are glad to have him with us. He is speaking to us as one of us, and for that reason I know that his message will carry very great weight.

I now present to you our friend and colleague, James Wilson, representative of the International Labor Organization.

MR. JAMES WILSON

(Labor Adviser, International Labor Organization)

President Green, officers and delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, visitors and friends: I assure you I esteem it a distinguished privilege to be permitted to again appear before a convention of the American Federation of Labor and bring you the greetings of the International Labor Organization. For it affords me the opportunity to outline to you what has been accomplished by this agency that is of interest to American workers.

You will find on page 187 of the Executive Council's Report a review of the work of the International Labor Organization during this year. There the Council reports to this convention the activities of the International Labor Organization. In the proceedings of the second day of the convention you will find a message of felicitation and good wishes from the Director of the International Labor Organization, John G. Winant.

I was exceedingly pleased to read the report of the Executive Council and to know of their great interest in the work that has been performed by the I. L. O. during the past year. As you become more familiar with the work of this organization you become more convinced that it is an institution that is performing a great service in the interests of the people who work for wages.

The record of this organization discloses the fact that much has been accomplished in raising the standards of living and bringing betterment into the lives of millions of people. The annual labor conference held in June of this year in Geneva was held, as you will understand, under most adverse circumstances. It was the first conference under the leadership of an American, John G. Winant, Director of the Organization. There was much talk of war. People were in an unsettled state of mind. Nations and workers and employers did not know what was going to happen. And yet even in view of this troubled condition the International Labor Organization continued to function, realizing that the problem of bringing social justice to the people of the world could not be stopped because of threats to the peace of the world.

The United States Government, together with many more Governments, sent their ex-

perts and their advisers to this conference, which was composed of nearly four hundred representatives, to consider the problems that were on the agenda for the conference. The United States Government was represented by four delegates—the two representing the government were Assistant Secretary of Labor McLaughlin, Dr. Carter Goodrich, Henry Harman representing the employers, and Robert Watt representing American Labor. He, as you know, is the American labor member on the Governing Body of the Organization. Among the advisers were two representatives of labor, President Tobin, of the Teamsters' Union and Herbert Woods, of the Engineers' Union.

I just want to recite in a brief way the work of the committees with which these two men were associated. You will recall that last year I told you of the efforts that the Organization was putting forth to bring about a reduction of the hours of labor in over-the-road trucking. I told you how hard that committee worked trying to surmount the difficulties they were confronted with. This year they were going to take a final vote upon this question. President Tobin finally consented to go to Geneva, at great personal sacrifice, and served as a member of that committee. For days and days they worked, and did not conclude their work until the last moment. Finally they did submit a report which was considered by the conference. When they submitted the results of their deliberations on the question of over-the-road trucking, the Conference adopted a convention that provided for a forty-eight hour week with rest periods for drivers. In general it raised the standards for truckers in other parts of the world to a considerable degree.

It was very interesting to hear the discussions in the large committee that was considering this question, also the discussions on the floor of the Conference. It was gratifying to note the large vote that was received for the passage of this convention that means so much for the safety and the protection of the men who man these trucks.

The committee on which Mr. Woods served was that of Technical and Vocational Education and Apprentice Training. You would not imagine that there could be opposition in any part of the world to the adoption of provisions for technical and vocational education and apprentice training. Yet in that committee there were those who objected. When the report was submitted to the conference, it was unanimously adopted.

Last year I referred in my address to this convention to the possibility of difficulty confronting the Organization in the adoption of the general forty-hour week convention for workers. When the Conference came to consider a general convention for shorter hours of labor, government, employers and labor, representatives, recognizing the serious situation that confronted the democratic countries that were in affiliation with the International Labor Organization, decided to recommend that action on that question be postponed and

that it be referred to the Governing Body, with instructions to put the question on the agenda again at the first opportunity.

So while the International Labor Organization was anxious to pass a convention embodying the forty-hour week it was not possible, due to the unsettled conditions in the political affairs of the world.

As you, the representatives of American Labor, sit here and think what is going on in the rest of the world we sometimes think it has no effect upon us. The fact of the matter is that you have in this issue again a clear demonstration that what goes on in any part of the world does vitally effect us.

Some of the activities of the Organization will have to be curtailed because of the war situation that now exists in Europe. The first effect was that the Governing Body which was to meet in Oslo had to be postponed because of the inability of the members of the Governing Body to proceed in safety to Oslo. However, the work of the office is continuing with its major activities. In January of 1935 there was a Pan-American Conference held by the International Labor Organization at Santiago, Chile. As you will recall, the representative of the American Federation of Labor to that Conference was President William L. Hutchison, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters. This Conference did a very constructive piece of work. As a result of that meeting much favorable legislation in the interests of labor has been secured by the people of this western hemisphere.

In view of the success of that Conference it has been decided by the International Labor Organization to hold another Pan-American Conference. That Conference will be held in Havana, Cuba, beginning on the twenty-first day of November of this year unless unforeseen conditions prevent. The Conference will continue the work that was started for the Pan-American countries in January of 1935, at which time the representative of American labor contributed such valuable services in the promotion of labor standards for the South American countries.

May I direct your attention to the last paragraph in the report of the Executive Council dealing with the work of the International Labor Organization. You will see there that the Council is recommending the necessity of continuing the work of the International Labor Organization, under these difficult times, which is one of the few remaining agencies for the promotion of peace based upon social justice function in the world today.

The older delegates to this convention will recall that at the 1914 convention of the Federation in Philadelphia, Samuel Gompers introduced the resolution into that convention which gave birth to the International Labor Organization. The organization was born as a result of the World War from the vision of Gompers, who wanted to see established some instrumentality that would seek to raise the standard of life of the working people throughout the world. This

International Labor Organization has now functioned for twenty years. It has brought many benefits into the lives of millions of people throughout the world. As its preamble states, it seeks to establish social justice and recognizes the fundamental truth that world peace can only be maintained by the establishment of social justice. There is nothing that the International Labor Organization does that is not in accord with the high ideals and great principles of the American Federation of Labor.

At a time when the dictators are threatening to destroy freedom and democracy in the world, we as trade unionists, know that the trade unions are the bulwarks of both freedom and democracy. For under dictatorships trade unions are suppressed and with it all forms of civil liberties. The one great force that can prevent the destruction of the organizations of labor is labor itself.

And so your Executive Council rightfully directs your attention to the necessity of keeping intact and in working order the International Labor Organization. Only in this way can the high ideals and the great principles on which the organization is founded continue to bring betterment into the lives of men and women the world over.

May I leave this word with you in closing. While the world may be in an unsettled state today, the fact remains that the struggle for freedom and social justice must be continued by the free peoples of the world. You, representing as you do today, a more compact Federation of Labor than ever before, must buckle on your armor and go out and continue your struggle until the last vestige of misery and injustice has been removed from this earth. Until the great principles for which you stand and for which the International Labor Organization stands shall come to all of the people of the world, we shall not have a society in which men can live together in ordered freedom.

Again, Mr. President, may I wish you Godspeed and success in your noble endeavors.

President Green: I am happy to announce that we have another and most interesting visitor with us who has traveled a long way to meet and greet the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. You have long known of the problems confronting the Mexican workers. We have always been associated with the Mexican Federation of Labor in a co-operative way for the purpose of trying to promote the common interests of the workers of both the United States and the Republic of Mexico. So there is a deep bond of sympathy and understanding prevailing between the workers which our good friend and distinguished visitor represents and the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. I am going to present him to you just now. He will speak to you in

Spanish, and his speech will be translated as he makes it by Mr. Haberman, his official interpreter.

All of you have heard of Luis Morones. He was the Secretary of Labor during the administration of Elias Plutarco Calles, who served the people of Mexico as its President. He is now, and has always been, associated with the Mexican Federation of Labor. He has been persecuted, driven from his country and has suffered much because of his loyalty to his own nation and because of his devotion to the principles for which our organized labor movement stands.

I am happy to present to you for a short address Brother Luis Morones, of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

ADDRESS BY MR. LUIS MORONES Representing Mexican Federation of Labor

Mr. President and brothers: I have the honor to appear before you as a representative of the Mexican Federation of Labor. For the past 20 years the Federation which, in spite of all its difficulties and the obstacles put in its way, has fought to maintain the rights of the field and factory workers, and to try to comply with the same program with you, that is, justice and liberty and democracy for the workers.

In order to gain the right to organize our workers, both field and industrial, it was necessary in Mexico to have a bloody revolution, the revolution which has permitted us to reach the day when we can organize.

We have gained the right to organize and institute a program which recognizes the rights of the workers and, on the other hand, we have been able to discipline the labor movement so that labor will recognize its responsibilities. For the last 20 years we have had cruel fights; in fact, it has been a constant fight to reach the period when we can plan a real program of organization and a real program for the workers of Mexico.

I am sure that we have many moments of satisfaction for the opportunities which we have had to bring about this work. During those days when work was easy and pleasant many people offered their services to us. Those services we have accepted. It was not the worker's groups who came and offered their services, but professional people, groups which, in my country, we call *intelligentia*, came to offer their cooperation and services. We did not know these people in the days when we had bloody fights to have the right to organize. These people came and set themselves down at the banquet table when the banquet table was ready, but when there was trouble that is when these intellectuals left the banquet table.

These people decided to leave at precisely the time when the labor movement of Mexico was faced with one of two situations—either remain and suffer persecution, or submit itself absolutely to the people who were governing Mexico, and thus lose its independence or the right of freedom. Our workers' organization did not limit itself to organizing the workers of Mexico for Mexico. Ever since we have had our first organization we have worked incessantly to become a part and to co-operate with the workers the world over, and particularly with the American Federation of Labor.

We had established contact with the American Federation of Labor long before we even had a Mexican Federation of Labor. In 1914, and a short time after, when Mexico was invaded by United States troops, representatives of the workers of Mexico met with the representatives of the American Federation of Labor in Washington, and there is where we took up a very important problem, a problem which was affecting the well being of the workers of Mexico and the workers of the United States.

It is exactly 25 years since we have been cooperating with the American Federation of Labor for the benefit of the workers of the two countries and also, so far as it was possible, the workers the world over. I will state some of the facts of this background of our relations with the American Federation of Labor for the benefit of those here who do not happen to know of them.

Today I feel honored to be here before you and to tell you what has been happening in the last few years to our organization in Mexico. We were punished, not only by forces in our own country, but also by agents and representatives of foreigners who have stopped at nothing, no matter how low or corrupt, to bring about their ends, something I am sure has happened here even with your organization. Of all the agents of all these elements that were fighting the Mexican Federation of Labor the best agency found for that work were precisely those intellectuals who came and sat at our table when the Mexican Federation of Labor was powerful and prosperous. Those were the elements that were endeavoring to bring about the destruction of the Mexican Federation of Labor. It was precisely these elements, led by Lomardo Toledano, and others that were used by the Communist forces, whose main work was not only to destroy all that we had tried to do, but also to point to us as betrayers of the workers' true ideology. Toledano and those associated with him pointed to our movement as a reactionary movement, and with the Communist flag in their hands they tried to impress upon the workers of Mexico that only under that flag the workers could obtain their rights.

It is sure that something like that must be happening with the American Federation of Labor. You have the same Toledanos, here the same as in Mexico, and I am certain that that same source of corruption which flows from other lands has been faced by you. You have had to face the same sort of prop-

aganda, you have been called the same sort of names we have been called and are being called. But fortunately, the workers of Mexico as well as the workers of the United States, believe that their solidarity and safety rests with the American Federation of Labor in this country and with the Mexican Federation of Labor in my country.

There is something even more serious than what I have said so far. The moment has come when we must define with precision the exact position of all those who have tried to destroy this labor movement. For example, due to the expropriation of oil in my country, there are elements which are enemies of ours, just as there are elements in this country who are your enemies here, who have taken advantage of the problems brought about by the expropriation of oil in Mexico, and I can assure you that those advantages which they have taken are not spiritual or moral.

We are going to stop at nothing to denounce and expose all those elements in my country and in this country, elements which are trying to destroy our respective labor movements.

These are the times when we must do this work of exposing our enemies, these days when there is the menace of the European tragedy on top of us and which is bound to affect the well being and the fate of the workers, not only of this continent, but of Europe.

The American Federation of Labor, the Mexican Federation of Labor, and many other labor organizations on this hemisphere are part of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. A few months ago the Executive Council of the Pan-American Federation of Labor met under the auspices of President Green. It took up many matters, and important matters were decided.

I have been charged by my organization to present to you the request that now, more than ever, in the face of these tragic realities under which we are living, that the Pan-American Federation of Labor, under the presidency of President Green, comply with its program.

I am certain that you representatives of American labor will do all you can to see that the Pan-American Federation of Labor complies with its mission, not only for the benefit of the workers of this continent, but for the benefit of the workers the world over. We are ready, and we are remaining ready in spite of oppression, in spite of persecution that may come, to maintain our connection with that movement. We are ready to serve as members of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. There is nothing that will be able to break the relations which exist between the organized workers of my country and the organized workers of this country. We have had people who tried to bring about the breaking up of the relations between the labor movement of this country and the countries below the Rio Grande. Also it has been useless for the agents of Russian Communism to try to bring about the breaking of relations between the working people of these two countries.

Today, more than ever, the work of these agents will be in evidence, and today, more than ever, we must coordinate our work and cooperate with each other. In Mexico, we are still guided by the spirit and the words of Samuel Gompers, the man who never rested when it became possible to better the conditions of the workers of Mexico or of the United States. The program of working hand in hand with the American labor movement will go on. Nobody will be able to destroy our purpose, today or at any other time. Before ending, I would like to make a correction to a statement that was made this morning by Brother Green when he spoke about the admission of Russia to the International Federation of Trade Unions.

He said that the Mexican Federation of Labor voted to admit Russia. It was not my organization, it was not the Mexican Federation of Labor that voted. We were not represented there. We were not there. It was the representative of a political organization which is under the control of the Mexican government. It does not represent Mexican labor. We will never cease to fight any influence that comes from totalitarian countries, and as such we could not vote for Russia. We have been fighting and will fight on all grounds Communism, Nazism and Fascism.

Brothers, in the name of my organization, I bring to you its fraternal salutations and thank you for the honor you have paid the representative of the only labor organization in Mexico which has been able to maintain its independence, which has been able to fight for the freedom of the workers without being under the influence of any political group of any kind. Let the American Federation of Labor know that as long as it carries the flag of freedom, justice and democracy that on the other side of the Rio Grande there are workers who have the same ideals and who will work hand in hand with you.

President Green: And now I have a most pleasant surprise for you. Our good friend, the Mayor of New York City, was denied the privilege—I won't say the pleasure—of seeing the Cincinnati Reds defeat the New York Yankees in New York yesterday and the day before. So in order to satisfy his curiosity as to the kind of a baseball team the Cincinnati Reds are and their ability to defeat the Yankees, he came here to see the Reds defeat the Yankees tomorrow. He is here now. He wanted to come and meet you and greet you.

You will recall that we saw the splendid picture of the great New York parade of members of the American Federation of Labor yesterday. You will also recall that we witnessed, with a feeling of genuine pride and satisfaction, the Mayor walking up Fifth

Avenue, leading that parade. We saw him review the parade and salute them as they passed by, and we were thrilled and made happy.

Then you will recall that he was the co-author of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the finest measure ever written upon the statute books of our country. He may do a lot of things from time to time that we do not like, but we will never forget him for the service he rendered at that time.

I present to you now a great Mayor, a great national figure, a friend of the common people everywhere, an advocate of democracy, liberty and justice, a real American—Mayor LaGuardia.

HONORABLE FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA (Mayor of New York)

President, Green, distinguished guests and brothers—I appreciate the compliment of having the opportunity to greet you here today. When I left New York, it was not a mission for organized labor, and it was one of the few trips I thought I could make without being called upon to make a speech or without doing any work.

I have only been in Cincinnati a few hours, but I have been able to settle what threatened to be a strike of the iron workers on one of our public buildings in New York City, and I have just had a long conference with Dan Tobin on another matter.

I am really here on baseball business. You know, in New York I get blamed for everything. I get blamed if the weather is bad; I get blamed if there is snow on the street, and so I thought, well, I might as well "horn in" and get a little bit of the credit for winning this baseball game. I came out on the train with the Yankee team last night, and I will let you in on something very confidential in baseball. I had a talk with Joe McCarthy and I said, "Joe, I've got to get back to New York City Monday morning, so will you please end the series Sunday night!" And he promised me he would. So that's that.

It is always so pleasant to meet Bill Green, Mr. Morrison, and the older members of the Federation with whom I worked for so many years in Washington. When I went to Congress twenty-three years ago and served there for fourteen years, it was not as easy to get labor legislation through Congress as it is today. It required a great deal of hard work. We had to absorb a great deal of punishment and abuse and constant opposition.

As we look back over the past twenty-three years we cannot help but be impressed with the progress that organized labor has made and is making in this country. Once in a

while there is a setback, but the movement forward and the conditions of work today are better than they were at that time.

That does not mean that there are not as many problems to be solved, problems that require the finest kind of leadership and the best minds that labor can produce. There was a time in the negotiations between labor and the employers where the employers just assumed that it was none of labor's business to know anything about industry, or to know anything about the financial condition of a given industry, and it was a sort of a take-it-or-leave-it attitude. That has been changed, because labor does understand all the details of industry. Labor does know exactly what is going on, and they are able to meet on an equal basis, they are just as well informed as the employers, and they are able to work out satisfactory agreements.

As I have said, there are some problems that have not yet been solved. There are two schools of thought in this country, and I suppose those who do not agree with us are just as sincere, although perhaps not correctly informed. There is a school of thought in this country, not new, not original, who complain constantly about government interference. They say, "Oh, government should not interfere; it hampers business, it retards industry. Just let things take their course." The same school of thought believes that labor, if there is no industry, if there is no work, should just wait until something happens and then be re-employed. The same people believe that in such periods it is not the function of the government, because they say it is costly, to make any provision for those who, through no fault of their own, find themselves without employment and destitute.

Against that school of thought there is the one that believes that it is the function of government to regulate industry and that it is the responsibility of government, in fact, one of its highest functions, to protect and preserve life, and that in periods when unemployment is widespread, the government must step in and provide assistance to those who, through no fault of their own, are without work.

We know that that is not the final solution of the problem; we know that in the meantime something must be done to create the necessary spread of employment so as to eliminate unemployment and distress in unemployment in seasonal occupations, and to provide work for all those who are willing to work.

What are some of those things that industry complains of? Let us see. Recently—and I say recently because it is only a few years ago—the government has provided a system of old-age pensions. It is not perfect yet; it will require some years to be perfected, but it is the first step in bringing about uniformity in providing for superannuated citizens and superannuated workers. We have had old-age pensions in several States, but unless we have uniformity you will readily see the disadvantage that it brings to the enlightened States who have

provided or who are seeking to provide for their own citizens.

As the old-age pension system develops and is perfected—and by that I am not endorsing any wild scheme of old age pensioning that may occur to the mind of any candidate in the October season of the year—I mean as sound old-age pension that is relatively uniform in the forty-eight States of the nation—when that is perfected it will properly care for superannuated workers and relieve just that many from the extreme end of a great army of workers of this country.

And then the other condition I say we have met, even in my own State, is to bring about, by proper constitutional amendment, a real child labor provision to prevent the exploitation of children in factories and in industries. True, we have child labor laws in many states, but that does not serve the purpose as long as there is any State—and there are several—that will brazenly advertise that labor of all ages, unrestricted, is available if industry will come down to those States. That is a fact, and it puts the enlightened States to a disadvantage. So that when we think about uniformity in the control of child labor, we must see to it that all sections of the country provide schools instead of jobs in the mills for their children, and that will in turn reduce at the other end of this army of workers.

Then in the middle, a really effective uniform system of unemployment insurance. When I suggested some years back before 1929, in Congress one day, a study of unemployment insurance to meet what was sure to happen—the technological displacement of men through the advent of machinery—the Chicago Tribune printed an editorial and stated that this alien-minded radical ought to be deported. Coming from the Chicago Tribune, I considered it a compliment. No one will suggest, of course, that we must stop progress. We could not if we wanted to, but there is no reason why, as new means of production are devised and employed, industry cannot regulate itself to provide employment by a shorter day and a shorter week.

But here is where organized labor can be of great assistance. I have made this statement many times. Sometimes I get a very cold reception when I make it, but I know it is right and I shall continue to make it—that a shorter day and a shorter week should be utilized to create more jobs and not overtime for the fellow who has a job. When we think of that—and that, of course, changes many of the pet theories we have entertained—when one has an equal weekly wage, when one has permanency of employment, he might finish that week in the shortest possible time and then for the rest of the week have rest, recreation, education, and let another shift come in.

We are coming to that, but we will come to it quicker when we get a complete understanding of the practical application of the shorter week and the shorter day and the complete cooperation of all those who are interested.

These are trying times. You have heard some very impressive talks on existing conditions. The country now requires the best thought and the best minds that can be marshaled to protect the interests of our country. That naturally also calls upon labor to contribute its share of leadership. We are blessed with a great many things in this country. The mere fact that we are meeting here, the fact that the whole American nation tomorrow will be anxiously sitting at radios, listening to a contest in sports, awaiting the results of a baseball game, creating discussions when the game will be played all over again at the dinner table, in clubs, in gatherings, when all the mistakes of the pitchers will be corrected, when you will hear, "If I had been in Joe McCarthy's place I would have done so and so"—that will engage the interest of the entire country.

What a contrast to the conditions in Europe today, where there is another great contest of destruction, slaughter, sacrifice of human beings, with no hope for the working people of these countries, no matter how it ends. They were not consulted and they had nothing to say about it.

Those who created this war provided no means that the people could speak through their chosen elected representatives. And again, within twenty-five years of the last war, the whole mess is repeated.

Do you realize that this is the first crop of youth since the last war? The boys who are in the trenches today and doing the fighting were not born in 1914. The first reserves and the second reserves were mere babies or children at that time. The first crop comes along, and again they are thrown into another struggle. Other countries have problems that are created because of insufficiency—there is not sufficient war materials, there is not sufficient food, there are not sufficient minerals to maintain any one national economy. As a result there is this desire of taking something from a neighbor that has not enough for itself.

They tell us we have surpluses in food—too much wheat, too much cotton, too much corn. I don't know whether we have or not, but I do know that we have enough, and I would like to see a real test of just how much surplus we have. There is only one way to test it. You can't determine a surplus by taking that which the country produces and subtracting from it that which the country is able to buy. The way to test a national surplus is after all of the men, women and children of this country have had enough to eat, a decent house to sleep in and proper clothes for their kids to go to school in. If all the children of this country had all the milk they needed, I wonder if we would have a surplus in milk? If there was butter on the tables of every working family in this country in every section, I wonder if we would have that surplus? Cotton? Why, if we could use that cotton for all the children and all the men and women, for the clothes and things they need in the household, I wonder how much of a surplus there would

be? We must get this idea into the heads of all those who are concerned.

I have an opportunity to meet often with labor groups, and I also have opportunity through my associations formed during the time I served in Congress, to meet with farmer groups. There is a misunderstanding that must be clarified and the farmers of this country must be made to see that the best market for the American farm is the American working group in this country.

We understand, of course, that the farmer is entitled to fair prices for his crops. I don't think that any group of organized labor would deny him that, and he is not getting that. By that I mean that he is entitled to enough to pay the cost of production and to have a little left over for himself for his labor.

You know it is mighty discouraging when the farmer takes his crop at the harvest time, brings it to town, gets his money, stops and pays his taxes, stops at the bank and pays the interest on his mortgage, stops and pays for his seed and feed, stops and pays the installment on his machinery, takes the money that his wife gave him to buy shoes for the children, a gingham dress for her, and the little things they need, and after he pays the grocery man, there isn't anything left to buy anything. That is not an exaggerated statement at all, and yet many times farmers do not understand the plight of the conditions of the working people in the cities.

We are willing to pay the farmer fair prices, but we must get a living wage in order to be able to buy and pay those fair prices. I hope that arrangements will soon be made to provide for machinery for the exchange of information between farmers and the working people of the city, so that all these economic problems might be clarified in order to bring about a policy of mutual help and cooperation.

Speaking about cooperation, may I say with all the sincerity that I can muster, I hope the time is not far distant when there will again be one big, happy, forceful, effective family of labor. I realize, of course, it always takes two to make a bargain. I realize the many difficulties in the way. You heard read at the beginning of your sessions a message from a sincere friend of labor, and he is in a position to speak, because from his perspective he can see the dangers that might come to a divided labor movement in this country. No one can add to the appeal that was made, and I sincerely hope that the appeal made by the President of the United States, who has the interests of the working people of this country at heart, will be heeded.

You have many friends throughout this country who are distressed and worried about the ultimate outcome. In your time you have seen industries go on the rocks because of unfair competition, cutting of prices, waging of a ruthless trade war. That must not happen in the ranks of labor.

In my limited way as an executive of a

city I have been able to detect how quick some employers are to try to play off one side against the other. Of course, they will take advantage of such a situation. Of course they will use that as an alibi to refuse to recognize either one side or the other, and that weapon must be taken away from the sweat shop operator, from the exploiter of labor and from those who have no human instincts. You must not permit them to wield that weapon against our own people.

And I make that appeal, that if possible some means be utilized to bring this about, because labor can have but one objective. All others are subordinate in this country. That is to bring about economic security to all of the workers of the entire country. I believe we have destroyed the theory, in a great measure, although, as I said before, it still lingers in some quarters, that labor can be employed only certain parts of the year, and then they are to be thrown on their own resources. Well, industry must pay the interest on the money they borrow from the banks for 365 days of the year, and I am sure the banks will not waive interest in any period that the factory may be closed. If any given industry uses livestock, cows, and horses, they have to feed those cows and horses during 365 days of the year. And yet they will present the argument that they only need labor for sixty days or 180 days and that is all they can pay.

Industry, and particularly seasonal industries, must so adjust themselves as to bring uniformity by the spread of production during the entire year, except, of course, that they cannot always control the weather and the season. It is possible in a great many of the now so-called seasonal industries.

Mr. Green, I appreciate the opportunity of coming here. I know you are going to have a very successful convention. I see several groups from my State here, so the convention is sure not to go wrong with the help and assistance of the State of New York.

May I say in closing that your records of actual accomplishment, the conditions of organized labor today, present justification for your existence and are a great tribute to your history and traditions. I wish you the best of success, and may the time come soon when the enormous resources of this country, when the great means of production of this country will be so applied as to give the full enjoyment of everything that this country produces to all of its people.

Just one word. I want to extend an invitation to the American Federation of Labor. I am not going to compete with New Orleans or St. Louis or Indianapolis, so I will not ask you to come to New York in 1940, but I will ask you to come to New York in 1941. By that time I will have served practically my eight years in office as Mayor. My term expires in 1941, and I want the opportunity of leading a great parade of the entire American Federation of Labor up Fifth Avenue. So I now put in my bid for 1941 and I look forward to greeting you officially in New York City at that time.

(At the conclusion of the Mayor's address President Green presented him with the official convention badge.)

President Green: We have all been highly pleased and highly honored in the submission of this excellent, sincere, enthusiastic address delivered by Mayor LaGuardia and by his visit this afternoon. You know he is always an inspiration. His addresses always touch us very deeply. He has measured up to his characteristic standard this afternoon. I think he delivered one of the finest addresses this afternoon that he has ever delivered in all his official career.

I thank the Mayor in your behalf for coming here, and I express to him our deep appreciation of the excellent address which he has delivered.

Message of Sympathy

In conformity with the instructions given me last evening I have sent the following telegram:

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 6, 1939.

Most Reverend Bernard J. Sheil, D.D., V.G.,
Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago,
Saint Andrews Rectory,
3540 North Paulina Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

The officers and delegates in attendance at the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor now being held in Cincinnati, Ohio, officially directed me to express their feeling of sorrow over the death of Cardinal Mundelein. All recognize Cardinal Mundelein as a staunch defender of human rights and an expert exponent of democracy, freedom and liberty. We all share with you and the associates of the Cardinal your deep consciousness of the loss which the nation sustained as a result of the Cardinal's death. I convey to you sincere sympathy of the membership of the American Federation of Labor to the family, relatives and the associates of Cardinal Mundelein in this hour of your sad bereavement.

WM. GREEN, President,

American Federation of Labor.

That will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Close, on behalf of the committee, submitted the following:

In accordance with the request contained in a communication received from President

Frank X. Martel of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, who advises it is necessary for him to return to Detroit, we recommend the substitution of Joseph Cummings, a member of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Local No. 25, in his place.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: May I ask Vice-President Bugniazet if his committee is ready to report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Vice-President Bugniazet: Yes. The Secretary of the committee, Miss Berniece B. Heffner, will make the report for the committee.

President Green: Secretary Heffner is recognized. She is the very efficient Secretary of the American Federation of Government Employees. She is serving on this committee, and the committee, recognizing her qualifications, selected her to serve as Secretary of the committee.

Delegate Heffner, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

State Labor Legislation

In that portion of the Executive Council's report captioned "State Labor Legislation," Page 155, your committee concurs in the statement of the Executive Council with reference to State Labor Legislation, and your committee urges that all organizations cooperate with the State Federations of Labor in their continued effort to combat all reactionary legislation having for its object the restriction of the normal functions of trade unions, and press for the enactment of remedial and protective legislation for all wage earners.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

State Department of Labor

In that portion of the Executive Council's report captioned, "State Department of Labor," Page 155, your committee notes the report of the Executive Council on this question, and recommends that in all states where this legislation may come up for enactment that the subject matter be placed in the hands of the State Departments of Labor, where such departments exist, instead of the De-

partment of Public Welfare, or the State Board of Health.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workmen's Compensation and Occupational Disease

In that portion of the Executive Council's report captioned, "Workmen's Compensation and Occupational Disease," Page 156, your committee recommends aggressive action with a view to remedying lax interpretations in existing Workmen's Compensation laws, so as to fully protect the right of the worker, and the further recommendation that the laws be administered by the Labor Department, or a Commission created specifically for this purpose, one member to represent labor, the member to be recommended by the State Federation of Labor. Your committee further recommends to the State Federations of Labor that they continue in their endeavor to secure complete coverage under these laws, and the establishment of a state fund for the payment of all benefits under the Workmen's Compensation Act.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

State Labor Relations

In that portion of the Executive Council's report captioned, "State Labor Relations," Page 157, your committee recommends that more support be given to the Legislative Committees of State Federations of Labor, with a view to more aggressive action being taken in defeating these restrictive bills, and further recommends that the American Federation of Labor issue a pamphlet to all national and international unions, State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions and Federal Unions, calling to their attention the Anti-Labor legislation that has been presented or enacted, asking national and international unions that these pamphlets be reproduced in their official publications so that all workers may be fully advised, and have full knowledge of this trend in legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Wages, Hours, Industrial Home Work and Child Labor

In that portion of the Executive Council's

report captioned, "Wages, Hours, Industrial Home Work and Child Labor," on Page 158, your committee calls to the attention of the Labor Movement the report of the Executive Council and recommends that the Executive Council make a further careful study of the subject, and that the results of this study be furnished to all State Federations of Labor for their consideration and guidance.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Aliens

In that portion of the Executive Council's report captioned, "Aliens," Page 148, your committee recommends concurrence in the statement of the Executive Council that, "Legislation relating to aliens should be carefully watched, in order to guard against general inroads on individual liberties under the guise of preferential treatment of citizens."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Convict Labor

In that portion of the Executive Council's report captioned, "Convict Labor," Page 159, your committee recommends that in the 14 States still lacking the State-use system in the manufacture of goods, wares and merchandise produced by prison labor that the State Federations continue in their endeavors to have legislatures enact convict labor legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Child Labor

In that portion of the Executive Council's report captioned, "Child Labor," Page 159, your committee notes with interest the action of the Supreme Court on this question, and expresses the opinion that this action should have a beneficial and stimulating effect on the workers in the States who have not enacted the Child Labor Amendment. We urge the State Federations in those States, as well as all organized workers cooperating with their State Federations of Labor, to seek the support of all organizations and citizens in appealing to their legislatures for the immediate enactment of a Child Labor Amendment so that this amendment will become part of the Constitution of the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Calling for Reorganization of Virginia State Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate W. D. Anderson, Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, It is the belief of a large number of the members of the trade union movement of the State of Virginia that the Virginia State Federation of Labor has not been functioning for the best interests of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, At the last convention of the Virginia Federation of Labor, which was held in May, 1939, in the City of Newport News, Va., approximately 75 delegates, representing approximately 8,000 union members, arose en masse and left the convention in protest to the biased and unparliamentary ruling of the officers of the Virginia Federation of Labor and gathered at the Warwick Hotel at Newport News, Virginia, to discuss ways and means as to the best method to pursue in trying to get the American Federation of Labor to take action; and

WHEREAS, This group of trade unionists selected five international representatives, namely Mr. C. E. Haury of the Operating Engineers, Mr. Thomas O'Brien of the International Teamsters and Chauffeurs, Mr. C. V. Ernest of the International Pressmen's Union, Mr. W. H. Garrett of the Painters and Decorators, Mr. Walter Hegeman of the Butchers and Meat Cutters, as a committee to call on President William Green and protest against the tactics that were being pursued by the officers of the Virginia Federation of Labor and request him to call a special convention of the organized labor movement in the State of Virginia for the purpose of reorganizing the Virginia Federation of Labor so that it would function for the best interests of the workers of the state and not to be used for a political football; or to send one of his special representatives into the State and take over the offices of the Virginia Federation of Labor to conduct it under the laws of the American Federation of Labor for a period of not less than 12 months; and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned representatives were promised some relief in the matter after this matter had been placed before the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and to date we have not heard anything more in the matter; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, October, 1939, expresses itself as approving this request of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Richmond, Va., consisting of 44 local unions representing approximately 20,000 members, and instruct the President of the American Federation of Labor within 90 days after the adjournment of this convention to either call a special convention of all of the local unions in the

State of Virginia to set up a State Federation of Labor in the place of the one that is now holding charter, or for him to send one of his personal representatives into the State to take over the offices of the now existing State Federation of Labor and conduct it according to the laws and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee reporting on Resolution No. 40, first day's proceedings, makes the following report: Mr. W. F. Robinson, President of the Central Trades and Labor Council, Richmond, Virginia, appeared before the committee and stated that the intent of the resolution had been carried out by the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in their August, 1939, meeting, and therefore requested that the resolution be withdrawn at this time. Your committee requests permission for the withdrawal of this resolution.

Delegate Heffner moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: Are there any objections to granting the request for the withdrawal of the resolution referred to? Hearing none, it is so ordered and the request is granted.

Delegate Heffner: This concludes the report of the Committee on State Organizations.

Respectfully submitted,

G. M. BUGNAZET, Chairman
 BERNICE B. HEFFNER, Secretary
 JOSEPH A. MULLANEY
 JOHN CLINTON
 WM. E. WALTER
 JOHN WOODS
 ADOLPH J. FRITZ
 THOMAS DONNELLY
 CHARLES T. CRANE
 FRANK C. SNYDER
 GUST ANDERSON
 ROY BREWER
 THOMAS HUTSON
 LEO ABERNATHY
 W. S. GROSS
 GEORGE MEANY
 LOUIS KOENIG
 E. H. WILLIAMS
 BERNARD QUINN

Committee on State Organizations.

Vice-President Bugniet: I move the report of the Committee on State Organizations as a whole be adopted.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Report of Committee on Laws

President Green: The Chair now recog-

nizes Chairman Tobin, of the Committee on Laws.

Vice-President Tobin: Edward Polz, of the Photo Engravers, Secretary of the Committee, will make the report. We have very little to report and we should be through in a short time.

Delegate Polz, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates in attendance at the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee on Laws has held several meetings and carefully considered those matters referred to it, and desires to submit the following report:

Favoring Increase in A. F. of L. Per Capita Tax for National and International Unions

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, Elmer P. Meinz, Matt Slater, James S. Killen, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has greatly increased its membership in recent years; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is now called upon to render more service to its affiliated unions than at any time in its history; and

WHEREAS, The present per capita tax of one cent a member a month paid by affiliated international and national trade unions does not give the American Federation of Labor sufficient funds to carry on its widespread activities; and

WHEREAS, The magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor must not be retarded by any lack of finances; and

WHEREAS, The Denver and Houston conventions of the American Federation of Labor found it necessary to levy an assessment of one cent a member a month, which, unfortunately, resulted in much confusion and misunderstanding among the members of affiliated unions as to the purpose and the necessity of this assessment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That that part of Section One of Article Ten of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor pertaining to per capita tax from national and international trade unions be amended by striking out the word "one" cent a member a month and substituting therefor the word "two" cents a member a month.

The representatives of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, the introducers of this resolu-

tion, also the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, appeared before your committee to urge adoption of this resolution.

The committee after due deliberation voted to non-concur in the resolution and recommend approval of its action. Delegate Olsen requested to be recorded as voting in the negative on the motion.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Burke, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers: As one of the introducers of this resolution, I rise, Mr. Chairman, to oppose the report of the committee and urge the adoption of the resolution. During the past two years national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been paying one cent a member assessment in addition to the regular one cent per member per capita tax. I think we all know why we have been paying this assessment. The American Federation of Labor had to have a greater revenue to take advantage of its opportunity. The American Federation of Labor could not have attempted to do the work that has been done during the past two years but for the additional funds provided by the assessment.

Now the time has come when the American Federation of Labor must do one of three things. It must either curtail some of its activities, it must continue the assessment from year to year, or it must raise the per capita tax. Which of these three are we to do? What is the sensible thing to do? I think every delegate to this convention will agree with me that there must be no curtailment of the activities of the American Federation of Labor. On the contrary, those activities must be increased and broadened. That leaves us with two alternatives. We must either continue the assessment from year to year or we must raise the per capita tax.

As one delegate to this convention, I favor raising the per capita tax. I believe it would have been much better if the Denver convention had met this issue squarely and courageously two years ago and raised the tax at that time. If that had been done considerable misunderstanding, dissension and grief could have been avoided. If that had been done we would not now be faced with the suspension of one of the unions that

founded the American Federation of Labor because its members refused to pay the assessment.

In my opinion, Mr. Chairman, the American Federation of Labor has never at any time in its history been properly financed. I believe that at one time the per capita tax from affiliated national and international unions was one-half cent per member per month, or a total of six cents a year. At the present time, as we all know, the individual members of the affiliated national and international unions pays one cent per member per month per capita tax and another cent in the form of an assessment, or a grand total of 24 cents a year.

I have been a member of the American Federation of Labor for about 30 years or more. As one member, in all the years that I have held membership, I have paid to the American Federation of Labor about \$3.60.

I believe that if the rank and file of the members of affiliated national and international unions actually understood the work that has been done by the American Federation of Labor during the nearly 60 years of its existence, if they understood the work that is being done from day to day in behalf of the working people, there would be no objection on their part to paying a per capita tax of two cents or even five cents.

It is significant to know, Mr. Chairman, that the unions affiliated with the C. I. O. are paying five cents per member per month per capita tax. That is, they are supposed to be paying it. I presume it would be more accurate to say it that way, but that is what they are supposed to pay. I cannot guarantee that they are paying it. Let us assume that they are. Let us see what this difference in per capita tax paid by unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and those affiliated with the C. I. O. means in good, hard cash. The union I represent, the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, is at the present time paying per capita tax on 35,000 members, which means that as Secretary of this organization I send every month to Secretary Frank Morrison \$350.00 for per capita tax, or a total of \$4,200 per year. Were we affiliated with the C. I. O. I would be sending to the secretary of that organization \$1,750 a month, or a total of \$21,000 a year. Some difference, isn't it? Suppose the membership of the C. I. O. unions was anywhere near

as large as the membership of the American Federation of Labor—see what an advantage that would give that organization.

Should this resolution be adopted and the per capita tax increased to two cents per member per month, C. I. O. unions will still be paying twice as much as the members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Every delegate to this convention knows that the American Federation of Labor has a record of achievement second to no other labor organization in the world. That does not mean, however, that we can rest upon our laurels and say, look, behold our deeds.

Mayor La Guardia told you these are trying times. President Roosevelt, in his letter to this convention, urging unity between the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O., expressed the same thought. Thomas Paine, way back in Revolutionary War days, expressed a similar thought when he said, "These are times that try men's souls." We all know that the hearts and souls of the peoples of all democratic countries are going to be tried in the months and years ahead of us.

We talk about keeping out of the war. I tell you that the American Federation of Labor is in the war. Our Canadian membership is in the war, don't forget that. We have 10,000 members in Canada, and they are in the war. We have a delegate here from Port Arthur, Ontario. He is in the war, his country is in the war.

Delegates have come to me and said, "What is the idea of this resolution, what is in your mind?" We have but one idea, we have but one purpose, we have but one motive, the delegates of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, in introducing this resolution, and that is to strengthen the American Federation of Labor. The working people of this country are going to need the American Federation of Labor during the months and years ahead of us perhaps more than they have ever needed it before. The American Federation of Labor in the months and years ahead will undoubtedly be the spearhead of the democratic labor forces of the world. We shall have functions and duties to perform, greater obligations to assume, than we ever had before. That is why our delegation introduced this resolution, to increase the per capita tax, and I hope the report of the committee will

be defeated and the resolution adopted by this convention.

Vice-President Tobin: I did not think we would have to discuss this matter or I would not have started the report of the committee tonight. However, perhaps it is just as well that Brother Burke brought the matter out again.

You know you have acted favorably on the report of the Executive Council, which is to continue the one cent assessment. For the next year at least that makes a payment of two cents per month per member to the Federation.

If you were to adopt this amendment now you would be paying three cents per month per member. But I am not going to ask you to vote unfavorably on the committee's report on that flimsy excuse. I am going to ask you to vote in favor of the committee's report because, with the exception of one man, all the members of the committee favored the report, knowing the conditions in the labor movement, knowing that there are many organizations that find it very difficult to pay the one cent assessment, in addition to their per capita tax, and in paying that they are hoping and believing that the time will come, as I confidently believe it will myself, when we may eliminate the assessment and go back to the one cent tax.

When I came into this Federation as a delegate we were paying half a cent per capita tax. I was a member of the Committee on Laws 32 years ago and I have been a member in succeeding conventions. When the Executive Council a few years after that asked that we increase the tax to three-quarters of one cent they felt that they were in heaven. Then a few years after that the plea was again made by President Gompers and the members of the Executive Council that we consider raising the tax from three-quarters of a cent to one cent. I remember President Gompers appearing before the Committee on Laws. I am not even going to hold you to his statements, because times have changed, but at that time he made the plea and said that that would be the crowning success of his life, he would have reached the pinnacle of his ambition if this Federation would increase the per capita tax from three-quarters of a cent to one cent. We did that and he followed up that statement—and

remember again, I am not going to hold you to that statement—that this Federation should never expect to make itself a money-collecting institution and that it ought to continue to support itself successfully on that contribution.

Now, the Federation has other revenues. I believe you told us in the Executive Council the other day, Secretary Morrison, the membership of the Federal Labor Unions. What is that membership?

Secretary Morrison: In August it was 203,000.

Vice-President Tobin: The American Federation of Labor is about the third or fourth largest international union in this Federation. It has over 200,000 members in its Federal and local unions paying per capita tax, a per capita tax higher than that paid by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and higher than some other unions receive, and these unions have to carry on great campaigns. Of course a good deal of that money is expended on the Federal Unions. I don't think any of it is wasted, but you figure up 35 cents a month and you will find it is a pretty substantial amount from the Federal and local unions.

Brother Burke is paying \$350.00 a month. Perhaps he can well afford to do it, I don't know what their per capita tax is. But our organization is paying \$7,500 a month and that is all we intend to pay at the present time, because that is all we are able to pay.

I don't think you need to change the law to have this Federation carry on successfully from a financial standpoint, as long as you have decided to continue the one cent assessment for this year at least. I am not carried away because the C. I. O. has a five-cent tax. They could just as well have made it 10 cents. The question is, are they collecting it and are their unions paying it? I have my own opinion about that. I think there are about three unions paying their per capita tax, from what I can learn, and most of that is refunded to the other unions in their organizing campaigns.

That has no effect on me. I cannot agree with their policies and theories, and I don't think their unions should be a guiding influence for this Federation.

The membership of many of the building trades organizations have been out of work in some instances to the extent of fifty per cent, and now they have to carry on a campaign because of raids being made on their membership, they have got to finance that campaign, and many of them could not consider increasing their present contributions to this Federation.

I want to see this Federation properly financed. I know something of its workings. I was your Treasurer for many years. I also want to see this Federation just having what it needs and not much more than it needs, because after all, some consideration must be given to this fact, whether or not the organizations that constitute this Federation are in position to do the things that are demanded sometimes by resolutions of this kind. I want you to know that I would not do anything except that which, in my judgment, would be helpful to the Federation, and I believe you will be helping this Federation by voting to sustain the report of the committee.

Delegate Volz, Photo-Engravers, Secretary of the Committee: I would just like to call attention to this significant fact in considering this proposition. Of course, it takes a two-thirds vote to amend the constitution. If the per capita tax is increased in that manner, of course it will mean a two-thirds vote to again reduce the per capita tax at some future date if it is found to be no longer necessary. On the other hand, with an assessment such as was levied here this week, it takes but a majority vote, and that is easier to dispose of, because again by majority vote we can call it off when the time comes that the extra financial resources are no longer necessary.

The committee took that into consideration, feeling that the matter could be handled better by means of a majority vote, which put the assessment on and which can take it off, rather than leaving it to the uncertainty of a two-thirds vote, and trying to remove this extra assessment at some future time when we may no longer need it as we do today.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Amendment to Article VI, Section 6

The attention of your committee was called to a legal opinion having been rendered by the General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor advising that Article VI, Section 6, be amended to conform to the laws of the land as the same relates to legality of procedure in exercising disciplinary action, and said opinion having been referred by the President of the American Federation of Labor to the Committee on Laws for consideration and action thereon, your committee has considered the same and recommends the adoption of the following amendment:

Amend Article VI, Section 6, by adding thereto the following paragraph:

Disciplinary action by the President shall consist of "emergency action" and "decisions," the latter being subject to the Appeal to the Executive Council hereinbefore provided. "Emergency action" shall be taken when in the opinion of the President it is necessary to preserve the rights of the American Federation of Labor, or of any affiliate mentioned in this section, or of any officers or members thereof, and for the purpose of preserving the status quo. Emergency action shall be effective only for 45 days unless within such 45 days written charges are caused to be served on the affiliate involved, or on the officers or members involved if they are individually charged. If such charges are served, then the Emergency Action shall stand until a trial is had before the President or a representative designated by him to hear them. Such trial shall commence within 45 days after the charges have been served. If the trial is before a representative designated by the President he shall report his findings orally or in writing to the President, who shall within 15 days render a decision in the matter. Such decision shall consist of a dismissal of the charges if found untrue or that they, or part of them, are sustained, whereupon the President shall take such disciplinary action as hereinbefore authorized. Such action shall constitute the President's "decision," but shall be subject to change or modification by him before an appeal to the Executive Council is acted upon. An appeal to the Executive Council shall be in writing and mailed to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor within 15 days after the President has rendered his decision. Pending an appeal, the decision of the President shall remain in full force and effect.

Your committee moves the approval and adoption of this amendment, the purpose of which is, as pointed out, to prescribe procedure to be followed by the President in

exercising disciplinary action when necessary, in dealing with State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions.

Delegate Volz: I move the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

An "aye" and "nay" vote was taken.

President Green: The motion is carried by more than a two-thirds vote, and it is so ordered.

Delegate Volz: This concludes the report of your Committee on Laws, and is respectfully submitted:

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman
EDWARD J. VOLZ, Secretary
JOSEPH N. WEBER
DENNIS LANE
WILLIAM QUIRK
J. J. FARNAN
JOHN R. STEVENSON
JOHN O'MALLEY
JAMES L. KELLEY
WILLIAM J. GORMAN
ALBERT G. HUNT
J. J. FITZGERALD
HERBERT RIVERS
JASPER N. DAVIS
J. P. McCURDY
WILLIAM MCCARTHY
JOHN J. EGAN
R. A. OLSON

Committee on Laws.

Vice-President Tobin: I move that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor as amended, as a whole, be approved by this convention

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote of the convention.

Announcement

Delegate George announced that a testimonial banquet and dance would be given in honor of President Green in the Hall of Mirrors on Saturday night and that all the delegates were invited.

At 5:50 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned under the rules to 9:30 o'clock Monday morning, October 9, 1939.

Sixth Day—Monday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 9, 1939.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees:

Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordes, A. S.; Brown, J. (Dave); Browa, R. J.; Burr, R. M.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Demko, Frances; Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Hansen, H. I.; Heymanns, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly Tom; Kelly, John P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Powers, Jos.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosovist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Clyde S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

INVOCATION

Rabbi Samuel Wohl,
Isaac M. Wise Temple

At this moment of communion with Thee, oh God, we invoke Thy blessing upon the men and women of the American Federation of Labor who have come here to contribute of their heart and mind to the service of our fellow countrymen. How much do we owe to the labor of others; gifts and blessings without number coming into our very cradles as our birthright. Toilsome is the way of our brothers through the centuries. Day after day they dig far away from the sun that we may be warm, enlist in outposts of peril that we may be secure and brave the terrors of the unknown for truths that shed light on our way.

Let us then, oh Lord, be just and generous in our dealings with our fellow men, sharing with them the fruits of our common labor. Help us to be among those who are willing to sacrifice that others may not hunger, who dare to be bearers of light in the dark loneliness of stricken lives, who struggle and sacrifice, for the bringing of happiness among men. Help us in the building of a better land for our people and our children, and a fellowship of all men upon this earth. Bless, oh Father, the endeavors of the President and the leaders of this great Federation entrusted with the guardianship of our lives and our liberties. Bestow Thy blessings, oh Father, upon this great assembly, and reward it with the joy of progress, of unity, of achievement and of peace. Amen.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

October 5, 1939.

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor Convention
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Mr. Green:

The National Religion and Labor Foundation sends hearty greetings to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. We pledge our support in helping the workers of America, through the trade union movement, to achieve their legal and ethical rights. Through service in the Foundation ministers and teachers are identifying themselves increasingly with labor's efforts to advance organization, establish collective bargaining, conquer unemployment, and secure a living wage under decent working conditions. We pledge ourselves, especially in these days of crisis, to join with labor in guarding American peace, to the end that our progressive labor legislation, labor autonomy and civil liberty may not be impaired.

We are grateful for the efforts you have made in the past for unity in the ranks of labor, and for the interest the present convention is taking in a problem that concerns us all.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WILLARD UPHAUS,
Executive Secretary,
(Signed) LEON ROSSER LAND,
National Chairman,
(Signed) JEROME DAVIS,
Founder for Executive Com.

New York, N. Y.,
October 5, 1939.

President,
Delegates of American Federation of Labor
Convention
Netherland Plaza
Cincinnati.

In the name of the patients at the Los Angeles Sanatorium and Ex-Patients Home we desire to express our gratitude to you, President Green, and your associates for the whole-hearted support and cooperation we have received. Through your efforts many trade unionists have been cured in our sanatorium. For this we pray that the Lord send you all long and useful lives so that you may continue to lead the American Labor movement to greater heights and better achievements. Best wishes for a very suc-

cessful convention. May the culmination of this convention bring more happiness to the trade unionists in this country.

MOLLIE FRIEDMAN,
Eastern Regional Director,
Los Angeles Sanatorium.

Invitations to hold the 1940 convention in Providence, Rhode Island, were received from William L. Connolly, President, State Branch, A. F. of L., and Thomas P. McCoy Mayor of the city of Pawtucket, Rhode Island; also an invitation from Thomas N. Dysart, President, St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, was received to hold the convention in that city.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Chairman Bates: Your Committee on Executive Council's Report has completed their work with the exception of two sections. We desire to make a partial report at this time. The report will be made by Secretary Lynch of the committee.

Secretary Lynch submitted the following report:

United Textile Workers of America (Executive Council's Report, Pages 48 and 49)

The report relates that this international which was one of the union group establishing the C. I. O., officially withdrew from that organization and made application for reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The international failed to find in the C. I. O. the uniform fair dealing and support to which it had long been accustomed in the American Federation of Labor.

The announcement of its decision to withdraw from the C. I. O. was met by a C. I. O. effort to seize the funds of the union in Providence, Rhode Island. To protect their funds and other possessions the unions entered suit for protection of their rights. The court decided in favor of the Providence locals which definitely strengthened the unions in their efforts to return to the A. F. of L. The charter of the United Textile Workers was returned to textile unions meeting in convention in Washington last May.

We recommend approval of the action of the Executive Council in granting reaffiliation and an international charter to these textile unions. We recommend that all possible assistance be given the organization in its efforts to rebuild its organization and to rally

to its ranks those workers believing in the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees

(Executive Council's Report, Page 52)

The Executive Council has made repeated efforts over the past four years to bring about amalgamation between this Union and the International Molders Union.

Efforts to hold meetings between the two unions have been rejected by the officers of the Foundry Employees Union.

Continued friction has existed in the foundry industry because of the improper organizing efforts of the Foundry Employees Union affecting all other International Unions having members employed in the foundries.

At an Executive Council meeting held in May 1939 the facts surrounding this matter were submitted to the Executive Council and the Council directed "that if the amalgamation is not effected by the time the Council prepares the report to the Convention, the Council will recommend to the Convention the revocation of the charter of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees."

Inasmuch as amalgamation has not been effected your committee recommends approval of the Council's direction to revoke the charter of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees and "direct its membership to become affiliated with the International Molders Union of North America."

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Railway Employees' Department

(Executive Council's Report, Page 92)

This Department has rendered a full, comprehensive and illuminating report of its activities.

The report contains matters of interest and importance to the labor movement generally.

Your committee recommends careful reading of this section of the Executive Council's Report. In it is documented much important

material to support its conclusions and recommendations with regard to American railroads. Its contents should be of much importance to government in reaching decisions with regard to the present and future of this important part of our national transportation system.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union

(Executive Council's Report, Page 46)

The San Francisco Convention held during October 1934 directed the Executive Council "to issue charters for National or International Unions in automotive, cement, aluminum and such other mass production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary to meet the situation."

Pursuant to said instructions this work has been carried forward in a commendable manner. Prior to 1934 no organization existed among cement workers. Today close to one hundred local unions exist in this industry.

In May 1939 a charter was issued which described the jurisdiction of this new International Union "to cover the workers engaged in the manufacture, production and processing of cement, lime and gypsum."

Your Committee directs attention that the lime and gypsum industry are separate and distinct from the cement industry and that many workers in lime and gypsum plants as well as cement plants are organized in other International unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.

For this reason your committee recommends that this entire subject matter be again referred to the Council to insure that the jurisdiction set forth in this new charter does not abrogate or infringe upon the jurisdiction of existing unions engaged in quarrying and mining or in the construction of plants, machinery, operation, installation or maintenance of machinery or buildings.

Your Committee is of the opinion that the protection of these jurisdictional rights can be considered and adjudicated by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as they may currently arise.

With these qualifications your committee approves of the issuance of the charter to the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union and express their wish that another important, self-sustaining International Union will be added to the family of the American Federation of Labor as a result of this charter grant.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Building and Construction Trades Department

(Executive Council's Report, Page 91)

This constitutes a report of the Executive Officers of this Department to the American Federation of Labor.

The report set forth growing memberships, sound finances and successful legislative activity.

Acknowledgment is given to the legislative department of the American Federation of Labor for its unstinted support, aid and assistance.

This Department suffered the loss of two able leaders and officers during the past year.

This Convention, in accordance with custom, will pay its tribute to these and other leaders who have passed away since our last Convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Painters-Upholsterers Agreement Covering Furniture Workers

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Joseph F. Kelley, James M. Meehan, Christian M. Madson, John Oliver, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

WHEREAS, The convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Denver, Colorado (1937), in the decision rendered in the controversy between the Upholsterers and the Brotherhood of Painters, recommended that the trades involved meet with the object in view of working out an agreement of common interest to the Internationals involved, and

WHEREAS, Such meetings were held with the approval of President Green and an agreement was entered into between the Upholsterers and the Brotherhood of Painters in the month of June, 1938, and

WHEREAS, This agreement entered into between the two Internationals — in good faith—has not been approved or recognized by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America protest the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor denying the Brotherhood of Painters the right and privilege to negotiate and carry out the agreement with the Upholsterers' International when such agreement was adopted by the two Internationals involved.

Your committee has no authority to pass upon the merits of the request contained in this resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council for consideration.

Secretary Lynch moved the adoption of the report of the committee on Resolution No. 5. The motion was seconded.

Delegate Lindelof, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators: The Painters' delegation just want to know if the Executive Council will meet directly after the adjournment of the convention, and if so, will we have an opportunity to appear before them?

President Green: Yes; the Executive Council will meet here in this hotel immediately following the adjournment of this convention, and you and your delegation will be given an opportunity to appear before the Council.

Delegate Lindelof: That is satisfactory. This matter has been pending for a year.

President Green: President Lindelof advises that the report of the committee will be acceptable to the Painters and Decorators' delegation provided the delegation will have the privilege of meeting with the Executive Council immediately after the convention adjourns.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

Metal Trades Department

(Executive Council's Report, Page 92)

This Department, more than any other, has been confronted with problems arising from the dual unionism created by the C. I. O.

The promises of C. I. O. with respect to the Building and Construction Trades have been a reality for the International Unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department—during the past three years.

This problem has been met by these International Unions with courage and success.

All Internationals report increasing membership and the advancement of wages and maintenance and improvement of conditions of employment.

The Department itself reports improved financial reserves over last year. This has been brought about by increased membership in the affiliated International Unions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Printing Trades—Lithographers

(Executive Council's Report, Page 51)

Your committee recommends concurrence in the request of the Executive Council to continue its efforts to bring about adjustment of this controversy through conferences and agreements.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Seafarers International Union of N. A.

(Executive Council's Report, Page 47)

Under date of October 14th, 1938, the Executive Council issued a charter to the above International.

Since its formation it has reached a paid up membership of 15,000.

This International Union offers seamen an opportunity to join a constructive and dependable organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee is confident of the success of this International Union and urges continued support of its efforts by the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RESEARCH AND INFORMATION SERVICE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 62)

This service rendered by the American Federation to supply factual information to organizations in affiliation is an important activity of the Federation.

The rapidly increasing membership of the Federation and changing conditions of negotiations under conditions of laws recently enacted make factual information of growing importance.

Laws recently enacted give wider opportunity to labor organizations. The extension of opportunity carries with it an increased responsibility. The future success of our movement depends largely upon

informed and capable leadership and this leadership must have assistance from a fact finding research department.

In the interest of economy and efficiency it is advisable to develop this research work on one central agency. The Federation seems to be the logical agent in which to support and develop an efficient research department.

Your committee commends the efforts already made by the Federation in this direction and advocates its expansion to meet the needs of affiliated organizations.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 65)

In this part of the financial Executive Council's Report is set forth a partial report of the benefits paid by National and International Unions to their members.

Of necessity the report does not cover the additional benefits paid by Local Unions affiliated with these National and International Unions. This for the reason that Local Unions have local autonomy over the payments of such benefits and they are not reported to their respective National and International Unions.

During the past year the National and International Unions paid in excess of twenty-five million dollars to members eligible to receive benefits under provisions of their laws.

Benefit payments have been a part of trade unions since their formation more than a century ago. With growing membership and expanding efforts to include not only death benefits, but sick, strike, disability, old age and other benefits has involved important responsibilities to the membership of these unions. The payment of benefits running into substantial millions of dollars each year is no small responsibility.

Your committee is of the opinion that benefit payments have done much to build and maintain the membership of these National and International Unions. The efforts of unions in this direction are worthy of much wider publicity than now given. This

is needed as a matter of public education. The general public should know that many National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are doing much to help, aid and assist all members who are in need because of circumstances beyond their control.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Bates: Mr. Chairman, that completes the partial report of the committee. The committee hopes to have its final report tomorrow.

PUERTO RICO

President Green: The Chair desires to refer to the Committee on Executive Council's Report the supplemental report of the Executive Council under the caption "Puerto Rico." The committee will please take notice of this reference.

The Chair recognizes Vice-President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee on Organization.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION Cement Workers

Vice-President Duffy: Secretary Ozanic, of this committee, had to leave, and he left with me that part of the Executive Council's report dealing with the subject, "Cement Workers." This portion of our report was held over until the Committee on Executive Council's Report made its report on the granting of the International Charter to the Cement Workers. That matter has been disposed of this morning in the partial report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

I told you at that time that the Committee on Organization did not have the granting of the charter to the Cement Workers before them. The only thing we had was the progress made from the last convention up to this time by the Cement Workers. You remember that the report of the committee at that time was to concur in this part of the Executive Council's Report. That is the motion now before the convention.

President Green: The delegates will recall the report of the Committee on Organization a few days ago upon the subject mat-

ter before the convention. You remember it, and the question now before the convention is the motion to adopt the committee's report, which recommended concurrence in that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption, "Cement Workers."

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote of the convention.

Vice-President Duffy: This completes the report by the Committee on Organization and it is signed by the committee.

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman
JOE OZANIC, Secretary
V. O. GARDNER
JOHN P. BURKE
FLORENCE MARSTON
PATRICK H. REAGAN
JESS FLETCHER
EDWARD CANAVAN
JAMES BOVE
CHRIS LANE
JOHN J. SCULLY
JOHN B. PREWITT
EARL W. JIMERSON
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
JOSEPH SCHMIDT
J. W. BUZZELL
GEORGE S. BENNETT
GEORGE KIEBLER
ROBERT BRUCK.

Committee on Organization.

Vice-President Duffy moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Organization as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green asked if any of the committees were prepared to report, and none were ready at this time.

President Green: It seems now none of the committees are ready to report this morning. The Committee on Resolutions, I understand, will be prepared to submit a partial report at the afternoon session. We have no scheduled addresses this morning.

The Chair wishes to announce that Senator McCarran, of Nevada, will address the convention this week, and Senator Schwollenbach, of Washington, will also speak to the delegates some day later this week. Archbishop McNicholas, of Cincinnati, is also scheduled to speak to the delegates.

Vice-President Harrison announced a meeting of the Committee on Education in Parlor E upon adjournment of the morning session.

Delegate Quinn, on behalf of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, announced

a meeting of that committee upon adjournment.

President Green announced a meeting of the Executive Council in Parlor G, upon adjournment of the Monday afternoon session.

Secretary Morrison read the following announcement:

All officers and delegates from State Federations of Labor are requested to meet Monday, October 9, at 8:00 o'clock, p. m., in Parlor H to discuss some educational programs.

Supplemental Report Committee On Credentials

Delegate Noxon, on behalf of the committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommended the seating of the following:

Walter Cenerazzo, representing the Gloucester, Massachusetts, Central Labor Union, 1 vote.

Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union—Rose Norwood, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.

Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Walter H. Smith, 1 vote.

In accordance with request received from President Maloney of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada, we recommend the seating of William Warren in place of Campbell to represent that organization.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Sunday Church Services

President Green: A number of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention delivered addresses in churches of the city yesterday. I wish to read for your information and for the record the names of the delegates and the names of the various churches:

President William Green, Ninth Street Baptist Church.

Herbert H. Elvin, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, Madisonville Methodist Church.

William C. Birthright, President, Journeymen Barbers' International Union, Church of the Resurrection.

John B. Robinson, Vice-President, Journeymen Barbers' International Union, St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Dr. George B. Counts, President, American Federation of Teachers, Lincoln Baptist Church.

Spencer Miller, Jr., Director, Workers Educational Bureau of America, Calvary Episcopal Church and the Church Council Radio Program over Station W. C. P. O.

Gilbert E. Hyatt, International News Service, Shiloh Methodist Church.

M. P. Webster, Vice-President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Kenneth I. Taylor, Secretary, Massachu-

setts State Federation of Labor, College Hill Presbyterian Church.

Roy Brewer, President, Nebraska Federation of Labor, Columbia Baptist Church.

No further business coming before the convention at this time Delegate Lindelof, Painters, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention recess until 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

The motion was seconded and carried and the convention recessed at 10:45 a. m. to 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

Sixth Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordges, A. S.; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, R. J.; Burr, R. M.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Demko, Frances; Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Hansen, H. I.; Heymanns, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jelly Tom; Kelly, John P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Powers, Jos.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Clyde S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Woll of the Committee on Resolutions, for a partial report—Chairman Woll.

Report of the Committee On Resolutions

Chairman Woll: Usually the committee reports the resolutions as they have been presented to the convention. However, at the request of the President, we are making a partial report; hence we shall report this afternoon on a few of the earlier resolutions and then on subjects of the Executive Council's Report. Then when the committee has again been given the floor we will take up the regular way of reporting resolutions and sections of the Executive Council's Report.

President Green: Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Frey: If there is no objection, the Secretary will read the caption of the resolution and the "Resolves," and then the committee's recommendation.

Provision for Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employes

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The present national administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employes,

and is fostering the principle of selective representation, and

WHEREAS, The organized employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location a long way from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes; and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure, and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act specifically gives the Federal employes the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representatives without reduction in compensation or position. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave or quarters status.

Your Committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the recommendation of the committee. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Urging Application of Apprenticeship Standards Recommended by Federal Committee on Apprenticeship

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The education and training of employed young people is of paramount concern to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor unequivocally supports the program of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, Division of Labor Standards, U. S. Department of Labor, which requires equal representation of labor and management on all approved national, state and local apprenticeship councils and committees; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has expressed its recommendations on the development of a consistent national apprenticeship policy through resolutions unanimously adopted at the 56th, 57th, and 58th national conventions; and

WHEREAS, During the past year legisla-

tion has been enacted through the efforts of State Federation of Labor providing for co-operation between labor and employers in the supervision of apprenticeship in California, Nevada, North Carolina and Minnesota; and active State apprenticeship councils, having equal representation from labor and employers were established in the Labor Departments in Florida, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Kentucky; and

WHEREAS, The Administrator of The Fair Labor Standards Act, and the Secretary of Labor, under authority of the Walsh-Healey (Public Contracts) Act have recognized the intent of Congress, through Public 308, to set up a uniform national system of apprenticeship, by designating the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship as the agency to approve all apprenticeship agreements, subject to those acts where part of the Wages are to be less than the established minimum; and

WHEREAS, The work being carried on by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship meets with the high standards of public service expected of a public agency by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all Federal Agencies which employ, or which regulate the employment of, young workers in skilled trades be urged to formulate apprenticeship standards which meet those recommended by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship; and be it

RESOLVED, That State Federations of Labor be requested to continue their constructive efforts to secure sound apprenticeship legislation, administered by State Departments of Labor, with adequate appropriations for administration, and establishing uniform standards and terminology; and be it further

RESOLVED, That because of the growing volume of apprenticeship work and its great importance to labor, management and young people, the Congress of the United States be requested to increase the appropriation for the administration and field work of the Federal Apprenticeship Service.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and I move the adoption of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Proposing Organization of Union Committees to Promote Industrial Safety Program

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Industrial accidents in the United States during the last year alone caused 16,500 deaths and 1,350,000 injuries; and

WHEREAS, These deaths and injuries represent an economic loss amounting to about \$650,000,000; and

WHEREAS, This economic loss represents a staggering sum, it is a trivial amount when compared with the suffering and human misery which results from work accidents; and

WHEREAS, Because of numerical exemption, industrial exemptions and elective workmen's compensation acts, only about 40 per cent of the workers in the United States have the protection intended by workmen's compensation laws; and

WHEREAS, Workers will continue to be killed and maimed by accidents unless and until organized labor takes a definite hand in stopping this human waste; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the 59th convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby urge all affiliated labor groups, including local units, to immediately organize safety committees within their organizations and to actively engage in the promotion of safe and healthful work practices; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this safety work be undertaken along the following specific lines:

(1) study and analysis of the safety and health problems of each trade or industry and the preparation of recommendations for the prevention of accidents and occupational diseases.

(2) inclusion in union agreements of clauses requiring the provision and maintenance of safe and healthful working conditions.

(3) exertion of pressure on state and local authorities for the adequate regulation of industry through specific safety and health requirements to the end that industrial accidents and occupational diseases may be prevented; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the benefits of workmen's compensation laws be extended to all workers and that exclusive state funds be set up so that injured workers will receive the full benefits due them, and at the same time bring about reduction in compensation insurance cost.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and I move the adoption of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Requesting Enforcement of Provisions of Wages and Hours Act in the Furniture Industry

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Wages and Hours Bill is a forward step in the right direction; and

WHEREAS, There is a need for improvement of its present provisions; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor go on record as urging the necessary appropriation of sufficient funds to carry on and enforce this Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor to the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to introduce this resolution to the National Convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Research Department be requested to make a thorough study of this Act with respect to Wages and Hours in the furniture industry.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution, and I move the adoption of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Frey: The next is a report of the committee upon a communication received by this convention from the President of the United States and the reply made to that communication by the President of the American Federation of Labor, both of which were referred to your committee.

Your committee has had before it for consideration the letter addressed to this convention by the President of the United States, in which he urged the American Federation of Labor to again meet with representatives of the C. I. O. for the purpose of endeavoring to bring unity in the American trade union movement.

We also have the reply made to that communication by the President of the American Federation of Labor.

It was impossible for your committee to consider these two important communications without keeping in mind the detailed and historic record covering the efforts of the American Federation of Labor from the beginning to bring unity into effect.

The record presented to this convention by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is exhaustive. It is a record of the facts, a record which indicates that from the time the C. I. O. was organized, continuous efforts

were made by the American Federation of Labor to heal the breach.

The record indicates that before the President of the United States took official notice of the breach, a conference was held between duly appointed representatives of both organizations, and that the conference referred to was able to reach an agreement as to the principles involved in establishing unity, and the methods by which those principles would be applied.

The record further indicates that after the representatives of the C. I. O. had agreed on these principles and methods, that they were vetoed by the Chairman of the C. I. O., his action, in substance, being a repudiation of what his own representatives had agreed to.

The President of the United States appealed to the Houston Convention last year to take immediate steps to heal the breach which existed, a similar communication being sent to the representatives of the C. I. O.

The convention by a unanimous vote complied with the President's request.

Although the American Federation of Labor placed itself publicly on record as favoring a conference with the representatives of the C. I. O., the response from that organization was the immediate calling of a conference in Pittsburgh, Pa., for the purpose of setting up a permanent established C. I. O. movement.

On February 23d, 1939, the President of the United States addressed a letter to the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Chairman of the C. I. O., calling attention to the necessity for unity in the American trade union movement, and urging that peace conferences between the two organizations be resumed.

As a result duly appointed representatives of both organizations did meet, their conferences adjourning so that the Chairman of the C. I. O. could give his attention to negotiations between the United Mine Workers of America and the Coal Operators.

Conferences were postponed upon the request of the Chairman of the C. I. O., and with the definite understanding that they would be resumed, and that he would notify the representatives of the A. F. of L. immediately it would become possible for him to take part.

Although the committee of the A. F. of L. has held itself in readiness, it has failed to receive any further information as to when the conferences would take place.

On the other hand, public announcement was made in the interim by the Chairman of the C. I. O. that peace as such was secondary to the objectives of that organization.

Shortly after, in a communication addressed to officials of the C. I. O., reporting on the meeting of its Executive Board, he wrote:

"Among many problems discussed at length was the question of unity, and it has been clearly demonstrated that peace within the A. F. of L. is impossible except upon their terms and conditions. This would mean the stripping of many of our new unions and the abandonment of organizing the unorganized in industrial unions. This the C. I. O. will not do."

This communication was shortly followed by another public statement announcing the determination of the C. I. O. to invade the jurisdiction of the building trades, thus clearly indicating that instead of considering peace negotiations, the C. I. O. was arbitrarily preparing for an intensified campaign of antagonism.

In full appreciation of the President's efforts to be helpful in bringing unity within the American trade union movement, and appreciative of the efforts which he has made, we submit that the record from the time the C. I. O. was organized contains continuous efforts on the part of the American Federation of Labor to make unity a fact, that all of these efforts have been thwarted by the Chairman of the C. I. O.

We recognize that under the unhappy condition created by the division in the ranks of labor, it was appropriate that the President of the United States should address a similar appeal to both organizations.

Your committee calls attention to the fact that further appeals would be more fittingly directed to the C. I. O., for from the inception of the C. I. O. the American Federation of Labor has been ready and most willing to confer with representatives of the C. I. O. so that unity could be established, and your committee is of the conviction that this will continue to be the policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee read with approval President Green's reply to the President of the United States, and recommends that this communication receive the approval of the convention.

Secretary Frey: I move the adoption of the report of the committee.

President Green: You have heard the reading of this section of the report of the Resolutions Committee and the motion is to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President Tobin: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—I first want to say that I heartily approve of the report of the committee. I don't know anything else that could be done by this convention. There is more in this question than just our personal feelings. Unfortunately, in our discussions personal feelings have crept into the discussion and they haven't had a tendency toward reducing the dangers of the continued division in the labor movement.

More than a year ago I tried to convey to the convention in Houston the necessity of us trying to heal the split in the labor movement. I don't think that we injured ourselves in this Federation by participating in the conferences which were called for by the President of the United States. And while I am not discouraged by the progress we made—I think we made some headway, dismal as the picture seemed prior to coming to this convention. Because of our attitude we were able to build public opinion in favor of this Federation. We also, in my judgment, have created a better feeling amongst most of the unions and their leadership on the outside of the Federation. I still think we have a long way to go before a settlement or an understanding that is workable to this Federation can be entered into. But I believe more sincerely, if it is possible, than I believed in Houston, that we must strain every effort that is humanly possible to try to heal this division in labor or else labor will suffer, and instead of going onward we are going to go backward, and I am not a pessimist.

My own organization has increased its membership in the past year, as will be noted by our standing in this Federation, by more than 50,000. I am not carried away by increases in membership. Forty per cent of our energies in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has been devoted to preventing the rep-

representatives on the other side, the representatives of the C. I. O. from raiding and infringing on our jurisdiction.

Remember I said 40 per cent of our energies. Now, I am not in a position to say accurately what will be done at the convention of the C. I. O. which meets tomorrow in San Francisco. My guess is that as reasonable men they cannot afford to refuse to acquiesce in the request of the President of the United States. There may be some division of opinion on that, but I think—I am only guessing—that they will be willing to acquiesce in that request.

The only reason I mention that is that if that action is taken and our committee reconvenes some time in the future we are going up against endless discussion and tiresome adjournments, and am not so sure that anything will be accomplished. In the meantime the membership of this Federation must understand the difficulties confronting us and must have confidence and trust us to carry on in the hope that we may eventually reach a solution.

I don't favor surrendering the rights of any organization affiliated and chartered herein; but neither do I favor continuing the breach over the splitting of hairs to the detriment of the multitude that elected us to represent them. There has been no splitting of hairs on our side, there will be no splitting of hairs, but men who represent the membership must understand that we cannot take a rigid position that is entirely immovable in the discussion that may take place from now on. Those organizations that are not strictly technical trades are at the mercy of outside interference in enforcing discipline among their membership. Local union after local union has threatened that if we enforce our laws they have an open door and welcome into the C. I. O., and that is something that cannot be regarded lightly in considering the difficulties of the situation.

There is a world condition prevailing, a condition that perhaps has not been equalled in the past 200 years in the history of the world. Even the bloody conditions of 1914-1919 were not as serious, as it appears now, to the conditions confronting us. Before the conflict ends in Europe it is possible, not probable, but it is possible that the few remaining labor organizations of Europe may

be wiped out. Three or four years' war may destroy the one great labor organization existing outside of the American Federation of Labor, the British Trades Union movement.

There will perhaps be left at the ending of this war, as a great organized body of workers, the American Federation of Labor, and, gentlemen, I know that you know, because you are out struggling in your respective positions, that the tide has begun to turn against the trade union movement of our country. I think the Executive Council, through its legislative body, has given a report of the number of states within the past year, states that would not consider such an action a few years ago—the number has reached 35 or 38—that have introduced adverse legislation against labor. And that not one piece of favorable legislation, if I remember rightly the report of the committee, was passed in any state favorable to the American organized labor movement. In many states we have had a difficult time to offset dangerous legislation, and this is true of some progressive states like New York. In some instances we only succeeded by appealing to the humane side of the chief officer of the State, the governor.

If we, as leaders, cannot see this handwriting on the wall then we are not the kind of leaders that I believe we are, and if we still refuse to see it we are not the kind of leaders that should lead the masses of the workers who are dependent upon us.

Already in the legislative halls in Washington within the last year there has been a hiding away of the champions of labor, except in one or two instances, simply because they do not know—or they used that as an excuse—they do not know which side to favor.

This may be all old stuff to you men and women here, but you might as well take this message home with you. We are handicapped with the introduction in the States of adverse labor legislation. We have a running away from us in the legislative halls of Washington. We have a general national election coming up next year, and both sides may promise us something in the hope that they can evade their responsibilities after the election, due to the division of labor.

I think it is well for us to understand these things, and that we are only the instruments

of our people, and if, during the year we meet and fall, and we try again and fail, we want our people to know that we realize our responsibility.

Representing the Federation we will do our best—I say to you it is a very unpleasant position to hold, it is a position which I tried to avoid filling, and yet, it is a position that I am going to try to fill in this Federation during the coming year, if I am continued on the committee.

But if we make any statements which are not understood by the rank and file of the membership and you representatives, we want you to get the information direct from headquarters. We want you to know also that the first thought in our minds will be to preserve this Federation, but if some slight resiliency is necessary, we must meet that situation.

More than ever in the history of this movement, with its large membership, are the future conditions with the workers of America in danger. More than ever is it necessary that the breach dividing labor be healed and that there be one organization of the workers in this country.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: Mr. President and delegates — It is needless to say that I agree with the report of the committee, and I have absolutely no quarrel with my friend Tobin, who has just left the platform. I agree with him in his analysis of the seriousness of the world-wide situation which confronts us. I am personally convinced that no more ominous hour has faced the human race since that hour when the legions of Napoleon crumbled on the field at Waterloo.

I am for peace when peace can be had with honor. I am disposed to fight when it must be obtained otherwise.

It is because of no disrespect that I entertain for the office of President of the United States that I have not been deeply impressed with the message from the White House, and I will tell you why. Solidarity is the perennial theme song of the politician. It is susceptible of rendition in all the major and minor keys. It is his morning and his evening star. It is the Alpha and Omega of his working alphabet. It is his major

obsession during his meditations by day and the inspiration of his dreams by night.

Labor has been the artificer of its own toil. It was the creator of its own creed. It has been the apostle of its own principles, and there are many, many long years when it received no words of cheer from outside of its own ranks. Today we have reached the time when advice from the North and the South, the East and the West, the right and the left is poured upon us like showers from the clouds of summer.

Now, let us think of some of the things which are creating this division. I say to you that when the final division comes, if it does come, it will not be because of any hair-splitting causes. It will be because of more stupendous impediment—rocks which enemies of democratic government have erected in the national pathway.

For the word "American" is a part of the banner under which we have been marching since the days when Samuel Gompers emerged from obscurity to begin the magnificent leadership which he carried on until his last words before they laid him to rest in Sleepy Hollow, "God bless the institutions of America and may they grow better day by day."

In my opinion the two high lights thus far in the proceedings of this convention have been the speech of Judge Padway and the address by Ozanic of the Progressive Miners. I have but one single criticism of those addresses, and that is made in the kindest manner; that is their initial delicate fashion in approaching the subject matter. They did not seem to want to say anything that would impugn anybody's motives, and so they poured the olive oil of rhetorical felicity as a smear upon the ramp leading to the real cause and then when they got to it they uncorked the bottle of carbohic acid, and if I ever heard a devastating arraignment of the national administration I heard it then.

When approaching a subject as serious as this one, why is it necessary to adopt the apologetic mood? The doctrine of *lesse majeste* and that of the "divinity which doth hedge about a king," was shot to death at Lexington and Bunker Hill, and there is no excuse for reviving it in any organization which calls itself American.

Now, as has been revealed to us by these two gentlemen whom I have named, month after month they have been struggling—and I am referring now to Judge Padway, probably the finest lawyer known to the labor movement from one end of the country to the other. He has been battling day after day and night after night before a little tin god triumvirate which apparently has not the slightest conception of their duties or functions when it comes to trying a lawsuit. And I want to say right here that with all of the glib talk in which we indulge about the meaning and the significance of democracy, we have gone far afield, so far as democratic principles are concerned, in the organization and meaning of boards which today are trying to combine administrative and judicial functions under the auspices of this administration.

I do not pretend to know all of the law, but after seventeen years of defending a municipal corporation there are a few principles I think I know fairly well. You will never have satisfaction in trying to adjust human affairs or labor affairs if you are eternally going to mix your issues in that class of words in which there is no principle more firmly established in the whole history of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence than that prosecutor and juror are two separate individuals and their functions should be maintained.

Why is it that we cannot get a hearing on the issues which are so vitally clamoring for consideration? Why? The C. I. O. is the fair-haired child of the national administration. What else could we expect? A five hundred thousand dollar campaign fund speaks eloquent language and the saccharine influence and effect of that contribution has not yet been dissipated. The C. I. O. is the Grand Master and guide and director of the National Labor Relations Act, and nobody can dispute that affirmation who will take the pains to examine the records one-fourth as thoroughly as they have been examined by Judge Padway.

The C. I. O. is honeycombed with Communism. The American Federation of Labor is never going to overlook that issue, in my opinion. Earl Browder has commenced to talk democracy upon the platform of America. He has no more conception of the funda-

mentals of democracy than the Scarlet Woman of Babylon had of the Immaculate Conception.

Can you get a hearing before the Department of Labor if it relates to the cause in which you are interested? No, Madam Perkins is too busy. She has had Harry Bridges attached to her apron strings, floating up and down the Pacific Coast, where he has been chief hell raiser since the time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, exhaling his poison and now being tried before a Harvard professor. Is there any one in this room who expects for one minute that Harry Bridges will be deported under the auspices where he now rests?

The President is for solidarity. Why doesn't he apply that philosophy to the Democratic Party? The Democratic Party is split from Castle Garden to the Golden Gate and from the Southern palmettos to the Northern pines. There has been a time in the President's career when he was not animated by the get-together spirit. Do you remember some months ago when he started the Castor Oil Limited out of the Union Station in Washington for a trip across the country, to get rid of some of the Congressmen who had challenged his authority? He attempted to lay the ax into the roots of the trees. Every one of them survived except Mr. O'Connor, in New York, and he went down. The President was not talking get-together in those days.

I recall another occasion, an interesting occasion in the history of this country, when the President wanted to get rid of an official in Washington. I refer to Mr. Humphrey, a member of the Federal Trade Commission. The law says there were just three reasons accorded whereby Humphrey could be thrown out: Incapacity to do his work, malfeasance in office, neglect of duty. Not one single one of those reasons did Mr. Roosevelt name. He simply wrote a letter to Mr. Humphrey and said, "Your mind and my mind do not seem to run in the same channels. Therefore, I feel that you ought to resign." Humphrey did not feel that way about it. He refused to resign. The President fired him, or thought he did, and he went into court, and nine judges—at that time when the Nine Old Men of the United States Supreme Court reversed the action of the Executive Department and said that Mr. Humphrey had been denied his

rights under due process of law of the Constitution of the United States. Humphrey had passed within the shadows when the decision was handed down, but this is a matter of record as to how easy it is for power sometimes to get rid of persons who are obnoxious to them.

Judge Padway and Mr. Ozanic disclosed enough evidence in each case to support an indictment for conspiracy against the national administration if they wanted to press it in that direction, because Padway and Ozanic were representing clients who had the inalienable right to present their cause to a tribunal supposed to be designed for the purpose of disseminating justice.

Communism will be one of the big rocks on which this split will be consummated. It starts even at the White House. I know how indelicate it is ordinarily to mention a woman in debate, but when a woman leaves the atmosphere of domesticity and takes the public platform day after day and night after night, and speaks over the radio and writes for the press, she must be gauged by the things that she says. And Mrs. Roosevelt, according to all press dispatches, stood up before a young people's gathering in the City of New York, a company which had voted down a resolution condemning Communism, and before that audience and before the radio public of the world she declared, "That is one of the finest things that any group of young people has done within my recollection."

Do you wonder that there are hundreds and thousands of people in the rank and file of this country, who wonder as to the direction in which we are drifting? I am only one member, only an infinitesimal atom in the great labor family, but before I will personally endorse an amalgamation of these two organizations I will see the other side as far in hell that the greatest mechanical genius that ever lived would be powerless to devise a telescope that would be able to see in ten thousand years the goal of their sulphurous peregrination.

That is where I stand on this proposition.

Delegate Weber, Musicians: I have only a few words to say. Our organization does not believe in all that Brother Weaver said. He did not give voice to the opinion of our last convention at least. He should have ad-

vised the delegates to this convention that a motion was passed at our last convention, unanimously passed, favoring President Roosevelt for a third term. How does that fit in with an attack upon the President of the United States? He has made some errors. So have I, so have you, but we are not of the same opinion as Brother Weaver. He did not speak for the American Federation of Musicians. He did not speak for it last year.

He is a rock-bound Republican and I honor him for it, but this is not the place to make the statements that he did make. I am not in a physical condition to dwell at length upon the subject matter before you. I very seldom take the floor. You can rest assured that I can hardly overcome the impression made upon you and even upon the delegates of our organization, that a member of our organization elected to this convention would dare to come to the floor of the American Federation of Labor and attack the President of the United States, when his own convention unanimously was in favor of the President. He did not have the courage and the conviction to speak against it at his own convention, but he comes before a convention of the American Federation of Labor and shines before you and makes you believe he speaks for the American Federation of Musicians, which he did not do.

President Green: The convention will please be in order. This is a great democratic institution. It is an open forum of debate where we listen to the things we love to hear and the things we do not like to hear. Brother Weaver wants to say a word.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: May I have the privilege of speaking to a question of personal privilege?

President Green: Personal privilege?

Delegate Weaver: Yes, sir.

President Green: Come forward. Delegate Chauncey Weaver rises to a question of personal privilege.

Delegate Weaver: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I have carried a union card for 39 years. I am serving my twenty-fifth year as a member of the National Executive Board of the American Federation of Musicians. This is my twenty-third time of being elected as a delegate to a convention of the American Federation of Labor. I have worked by the side of Joseph N. Weber for something

like 30 years. The feeling which I entertain for him and shall entertain for him until the end of the chapter is a feeling of the deepest respect and friendship.

I have always been taught that freedom in debate was the life blood of American institutions. I have never had to ask for a vote in all the years of the American Federation of Musicians, when they have been electing me to office and sending me to conventions. They have had confidence enough in me to send me.

It is true that at the Kansas City Convention in June a resolution in favor of a third term was introduced on the floor of the convention. It came suddenly and unexpectedly. I knew nothing about it until five minutes before it was presented, and a friend came to me and said, "Weaver, they are going to introduce a third-term resolution on the floor of the convention, and they expect you to get up and blow off about it." I said, "I will fool the gentlemen." The resolution was introduced and it was adopted. Nobody voted against it. In fact, nobody voted either way, at least to the tune of 50 per cent of the delegates to that convention.

They did not instruct the delegates of this convention—at least I did not take the adoption of that resolution as an instruction. That resolution was introduced by two young delegates whose friendship I value, but they are candidates for the Democratic nomination for Congress in their respective States, and they have sufficient merit to become candidates for Congress without the necessity of trying to ride on anybody's coat tail into Congress.

Now I want to say this to you in closing. I have passed the three-score-year-and-ten limit. My work may be pretty nearly through. It is probably safe to say that for me the shadows are lengthening toward the west. But there is one passage of Scripture which I learned at Mother's knee that I have never forgotten, and that is: "At evening time it shall be light."

When that hour comes for me I do not want it to be overshadowed by any memory that, in a certain time in days gone by, I turned apostate to my personal convictions which were clamoring for articulate expression. Whether I am right or whether I am wrong I shall leave this convention with a

clear conscience and with profoundest sorrow for the rift which words innocently spoken have seemed to create.

I thank you beyond expression for the patience with which you have permitted me to make this explanation.

President Green: Are there any further remarks?

I cannot help but believe that there exists within the minds of the delegates in attendance at this convention practically unanimous approval of the report of the Committee on Resolutions. It is so factual it cannot be assailed. The committee has put forth in chronological order the steps that were taken by the American Federation of Labor in the honest and sincere efforts which it put forth to heal the breach not caused by the American Federation of Labor within our ranks.

All of us are inspired by the desire to develop solidarity within the ranks of labor. We know that a great organized labor movement made up of 10,000,000 workers carries greater influence and speaks with a voice that can be heard more clearly than an organization composed of half that membership. And so our sincere desire is to develop a movement here, strong and powerful, the establishment of one organized labor movement on the American continent, a great movement in which every man and woman eligible to membership may become affiliated.

I want to deal with just some factual developments which took place in the efforts we have put forth to establish peace within the ranks of labor. First of all, we appealed to those who set up the dual, rival movement to cease and desist. We pointed out that it would be destructive, it would develop hatred and division and thus injure the cause of labor, but our appeals fell on deaf ears, and so the dual rival movement was set up. Following that action taken by the officers of the American Federation of Labor we arranged for the appointment of committees on both sides to meet and work and endeavor to settle our differences. That committee was made up of three distinguished representatives of the American Federation of Labor, and the committee met with representatives of the C. I. O. That commit-

tee patiently and constructively worked out an agreement with the C. I. O. It was accepted by the committee representing the C. I. O.

Now, that committee must have followed a very flexible policy in order to achieve that result. It gave, it offered, it modified its position, it appealed, it bent and it originated the proposal that was submitted.

I would not impose upon your patience by going into the details of the provisions of that agreement. The disappointment came when the Chairman of the C. I. O. vetoed the agreement, rendered it null and void, destroyed the earnest work of days and weeks, and served notice on the officers and members of organized labor that the agreement reached was unacceptable, and was vetoed completely.

Does our membership know that? Have they been acquainted with these facts? Do they understand the service we rendered? I hope they do, and I hope the public understands and realizes the lengths to which we have gone in order to achieve unity, peace and solidarity. In response to the appeal of the President of the United States we appointed another committee, and I know the President of the United States was inspired and moved by the most lofty and unselfish considerations. He asked us, he pleaded with us, because he is a friend of organized labor. Consequently the appeal came from a friend, not an antagonist. And so we appointed a committee again within a few hours after I received the letter from the President of the United States asking the American Federation of Labor to appoint a committee. The names of the committee were made public. We acted with alacrity, there was no delay, no hesitation, no quibbling; a hearty, immediate response was made to the appeal of the President of the United States.

And this committee, a representative committee of the American Federation of Labor, splendid men, men of training and experience, men whose devotion and loyalty to organized labor could never be questioned, met and they were prepared to exercise unusual patience in all the negotiations that were carried on. They subordinated personal feeling, they pursued a policy of self-possession and perfect discipline and patience, they tried and they tried. Then they were noti-

fied that the meetings for the moment were ended and they were asked if they would respond when called upon. They answered in the affirmative. They are waiting even now, after months and months of hesitancy, waiting to be called and ready to respond.

Does our membership know that? Does the public know it? Do the men who serve in high administrative positions know it? There is the story. It cannot be assailed. The facts bear it all out.

Now, I want, at this 50th annual convention, to pay a deserved tribute to the members of these committees. They worked diligently, they exercised good judgment, they attempted to avoid the submission of any proposal that would interfere with the orderly development of a peace plan. Now, what more can we do? And still we are ready and still we are willing to meet them, but as the guardians of the American Federation of Labor we are obligated with our honor and our lives to protect and preserve this great economic institution at any cost. We cannot have unity and disunity at the same time. The two unions cannot function and at the same time restore solidarity. One or the other must pass out. If unity and solidarity are to be established, the two organizations must be blended into one. That is solidarity, that is unity, that is fraternity and brotherhood.

But what we have asked is that those who left us come back home to us and live with us. We have asked them to take their places where they were, those who originally left us, and then through conferences bring about an arrangement by which and through which the newer unions, rival to old established American Federation of Labor unions, can be blended into one.

Can any better plan be devised? Shall the American Federation of Labor liquidate? Shall we write the end to the American Federation of Labor? Shall this institution that has survived for sixty years be buried and some new one big union about which we do not know set up instead?

These are the problems your committee was forced to meet in the negotiations with the C. I. O.

Now, my friends, I could not serve in the responsible position I occupy for you if, even under the greatest provocation, I carried in

my heart or in my breast any feeling of hate and bitterness. We must rise above that, above and beyond it all. We must pursue a policy of patience, consideration and forbearance; but in doing so we must step forward with head erect and with the lines of courage and determination written upon our face, and that is to preserve and perpetuate and maintain the American Federation of Labor.

Time has complicated the situation and more time will complicate it further. New unions have been set up by the C. I. O.; new organizations are being set up and new declarations of war are being made. That complicates the situation, does it not? That makes it more difficult, because those who set up these unions, those who invaded fields already organized, maintain that these new unions shall be chartered by the American Federation of Labor, competing with other unions already established within the American Federation of Labor.

If such a policy would be accepted we would be simply transferring the war from No Man's Land into the family of the American Federation of Labor. Could we do that? We have unity here, we have acquired it. If anybody believes we do not have it, let them come in and look upon this 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. We cannot destroy the unity we have. I believe in unity so much that I want to maintain our family intact. I strive toward the realization of that goal and for the perpetuation of the solidarity and the unity which exists within the ranks of labor.

And I say to you, my friends, that I know this report of this committee is going to be adopted. I will study it and I know your Executive Council will do the same. We will endeavor to translate the expressions contained in this report into action; we will try to carry it out in letter and in spirit, in word and in purpose, but in doing so we shall have standing before us the great institution we love, the movement that is a religion to us, the American Federation of Labor.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

Secretary Frey: Your committee had referred to it three phases of the problem created by the C. I. O. The communication from the President of the United States and the

reply of President Green is one of those. The two following portions of the committee's report deal also with phases of that C. I. O. problem.

C. I. O. and Peace Negotiations

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, C. I. O. and Peace Negotiations, (page 75) your committee approves of the thoroughgoing, carefully prepared statement of our relations with the C. I. O. and of the continuous efforts of the Executive Council to re-establish unity.

Your committee, realizing the widespread misinformation which exists relative to the actions of the American Federation of Labor, and the necessity that our own membership, that of other labor organizations, and the public as well, should be given a complete record, recommend that the Executive Council have prepared in pamphlet form a history of the position taken by the American Federation of Labor from the time when the C. I. O. was first conceived and organized.

Your committee expresses its confidence in the membership of the committee appointed by President Green to continue negotiations with representatives of the C. I. O.

Your committee furthermore recommends that the present committee of the American Federation of Labor be continued, and that it hold itself in readiness to meet with representatives of the C. I. O. whenever that organization will indicate a willingness to resume conferences.

Your committee, feeling that the Executive Council has prepared a most important document in its report, recommends the adoption of the report by this convention.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Civil Liberties Investigation

(Executive Council's Report, Page 132)

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. reports upon its efforts to secure an additional appropriation to continue the work of the LaFollette Sub-Committee, which was authorized by the 74th Congress to investigate violations of civil liberties.

Your committee notes that the A. F. of L.'s efforts to secure the appropriation of \$100,000.00 for the continuation of the committee's work were not wholly successful, but that largely as a result of A. F. of L. efforts an additional appropriation of \$50,000.00 was secured to further assist the committee in its work.

Your committee would call attention to the fact that the Executive Council gave every assistance possible to securing a continuation of the Dies Committee, with a sufficient appropriation to more adequately enable it to continue its work.

The results of the committee's investigations this year have become widely known through the public press, in addition to an immense number of official documents proving Communist, Nazi and Fascist activities in our country.

The Dies Committee had before it in connection with Communist activities, such outstanding officials of the Communist Party in our country as Earl Browder, its Secretary; Wm. Z. Foster, its President; Benjamin Gitlow, former Secretary, and Joseph Zach, a charter member of the Communist Party in this country, a Communist official in immediate charge of activities of the Trade Union Unity League, an American representative of the party in Moscow, and Moscow's representative for a period in South America.

The collective evidence of these officials, supplemented by other witnesses who were or had been members of the Communist Party, definitely established the fact that Communists in this country adopt only the policies given to them by Moscow, and face immediate expulsion when these policies are deviated from.

Zach's testimony verified what American trade unionists had believed from the time that the Trade Union Unity League was established—it was wholly financed from Moscow, the collective testimony further proving that Moscow has continued to subsidize the Communist Party in this country.

The testimony of these witnesses proves that one of the functions of the Communist Party was to organize so-called popular front organizations through which Communist purpose and Communist policy could be carried into effect without the knowledge of much of the membership.

They changed the name of the League Against War and Fascism to that of the League for Peace and Democracy, particularly in recent years securing the support of large numbers of Americans who were unaware of the Communist control and direction, but who were ardent believers in both peace and democracy. All told some two hundred organizations with attractive but non-Communist names were brought into existence as a result of instructions received from Moscow.

Of particular importance to the American Federation of Labor is the testimony of prominent Communist officials already named, which proved their change in policy so that they could make full use of the C. I. O. as an additional medium through which to carry on their propaganda.

Statements made by responsible trade unionists at previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that several hundred members of the Communist Party were on the pay-roll of the C. I. O. as salaried organizers, who, in addition to working under C. I. O. direction, also worked under that of members of the National Committee of the Communist Party, have been fully sustained.

The testimony of these outstanding officials of the Communist Party describe the methods by which these Communist organizers manipulated newly organized local unions in such a manner as enabled members of the Communist Party to become local officers.

The testimony furthermore indicated the method by which a minority of Communists in a local union were enabled to secure trade union action which carried out the instructions of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

The American Federation of Labor from the origin of Communist activity in this country, registered its stern disapproval and applied itself to prevent Communists from securing any foothold in the great American trade union movement.

The record shows that the American Federation of Labor was successful in these efforts, and has remained so.

In the interest of maintenance of American institutions, as well as that of the trade union movement which is based upon sound

American institutions, it is deplorable that a minority section of an American labor movement should have permitted itself to co-operate with Communists, and to have associated itself with Communist activities.

Your committee recommends that approval be given the Executive Council's efforts to assist the LaFollette and the Dies Committees in the continuation of its most necessary investigation of a condition within our borders which was becoming more and more intolerable.

Secretary Frey: I move the adoption of the report of the committee.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Federman, Fur Workers: Mr. Chairman, we know that not only in the United States, but in Canada, they are facing the same thing that we are facing here today, the fact that a great many of the C. I. O. organizers are officials of the Communist Party. We know that at the present time, since the Stalin-Hitler pact has been signed, that the C. I. O. Communist organizers are telling the workers that they should be proud of that pact, which we consider the biggest betrayal of the working class. The Soviet Union, which was supposed to be the champion of democracy, signed that pact, which brought on this World War at the present time. The same agents, the Communists and the C. I. O., were formerly preaching that the American Federation of Labor was the biggest reactionary and bureaucratic organization in the country. They say the American Federation of Labor is a traitor to the movement, but today we know the biggest traitor of the working class in the United States and Canada is the movement that is preaching for the Stalin-Hitler pact. Today we see in the press that the Soviet daily paper, Izvestia, says that fighting Hitler is criminal, and they are urging the allies to accept the peace proposals made by Hitler.

We are at war and have been for the past few weeks, but we consider it is not an imperialistic war, but a fight on Hitlerism. We feel if Hitler succeeds in the war the trade unions in the United States and Canada and France and England are in danger. We think the American Federation of Labor is the greatest labor movement in the world and should keep these people out and condemn the Stalin-Hitler pact.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

Chairman Woll: This completes our partial report. I wish to offer a motion that the continuation of our report be made a special order of business, commencing at 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Legislation.

Report of Committee on Legislation

Chairman Ornburn: The Committee on Legislation will submit its report through Secretary George. Unless there is objection, we will simply read the titles of the sections of the Executive Council's Report and the recommendation of the committee, and when we reach resolutions we will read the title of the resolution, the "Resolve" and the recommendation of the committee.

Secretary George submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Legislation has had referred to it the following sections of the report of the Executive Council's report:

National Legislation
Settlement of Disputes with United States
Walsh-Healey Act Amendments
Public Education
Oppressive Labor Practices
Immigration
Maritime Legislation
Motion Picture Film Distribution
Facts on Productivity and Labor Costs
Exportation of Douglas Fir Peeler Logs
and Port Orford Cedar Logs
Legislation for Government Employees
Discrimination Against Graduates of Certain Law Schools
Aid for Blind Persons

There were also referred to this committee, Resolutions Nos. 45 to 75, inclusive, and 80 to 82 inclusive.

The committee has met and given careful consideration to each and every subject referred to it and submits the following report:

National Legislation

Under the caption "National Legislation," beginning on page 115 of its report, the Executive Council lists 18 legislative enactments of interest to members of the American Federation of Labor during the first session of the 76th Congress.

There are also listed three measures that were defeated during that session as the direct result of the efforts of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee again calls attention to the fact that the defeat of adverse legislation is just as important, and

sometimes much more important than the enactment of desired measures. The failure to secure desired legislation often means its delay for a session or perhaps several sessions of Congress, whereas, the enactment of vicious legislation may mean the loss for many years, if not permanently, concessions gained at great sacrifices by our movement.

For this reason, too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the necessity for thorough militant organization and perpetual vigilance for the protection of the workers.

Secretary George moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Settlement of Disputes With the United States

Under the heading "Settlement of Disputes with the United States," on page 124 of the Executive Council's report, attention is called to the Logan bill (S. 915, 76th Cong.), which would give the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia jurisdiction to hear and determine within 30 days appeals from the rules and regulations promulgated by government agencies pursuant to laws enacted creating them.

It is pointed out that frequently such rules or regulations are not in accord with the intent of the law nor consistent with the Constitution of the United States. This measure would furnish a method of prompt appeal and adjustment.

The Logan bill passed the Senate but was later reconsidered upon motion of Senator Minton of Indiana and restored to the Senate calendar. This measure is of great importance to the members of organized labor and should have the support of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor when the next session of Congress convenes.

Secretary George moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Walsh-Healey Act Amendments

Under the title "Walsh-Healey Act Amendments," on page 124 of its report, the Executive Council details the provisions of S. 1032 by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts,

a bill to amend and improve the Walsh-Healey Government Contracts Act.

This bill passed the Senate during the first session of the 76th Congress but no action has been taken in the House of Representatives. It is recommended that all possible support be given to the effort to secure its enactment in the next session.

The report also enumerates the defeat of an amendment to the National Defense Act that would have permitted the employment of cheap labor in the manufacture of airplanes furnished to schools and colleges for use in the training of pilots. Upon this we commend the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor and those who cooperated with them.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Public Education

Under the heading of "Public Education" on page 132 of the report of the Executive Council, reference is made to legislation providing for increasing federal grants to States for various branches of public education, including vocational education.

There is also reference to legislation before the 76th Congress to amend the existing vocational education laws.

Resolution No. 71 calls attention to a bill now pending in Congress to abolish the Federal Board for Vocational Education. The resolution reads as follows:

Opposing S. 2460 Involving Federal Board for Vocational Education

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is pending before the United States Congress a bill known as S. 2460, which proposes to amend the Smith-Hughes and the George-Dean Acts to abolish the Federal Board for Vocational Education; and

WHEREAS, This Federal Board of Vocational Education is representative of industry, labor and agriculture, and is vitally and directly concerned with the results of state programs for Vocational Education, the approval of which is one of the Board's main functions; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly gone on record in favor

of representative board of education to act not only in an advisory capacity as in the case with the present Federal Board of Vocational Education, but also to have administrative powers; and

WHEREAS, If the Federal Board is abolished it will remove the only safeguard the labor movement has for assurance that the trade and wage-earning occupations taught in schools will be taught by qualified practical tradesmen, and that Vocational Education will not be used to supply chiseling employers with half-trained, low-wage help; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as opposing Bill No. S-2460 in so far as it does not provide for a representative Federal Board for Vocational Education as a policy determining body.

Your Committee considered Resolution No. 71 in conjunction with the report of the Executive Council and reports as follows:

The proposed revision of the Vocational Education laws, among other things, would abolish the Federal Board for Vocational Education. The law was weakened materially a few years ago when the full-time Federal Board for Vocational Education was abolished and supplanted by a board which has met on call usually twice a year. However, this Board did retain its representative character with labor, agriculture and employer representation.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly, ever since the enactment of the Smith-Hughes law, demanded the retention of labor representation in the determination of policies in the administration of Vocational Education.

If Vocational Education is to serve pursuant to the intent of labor and the need of the craftsman of tomorrow, labor representation in its administration must be a requirement so that the influence of labor will be ever present and its viewpoint available during all deliberations.

In reiteration of the oft-repeated position of the American Federation of Labor, the restoration of the full-time status of the Federal Board for Vocational Education is recommended, as well as a review and close study of all legislative proposals so that Vocational Education may be administered effectively and properly.

Your committee wishes to emphasize that the Federal Board for Vocational Education, upon which Labor is represented, is the only

safeguard that Labor has against abuses in the administration of the Vocational Education Acts.

Your committee recommends that all possible support be given to the effort to secure additional appropriations for education and also that every attempt to abolish or to further restrict the functions and authority of the Federal Board for Vocational Education be opposed.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Ohl, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

Resolution No. 71 comes before this convention for the purpose of reiterating the viewpoint of the American Federation of Labor and to act in pursuance thereof in the matter of the administration of vocational education. Legislation introduced from time to time, some of which has been enacted, is clearly detrimental to this branch of education. One item in the program of those who apparently have no friendly attitude toward vocational education has to do with federal grants. Efforts have been made in the past to prevent appropriations being made according to the intent of the authorization of funds for the promotion of these schools. One bill sought to shave federal aid each year until at the end of two years no appropriations were assured.

The sponsoring group of such legislation a few years ago was instrumental in effecting the abolition of the full time Federal Board for vocational education and creating in its stead an "Advisory Board." While the President of the United States has expressed himself on the status of this board, considering it as a policy-determining body, the group referred to above, acting also in an advisory capacity, has constantly worked detrimentally to vocational education, recommending changes in the Smith-Hughes Act which, in the opinion of many friends of vocational education, including myself, are extremely harmful.

While the present Federal Board for Vocational Education is but a skeleton of the former body, which has been shorn of its effective functions, it nevertheless did retain its representative character.

Resolution No. 71 calls attention to the present effort, through legislation now pend-

ing, to abolish even this board, and thus deprive labor of any assurance of representation in the determination of policies for the conduct of our vocational schools.

It should not be forgotten that it was through the influence of organized labor that vocational education was established as a part of our system of public school education. The abuses of the privately owned trade schools imposed on the young people of our nation had become a decided menace. Assurances were held out to the students that a trade could be mastered in a few weeks or months through a short course. Employers were promised finished mechanics graduated from these schools. High fees were charged ambitious youngsters on pledges of quick ascendancy to journeymanship. They were promised jobs upon "graduation" at high wages which did not materialize.

The advent of vocational education through public administration under the Smith-Hughes law eliminated many of these impositions on student, the journeyman, the industry and society. But certain abuses inherent in the desire of a certain class of employers to be assured of cheap labor, continued for some time, even under the public administration of vocational education.

The American Federation of Labor bent every effort to check such practices as were foreign to the purposes of vocational education as understood and urged by the American Federation of Labor. These abuses, however, cannot be attributed to the plan of labor, employer and agricultural representation, but must be charged to the personnel of the board or the staff under its direction. It is gratifying to note that the protests of organized labor has had the effect of greatly improving the situation.

In matters where the representative plan has been adopted, the results have been uniformly more satisfactory than in those instances where the voice of labor was inarticulate because of the absence of labor participation. It has been demonstrated again and again that boards of education and other boards and commissions—municipal, state and federal—whose deliberations are devoid of labor's presence, and where labor is advised only after a determination has been made, can never be as satisfactory as where labor has representation on such boards and

has full opportunity to present its viewpoint during their deliberations.

In support of the committee's recommendations I want to call attention to numerous expressions by the American Federation of Labor in behalf of a representative federal board for vocational education vested with authorization to determine policies and to give adequate attention to this important branch of education.

In the pamphlet entitled "Labor and Education," presented to the delegates of this convention, we find the following foreword:

"At the request of the Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor the Workers Education Bureau prepared this pamphlet. The Federation commends it to all unions as providing material essential to an understanding of the philosophy and practices of the American Federation of Labor.—William Green, President, American Federation of Labor."

While the introductory to the pamphlet by Mr. Spencer Miller does not deal specifically with vocational education, it is a splendid study of organized labor's part in the development of public education which should be studied by every labor representative. The contents, however, contains expressions of various conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

In 1934 the American Federation insisted that the Abolition of the Federal Board for Vocational Education was a serious mistake, reaffirmed its belief in such a board as provided by the Federal Act of 1917, urged the President to restore it to its full activity and to appoint on it active representatives of the employing, labor and farm groups.

In 1937 the American Federation reasserted its stand on issues such as academic freedom, democratic working conditions in schools, labor representation on boards of education, etc.

In 1938 the Federation urged a vocational training program built on a sound basis of scientific investigation and including (among other things) an advisory committee of equal representatives of labor and management in all vocational schools.

All through, stress was laid on representative boards wherever matters of concern to labor are deliberated upon.

To further illustrate the need for labor representation on vocational boards, I can do

no better than to call attention to a policy urged by the Wisconsin State Board for Vocational Education, under which the student not yet employed and thus still uncertain of the vocation he desires to follow shall not be led into believing that he can develop into a journeyman through any course in any school. In this pre-employment period (called the trade-finding age) he shall be given an opportunity to view the various related trade operations of the several trades. Only after he has made a choice and actually is on the job shall he receive instruction in the intricacies of any trade as supplementary to his shop practice. Thus is promoted a trade choice in harmony with the talents of the student and an unreasonable influx of learners in any particular trade is avoided. I am aware that while this policy has been adopted, in most schools it still remains a theory and has not been put into practice.

Without labor, adequate, equal labor representation, trade problems which the apprentice will inevitably encounter in the course of his whole period of apprenticeship—and particularly during the pre-employment period—there are bound to be defects which are unfavorable to both the student and the trade.

Also, it should not be unknown to you that groups dual to the American Federation of Labor are opposed to trade and craft development. They are proceeding pursuant to the political policy of leveling down the entire working class. In the present campaign to "take over the building trades they hold out to the contractor in a rather subtle way that craft lines under their agreements with contractors might be ignored. We can readily see what this would mean—a limited number of mechanics working with a crew of unapprenticed and inexperienced labor. A lowering of the standards established by craft organizations over a long period of time would be the inevitable result.

So now we have not only to contend with that class of employers who would use the vocational schools to turn out a host of incompetent mechanics, but we face the leveling down of the skilled and unskilled labor which would result in incompetent and "cheap" labor in crafts which now have a measure of protection by reason of educational requirements, though yet sufficiently general, to be deemed journeymen.

And don't be too sure that this is not in the realm of possibilities if we fail to give this important subject attention. This phase of education has much to do with the subject under discussion unless we take the fallacious position that apprenticeship has nothing to do with education.

There are other matters incorporated in proposed legislation which should be closely scrutinized by organized labor everywhere, and by the American Federation of Labor particularly.

I would like to take this opportunity to commend the Federal Apprenticeship Committee for the work that it has done, and I think we ought to study the program that is being promoted by that committee. If we adhere closely to that program I am sure that there will not be an unreasonable influx into the trades, and those who come out of their early years into journeyman-ship will be more acceptable to membership in the American Federation of Labor.

I appreciate very greatly the time and the effort and the study that has been given this subject through the years by the American Federation of Labor, and the purpose of Resolution No. 71 is to continue that interest.

Delegate Kuonall, Teachers: Since this portion of the report of the Committee on Legislation seems to overlap and to some extent be in conflict with the report of the Committee on Education, I move that this part of the report be deferred until such time as the Committee on Education has had an opportunity to make its report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Oppressive Labor Practices

On the subject of "Oppressive Labor Practices," page 133 of its report, the Executive Council refers to a bill before the 76th Congress which is designed to outlaw the use of strikebreakers, the use of private armies or gunmen, or the use of firearms or similar weapons to break strikes. This measure was reported from the Senate Committee on Education and Labor as a result of the information disclosed by the La Follette Committee on Civil Liberties.

Your committee recommends continued support of this measure.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Immigration

Dealing with the subject of Immigration, the report of the Executive Council, beginning on page 133, reviews the course of several bills considered by the first session of the 76th Congress concerning immigration and naturalization. Especial attention is called to attempts to break down the exclusion laws relating to orientals.

Your committee urges careful study of these and all other laws having for their objective the lowering of immigration restrictions and the nullification of present exclusion laws. This is particularly important at this time. At no time in our history has there been such demand for the opening of our doors to the peoples of the world. And the demands are coming from both without and within, highly emotional appeals to which a justice and liberty loving people are particularly susceptible.

However, domestic, economic, and political conditions make imperative our consideration of this subject in the light of cold practical facts and the effects upon not only our economic but our political structure as well. With 10,000,000 of our people without dependable employment, any widening of the avenues of entry to this country to the peoples of other lands makes more difficult the solution of the problem of employment and economic stability and at the same time presents a serious task of assimilation.

We recommend that this convention reaffirm the position of the American Federation of Labor in opposition to any immigration legislation that would be detrimental to the wage earners of this country.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Maritime Legislation

The Executive Council's report, beginning on Page 135, under the caption, "Maritime Legislation," recites the account of the course of numerous treaties and legislative enactments dealing with conditions in maritime employment.

Pursuant to a treaty approved by the United State Senate on June 13, 1938, providing for

certain minimum requirements for licensed officers, a law was passed exempting vessels of under 200-ton capacity from its terms.

By a treaty, which will take effect October 29, 1939 injured seamen were granted additional rights to benefits.

Another treaty, effective October 29, 1939, prohibits the employment on vessels of persons under fifteen years of age.

Three measures were enacted by Congress to strengthen the provisions for safety at sea.

Bills pending in the 76th Congress include: proposals for inspection of motor craft; for an inspection of conditions in the off-shore trade; for the establishment of the eight-hour day on inland waters, and several measures providing for improvement of employment conditions and liberalization of laws granting benefits to seamen in case of illness, injury, or death. Your committee recommends continued support of these measures.

The Metal Trades Department has successfully registered efforts to enact legislation that would permit American registry of foreign-built vessels in the whaling industry. The bills are still before Congress, however, and it is recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to lend all possible support to the effort to prevent their enactment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Motion Picture Films Distribution

On page 139, the report of the Executive Council recounts the passage by the Senate of S. 230, a bill to prevent "compulsory block-booking" and "blind selling" in the leasing of motion-picture films. The bill was opposed by the American Federation of Labor because of the effect it would have upon thousands of members in the motion-picture industry. The bill is now in the hands of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives.

Your Committee recommends continued opposition to this measure.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Facts on Productivity and Labor Costs

On the subject of "Facts on Productivity

and Laor Costs," page 140 of the Executive Council's report, the importance of reliable detailed information in this field is emphasized. Joint resolutions have been introduced in the Senate and in the House of Representatives providing for an appropriation of \$100,000 for the purpose of allowing the Department of Labor to pursue studies and keep up-to-date information for use in negotiations to adjust industrial conditions in the light of technological progress and to procure for the workers a fair share of the benefits of labor displacing machinery.

The House Joint Resolution 265 was reported from the Committee on Labor, but no action was taken on the floor of the House. It is recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to give all possible support to the effort to secure favorable action by the next session of Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Exportation of Douglas Fir Peeler Logs and Port Orford Cedar Logs

Under the caption "Exportation of Douglas Fir Peeler Logs and Port Orford Cedar Logs" on page 142 of its report, the Executive Council calls attention to S. 1108, 76th Congress, a bill to prevent the exportation of the timber named. This timber is now being shipped to countries where wage rates are low and the manufactured products into which it goes are reshipped to this country, thus depriving many American workers of employment.

In the interest of these workers, as well as in the interest of conservation, it is recommended that efforts be continued to secure enactment of this legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislation for Government Employees

Under the heading "Legislation for Government Employees," on Pages 142 and 143 of its report, the Executive Council lists three measures that were enacted into law during the first session of the 76th Congress.

Early this year the Comptroller General of the United States rendered a ruling that ab-

sence of postal employees on Saturday should be charged to vacation, sick leave, or absence without pay, according to the nature of the absence, notwithstanding the law providing a five-day week for postal employees. A bill, introduced at the request of the postal employees, was enacted which provides that vacation and sick leave shall be exclusive of "Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays."

A bill granting vacations and sick leave to substitute employees in the postal service after the first year of service on the basis of the actual time worked was enacted into law. However, restrictive rulings by the Comptroller General have defeated the enjoyment of the full intent of the law. Corrective amendments will be sought in the next session of Congress.

It is recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to cooperate with the postal organizations in securing such legislation.

Amendments were made to the Civil Service Retirement law, falling short, however, of the desires of employees. Resolutions on this subject have been introduced and will be reported upon later.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Discrimination Against Graduates of Certain Law Schools

On the subject of "Discrimination Against Graduates of Certain Law Schools," on page 133 of its report, the Executive Council recounts the passage by the Senate of S. 1610, a bill to prevent such discrimination. The bill has been reported favorably in the House of Representatives and will be acted upon in the next regular session of the 76th Congress.

This is the result of the action of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor wherein it was pointed out that there is a growing practice among appointing officers of the United States Government to require as a prerequisite to appointment a degree or certificate issued by one of certain specified schools or colleges. By that method many capable applicants for Government positions are automatically disqualified. This is particularly true of workers and children of workers who must secure their

educational or other qualifications through their individual efforts and experience, not being privileged, through lack of financial resources, to attend higher schools of learning.

It is recommended that efforts be continued to secure enactment of S. 1610 and that the utmost vigilance be exercised to prevent discrimination of a similar nature in reference to all appointments to positions in the Government service.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Aid for Blind Persons

On the subject of "Aid for Blind Persons," page 134 of the report of the Executive Council, reference is made to a bill to provide additional assistance to the blind through an appropriation for the purchase, installation, and maintenance of vending stands in Federal buildings.

Your committee recommends that activity in behalf of this measure be continued.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Addition of Sponsors to Resolutions Nos. 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55 and 70

In the preparation of several of these resolutions, namely, Resolutions Nos. 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53 and 70, due to the fact that nearly all of the organizations signatory thereto had conventions in September and it was necessary to submit the resolutions before September 26th, it was not possible to secure endorsement of all delegates in time. It is requested, therefore, that the name of Eppa Honey, delegate from the International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America, be added to those sponsoring the resolutions named. Also that the name of Frank W. Meyer, delegate from the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers be added to Resolutions Nos. 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53 and 55.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Employees Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 45.—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernest, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Berniece B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsman's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government service; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers, notably in the Postal Service, have gained through legislation curtailment of working hours without loss of pay, thus not only benefiting them but also more firmly establishing the principle of shorter hours for industrial workers and creating greater work opportunities; and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers; and

WHEREAS, All these unions have recently reaffirmed their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions of Government workers in this 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Extension and Improvement of U. S. Civil Service System

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, We believe an equitable merit system for all Government employes, as exemplified by the classified civil service to be the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 59th Annual Convention, reaffirms its unqualified endorsement of the extension of the merit system to all employes of the United States Government except those in positions which the President may determine to be policy-determining in fact; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to continue cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employes in their efforts to secure, through legislation and Executive orders, such extension of the classified civil service.

This resolution is in accord with the repeated pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor in past conventions.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Thirty Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates Leo E.

George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, This act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation; and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employe after 30 years of service and provisions made for widows of deceased annuitants; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its declaration made in previous conventions and instruct its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employes' organizations to secure the enactment of a 30-year optional retirement law and a widow's annuity.

The realization of objective of this resolution would further the spread of work opportunities by permitting the retirement of those who desire it after thirty years of service. It has the support of all organizations of Government employes and has been endorsed repeatedly by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates Leo E.

George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The administration of the laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923, and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of Federal Government employees; and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law; and

WHEREAS, Many decision had under these laws are quasi-judicial ones; and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of Federal Government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be the agency charged with the administration of the laws and regulations affecting civilian personnel within the classified civil service of the United States including the administration of the Civil Service Retirement law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bi-partisan commission; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that one of the members of

the United States Civil Service Commission shall be selected with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Pursuant to the adoption of a resolution similar to this one by the American Federation of Labor Conventions in recent years, the representatives and members of the affiliated organizations and the legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor, Wm. Hushing, waged a successful fight to have the Civil Service Commission exempted from the authority of the President to reorganize the Government agencies provided in the legislation enacted in the last session of Congress.

Your Committee commends the American Federation of Labor for its activity and congratulates it upon the results. However, we believe that the position of the American Federation of Labor should be reaffirmed and that position maintained in the face of any future attempt to dissolve the Civil Service Commission or destroy its bi-partisan nature or to transfer its functions to any other agency.

Your committee commends the American concurrence in the resolution

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National

Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the Workmen's Compensation Law covering Government employes and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's Compensation laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia, and the large body of workmen employed on Federal emergency projects; and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in a humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of Workmen's Compensation legislation by an independent bi-partisan commission; and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employes now within the scope of Federal Workmen's Compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within Federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fiftyninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its approval of the Commission and the manner in which it has administered the laws under its jurisdiction; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal Workmen's Compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution by transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

The statement in reference to Resolution No. 47 applies with equal force and in the same manner to this resolution.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislative Program of the American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of

Government Employees at its convention held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, September 11 to 14, 1939, adopted the following objectives as its legislative program:

1. Optional retirement at full annuity after 30 years of service; optional retirement at proportionate annuity after 15 years of service; increased annuities to not less than 50 per cent of the average compensation for those receiving compensation in excess of \$2,400 a year; immediate life annuity after 15 years of service at 55; unqualified disability retirement after 55 years of age; joint survivorship annuity privileges for present annuitants; continuance of persons who have recovered from disabilities on the annuity rolls until reinstated; and additional deductions from compensation if necessary to secure more liberal retirement benefits.

2. Establishment of a Board of Appeals to hear and render decisions on appeals of employes herein determined with authority to enforce its decisions so as to fully protect the rights of employes.

3. Minimum compensation of \$1,500 a year for all full-time employes.

4. Five-day week distributed over five consecutive days with no decrease in pay.

5. Extension of the provisions of the Civil Service Act and Rules to the entire executive civil service.

6. Extension of the Classification Act to the field services desiring the same.

7. Elimination of so-called average clause and the substitution therefor of statutory automatic increases in compensation.

8. Compensation for overtime either in the form of salary or leave, with the provision that an employe shall be required to work overtime only upon authorization of the Chief of a major unit of an agency, such authorization being given direct or through the immediate supervisor of the employe. Unlimited accumulation of leave credit as a result of overtime with the provision that it shall be available until used.

9. Equitable application of the night differential to all positions requiring night shifts.

10. The defraying by the Government, of the cost of travel by employes and their dependents, and the cost of transportation of household effects whenever an employe is transferred from one duty station to another for the benefit of the Government.

11. Shorter hours, adequate compensation, and improved working conditions for custodial employes, employes in the Veteran's Administration Facilities, and employes in Federal penal institutions.

12. Optional quarters, subsistence and laundry with provision of applying cost uniformly to all positions wherein its customary to supply such services; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, endorse the afore-

said program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees, that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

This resolution reiterates legislative objectives of the Government employees that have been endorsed by previous conventions, all of which are in accord with established views of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Correction of Annual and Sick Leave Laws

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Berniece B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stamps and Engravers' Union; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The Acts of March 14, 1938, (Public No. 471 and 472, 74th Congress), establishing for Government employees 26 days annual leave and 15 days sick leave annually with pay, contemplated in the opinion of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who sponsored this legislation, that the absences referred to meant days upon which employees would otherwise work and receive pay; and

WHEREAS, This interpretation of the law was in effect for all per diem 40 hours, five day week employees, and many others until January 1, 1938; and

WHEREAS, The executive orders issued by the President on March 21, 1938, which were retroactive to January 1, 1938, provided that in case five-day week employees were on leave and a non-work day occurred

within such period of leave, the non-work day would be charged against the annual leave due such employees; and that in case any employees were off on sick leave, included within which period occurred a non-work day and a Sunday, such employees would have the non-work days and the Sunday charged against the sick leave due them; and

WHEREAS, The decision of May 4, 1938, No. A-94536, of the Comptroller General of the United States, held that these executive orders were in conformity with the law; and

WHEREAS, The Attorney General of the United States has advised the President that he has no authority under the law as enacted, to exclude non-work days and Sundays, as the case may be, from being charged against annual and sick leave due employees under the conditions specified in the President's order of March 21, 1938; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Cincinnati, Ohio, express its disappointment and disapproval of the manner in which the leave laws of March 14, 1938, have been interpreted in the instance cited, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor render every assistance possible to the affiliated organizations interested, to secure the enactment of the Ramspeck-Bulow bills now pending on the House and Senate calendars which will entitle employees to 26 days annual and 15 days sick leave, exclusive of Sundays, legal holidays, non-work days, and other time for which employees would not otherwise receive pay.

This resolution calls for support of legislation to correct a condition brought about by the obvious misadministration of the intent of the laws granting vacation and sick leave to Government employees.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Appreciation of Fair Labor Policy of U. S. Post Office Officials

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, Postmaster General James A. Farley and other policy forming officials of the Postal Service have repeatedly declared themselves as recognizing the right of organization by the employees and of spokes-

manship through their duly elected representatives; and

WHEREAS, This policy is one inaugurated by the present administration of the Post Office Department and is a marked improvement from previous personnel relations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor extend its appreciation to the officials of the Post Office Department for this liberal reform, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that these officials take energetic steps to impress upon their subordinates in the field the duty and responsibility of observing and furthering recognition of the unions and the sincere practice of collective bargaining with respect to administrative matters; and, be it still further

RESOLVED, That we express the sincere hope that this example will be followed by the extension of the above principles to all Government establishments in which they do not now exist.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Legislation to Provide for Pay Increases on Longevity Service

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. L. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The principle of longevity pay is recognized and its practice well established in many industries and employments, including the military and naval establishments of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, Postal employees in top automatic salary grades have few opportunities for advancement, and a stationary salary scale in an economic world where living costs and standards are continually rising is equivalent to a steady reduction in pay; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle of longevity pay for postal employees as embodied in a bill introduced by Honorable James M. Mead, Senator from New York, and instruct the Executive Council to support the efforts of the affiliated postal organizations to secure its enactment.

This resolution provides for endorsement

of a principle that is now in effect in certain branches of government service and that is applied in many lines of private employment.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Legislation for Postal Employees Granting Reduction in Hours Progressively with Length of Service

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The principle of longevity pay for postal employees has been an accepted part of the legislative program of the National Association of Letter Carriers for many years; and

WHEREAS, Under this longevity pay program, the National Association of Letter Carriers has requested an increase of \$100.00 per year upon completion of 15 years service and an additional \$100.00 per year upon the completion of each five year period until 30 years of service had been completed; and

WHEREAS, Under present economic conditions it is more advisable and more in keeping with economic trends to reduce hours, thereby spreading employment opportunities; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Cincinnati, October, 1939, go on record as favoring legislation which will grant to postal employees who have been in the service 20 years the following: seven-hour day, those who have been in the service 25 years, a six-hour day; and those who have been in the service 30 years, a five-hour day; and be it further

RESOLVED, That when a "Thirty Year Optional Retirement Law" is placed upon the statutes—any special reduction in hours for those who remain in the service more than 30 years be cancelled.

The resolution is in conflict with the objective of several of the organizations of postal employees, which is a reduction in the hours of work for all employees.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Substitute Postal Employees

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. L. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Al-

bert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, Substitute postal employees must qualify to perform the same duties as regular postal employees, but must be available for duty at any time, day or night, 365 days a year, having no regular schedules and being paid only for the actual hours worked; and

WHEREAS, The period of substitution, in many instances, extends over many years; and

WHEREAS, Substitute postal employees receive no higher rate of hourly pay, regardless of length of service; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor record its endorsement of legislation to grant these employees a graduated scale of hourly pay commensurate with the hourly rates of pay of regular employees based upon length of actual service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to support the efforts of the affiliated postal employees to secure appropriate legislation to correct the condition brought about by restrictive rulings of the Comptroller General on the law granting annual and sick-leave to substitutes.

The object of this resolution is to reaffirm the position of the American Federation of Labor on legislation for postal substitute employees, a part of which was accomplished during the first session of the 76th Congress, and also to secure amendatory legislation to overcome what is believed to be misinterpretation of the law by the Comptroller General of the United States.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 57 and 58, which are as follows:

Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service

Resolution No. 57.—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry

Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the Postal Service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions; and

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department has cooperated in an effort to reduce the employment of temporary, non-certified employees; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its 59th Annual Convention assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the Postal Service except during bona fide emergencies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Post Office Department be commended for its efforts to eliminate the use of temporary employees in the postal service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to cooperate with the affiliated organizations of postal employees in securing from the Congress of the United States appropriations sufficient to make possible regular appointments in adequate numbers to meet the service needs.

Proposed Legislation to Restrict Use of Temporary Employees by Post Office Department

Resolution No. 58.—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks is opposed to the use of temporary employees other than during the Christmas rush periods; and

WHEREAS, In view of this fact, many post offices employ temporary employees regularly; and

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department's ruling governing the use of temporary employees is so vague and elastic that an emergency can be said to exist at any time and temporary employees may be used for an unlimited period; and

WHEREAS, The only way to eliminate the indiscriminate use of temporary employees is through national legislation restricting and limiting their use, and to accomplish that end it is necessary that a bill be passed in Congress which will define an emergency as a condition which can exist for only a specified duration of time; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Cincinnati, October, 1939, request the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to draft a bill designed to carry out this purpose and have it introduced in the next session of Congress.

Resolutions Nos. 57 and 58 deal with the

same subject, the elimination of non-certified employes from the postal service except in real emergencies.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 57.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislation to Improve Standards of Employment of Rural Mail Carriers

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Senate Bill S-1663 by Senator LaFollette and House Bill H. R. 4598 by Congressman Sweeney, are now pending in Congress, providing an 8-hour limit workday except in an emergency, with pay for overtime; a 5-day week; the basic salary paid by the time required to complete duty instead of by the present unfair mileage system; no reduction in basic salary for any carrier now in service, and a 6 cents per mile per day equipment maintenance according to the length of the route; and

WHEREAS, Now there is no limit as to hours rural carriers can be required to work and as a large number are now required to work hours far in excess of 40 hours per week within 6 days; and

WHEREAS, Bill S-1663 has had a Senate Post Office Subcommittee hearing, but has not yet been reported out; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist and further this legislation to have it passed during the coming session of Congress.

This resolution, No. 60, seeks the support of the American Federation of Labor to the efforts of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers to establish an eight-hour day and a five-day week in the rural delivery service.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers: I am very happy in behalf of my organization to hear the report of the committee on that resolution. Last year at the Houston convention this Federation of Labor endorsed a resolution pioneering the way to limit the hours as to which the rural letter carriers of these United States can be worked per day or per week.

Upon the convening of the session of Con-

gress we introduced that legislation limiting the work day to eight hours per day, providing for a five-day week and a substitute to serve on the sixth day. To our surprise this legislation met opposition by the Post Office Department. We made several efforts to obtain a hearing on that bill, but without success. A last gesture of an effort was made to secure a hearing on that bill, and through the force of circumstance we appealed to every national and international union of this American Federation of Labor, and in the presence of this vast audience I wish to extend thanks to each and every national and international labor union that rendered this assistance. We were able to obtain a hearing on that bill, and we did present outstanding testimony at the hearing.

A report has not yet been made, and when Congress convenes we will again attempt to have a favorable report made, and I sincerely hope that those who are able will render assistance and help many rural letter carriers to be relieved of working long and excessive hours, especially in these times when millions are unemployed in this country.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Civil Service and Seniority for Substitutes in the Rural Mail Delivery Service

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Substitutes now in the Rural Mail Delivery Service have no opportunity of obtaining appointment as a regular carrier, except by competing in a civil service examination to fill the vacancy on the route which they may have been serving on for years; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist and endeavor to have enacted legislation that will be before the next session of Congress, which will provide for appointment of Rural Carrier Substitutes from a Civil Service Roster, which will later entitle them to appointment as a regular carrier according to seniority when a vacancy exists at the post office to which they are assigned.

This resolution, No. 61, calls for the establishment of certified civil-service eligible

lists for rural letter carriers and for the selection of substitutes and regular rural letter carriers therefrom.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Providing Compensation for Rural Mail Carriers According to Number of Mail Boxes Served

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Carriers in the Rural Mail Delivery Service serving heavy patronized routes do not receive equitable compensation for the hours of work compared to carriers serving light patronized routes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse proposed legislation, compensating Rural Carriers additionally if they are serving over a certain number of boxes per mile, and that no such carrier shall have a route of a greater length than can be served in 40 hours per week within six days.

This resolution, No. 62, appears to the committee to be in conflict with one previously endorsed, and it is feared that if its terms were carried out it would result in reductions in pay for some rural carriers.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to confer with the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Endorsement of Legislation to Include Special Delivery Messengers in Postal Service Under Civil Service

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.

WHEREAS, It is our belief that an equitable merit system for all Government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, is the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees; and

WHEREAS, The members of the Brotherhood of the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers of the United States

Postal Service remain unclassified; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its 59th Annual Convention, unqualifiedly endorse such legislation as will extend the civil service so as to include the Special Delivery Messengers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Committee be instructed to continue to co-operate with the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers in their efforts to secure through legislation or Executive Order, such extension of the classified civil service.

The extension of the classified civil service to all employees of the Government is in accord with the position consistently maintained by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Court of Appeals in Federal Civil Service

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks has as one of its major objectives, the establishment of an impartial court of appeals in the Federal Civil Service; and

WHEREAS, There is no law in the Federal Civil Service which makes positive provision for granting to Civil Service employees the right of a fair hearing before an impartial body in event of charges leading to dismissal, demotion, or suspension; and

WHEREAS, The inadequacy of the existing provisions of law may give rise to arbitrary or capricious action by officials or react against organizations by intimidation of aggressive union activities; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Cincinnati, October, 1939, instruct the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to draft a bill designed to accomplish this purpose and make every effort to secure its introduction and passage at the next session of Congress.

The establishment of an impartial tribunal with employee representation thereon, to hear and decide cases involving demotion or dismissal of civil service employees, has been an important objective of their organization for many years.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Application of Seniority Principles to All Federal Employees

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther N. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Berniece B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trades and industries; and

WHEREAS, Seniority principles are recognized and operate successfully in several post offices; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of similar seniority principles among all Federal employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in accord with this endorsement support be given legislation pending before Congress which will establish a general seniority standard.

The objective of this resolution, No. 53, is to establish the right of employees to promotions and preferred assignments by virtue of seniority in service.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Higher Standards in Government Employment

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, E. C. Hallbeck, Albert J. White, Albert G. Hunt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J.

Gainer, Wm. J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, National Association of Letter Carriers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Lawrence E. Ernst, Railway Mail Association; Cecil E. Custer, Berniece B. Heffner, James A. Campbell, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; Fred Baer, John P. Redmond, International Association of Firefighters; Willis A. Bohall, National Association of P. O. and R. M. S. Laborers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employee representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and extension of the civil service system with respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter week principles without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for establishments in private industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher Government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

This resolution, No. 49, seeks the endorsement and support of the American Federation of Labor to the various groups of government employe organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in their efforts to secure numerous improvements in their working conditions. All of these objectives have been approved previously in one form or another. This convention is asked to reaffirm its endorsement.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Endorsement of Ramspeck Bill H.R. 1981 to Regulate Employment Conditions of U. S. Navy Yard Custodial Service Employees

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Navy Yard wage schedules do not now cover employees in the custodial service; and

WHEREAS, These employees were excepted from the general provisions of the Classification Act of 1923, which excluded the skilled trades from the operation of that Act; and

WHEREAS, It is now proposed to extend the Classification Act to the field service; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That an effort be made to remove these employees from the purview of the Classification Act of 1923 as amended, and to have them placed under a schedule of wages not less than that prevailing in the Navy Yard service, and to confer upon them the benefits of the 40-hour week without reduction in weekly earnings; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the principles of the Ramspeck Bill H. R. 1981, introduced January 9, 1939, and endeavor to secure its enactment.

Resolution No. 68 requests the endorsement of legislation to protect the wages and to reduce the hours of custodial employees in the Navy Yards of the United States Government.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Navy Yard Employees Substituted in Supervisory Positions Should Receive Standard Wage Rates

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government Navy Yard, Arsenal, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions; and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken; and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Resolution No. 69 requests support of legislation that would provide the proper rate of pay for employees temporarily detailed to positions of a higher classification.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Extend Provisions of Act (Public No. 391) To Regulate Government Employment on the Panama Canal Zone

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has spent vast sums of money in the construction and operation of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Funds are appropriated yearly to provide for operation and maintenance of the Canal, and

WHEREAS, At this time employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad approximate 13,000 and of this number 3,000 are citizens of the United States while 10,000 are alien subjects of European nations, an approximate ratio of one United States citizen to three aliens; and

WHEREAS, There are more than 3,600 aliens in the service of the United States Government on the Canal Zone, occupying skilled or semi-skilled positions, which should be held by United States citizens; and

WHEREAS, There are now millions of workers in the United States who are unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal is an important part of our system of national defense, vastly increasing the sailing radius of our naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, Now that a state of war exists, attempts may be made to injure or destroy the canal, it is therefore essential that all positions of responsibility be filled by American citizens; and

WHEREAS, A law (Public No. 391) was enacted in the last session of Congress which, at the request of the American Federation of Labor, was amended to provide for the payment of the prevailing rate of pay and for the employment of American citizens in all positions of a skilled, technical, clerical, administrative and supervisory nature; be it

RESOLVED, That we approve of the progress made and that our officers be instructed to introduce a resolution in the 1939 convention of the American Federation of Labor with the request that that convention instruct its officers to extend the provision of the above amendment to the operation and maintenance of the Panama Canal, the operation and maintenance of the Panama Railroad, the operation and maintenance of the Panama Railway Steamship Line and other positions occupied by civilians under the Army and Navy on the Panama Canal Zone.

The purpose of this resolution, No. 64, is to require the employment of American citizens in all positions on the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad, and the Panama Railway Steamship Line.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Shorter Work Week for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Section 23 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1935, (Thomas Amendment), provides a 40-hour week with no reduction in salary for certain employees of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Railroad, not being considered employees of the United States Government, have not been allowed the advantage of the 40-hour week; and

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Canal employes receive the 40-hour week, less than one-third of the total number of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and

WHEREAS, Realizing the limitation placed on the application of the shorter work week, legislation has been proposed providing for the shorter work week for all government employees alike; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention as-

sembled, make every effort to have a shorter work week, not to exceed 40 hours per week, and with no reduction in salary, applied to all the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama.

The objective of Resolution No. 65 is to extend the benefits of the 40-hour week to all employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Twenty-five Year Optional Retirement and Widows' Annuity for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous, due to the high temperature, great humidity and the actinic rays of the tropical sun; and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undiminished; and

WHEREAS, Congress during the last session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of sixty-two; and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement and extending certain benefits to widows; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provision of the Civil Service retirement acts but have a special retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code June 19, 1934; and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, twenty-five years of service, and with full annuity; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That officials of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to support during the

next session of Congress any measure supported by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union providing for an earlier retirement age will full annuity and extension of these benefits to widows.

Resolution No. 66 provides for the support of the American Federation of Labor to legislation proposed by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union having for its object an earlier retirement age for Canal Zone employes and extension of retirement benefits to their widows.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Wage Differential for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Existing law provides for employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad of a differential up to 25 per cent over rates paid for similar work in the United States; and

WHEREAS, All of the employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad except policemen, firemen, school teachers, postal employes and pilots receive this differential in pay; and

WHEREAS, There seems to be no satisfactory reason why these employes should not receive equal consideration for their labor with the other employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, be instructed to assist in every way possible in obtaining the full differential for all employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad.

Resolution No. 67 requests the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in securing the full benefits of present laws permitting the payment to Canal Zone employes compensation 25 per centum higher than for the same service in the States.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Endorsement of H.R. 7312 To Amend Tariff Act

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, Elmer P. Meinz, Matt Slater, James S. Killen, International

Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers; Matthew J. Burns, Arthur Huggins, Frank P. Barry, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

WHEREAS, European countries, because of low wages, depreciated currency, and subsidized industries, are able to dump commodities into the United States at prices below the cost of production here; and

WHEREAS, The Anti-dumping Act of 1921 does not give American industry and American labor adequate protection against such ruinous competition; and

WHEREAS, Congressman Martin Smith of the State of Washington, at the last session of Congress, introduced a bill known as H. R. 7312 to amend the Anti-dumping Act of 1921; and

WHEREAS, H. R. 7312, if enacted into law, would amend Section 202 of the Anti-dumping Act of 1921 so that it would read as follows:

"(a) If the United States Tariff Commission should find in its report that the charge of dumping is sustained, the appraising officer of the Bureau of Customs forthwith shall levy and collect, in addition to the duties imposed thereon by law, if any, a special dumping duty on the imported merchandise or raw materials which was subjected to the order of suspected dumping.

"(b) The special dumping duty levied and collected as provided for in section 202 (a), shall be determined by the difference between the sale price, or the price for which the imported merchandise or raw materials was offered for sale, and the manufacturer's or producer's cost of production in the United States of the same kind or class of merchandise or raw materials."

and

WHEREAS, If the Anti-dumping Act of 1921 were strengthened by the enactment into law of H. R. 7312, it would prove of immeasurable benefit to American wage earners, not only to those employed in non-dutiable industries, like pulp and newsprint paper, but also to all the workers employed in industries that have to meet what is tantamount to subsidized competition from European countries; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Fifty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby go on record as endorsing H. R. 7312; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to urge upon Congress the enactment of this legislation.

Resolution No. 72 calls for endorsement of legislative proposals now before Congress that would amend the tariff laws to the effect that the customs duty on imported products on raw materials would equal the

difference between the price of such imports and the cost of domestic production, thus placing American products upon an equal competitive basis.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Tariff Legislation to Protect American Wood Pulp Industry From Foreign Competition

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The manufacturing of wood pulp has become an important industry in the Pacific Northwest; furnishing employment to thousands of union men, and normally bringing prosperity to many communities; and

WHEREAS, The prosperity of this industry is at present jeopardized by the dumping of European wood pulp on the United States market at a price with which the American manufacturers cannot compete; and

WHEREAS, This dumping of foreign wood is made possible by the low wage rate paid in the European mills, together with subsidies granted the foreign mills, in the nature of low timber costs, low interest rates and low freight rates on the foreign ships in which the pulp is brought to the United States; and

WHEREAS, This situation is further aggravated by the fact that the depreciated currencies of these foreign countries give them an advantage in selling on the American market; and

WHEREAS, At the present time the United States Treasury Department is making an investigation of the dumping of foreign wood pulp in the United States, and its effect on the American market; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing this investigation, and recommending that legislative action be taken by the Congress of the United States to protect the American wood pulp industry from ruinous foreign competition.

Resolution No. 73 calls for endorsement of an investigation being conducted by the United States Treasury Department to ascertain the effects upon the American wood pulp industry of the importation of large quantities of wood pulp from foreign countries which maintain low wage scales and which enjoy other competitive advantages, and also requests support of the American Federation of Labor for legislation to protect the American wood pulp industry.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Enactment of Federal Legislation to Regulate Importation of Foreign-Made Pulp and Paper

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the pulp and paper mills of the United States many mills are operating but two and three days per week; and

WHEREAS, The United States consumes enough pulp and paper to keep all mills running full time if pulp and paper made in the United States were used before any foreign made pulp and paper were used; and

WHEREAS, Pulp and paper is brought into the U. S. duty free from Canada and the Scandinavian countries where much of this product is produced by low paid labor; and

WHEREAS, Much of the imported pulp and paper is not labeled so that its origin is unknown; and

WHEREAS, The unemployed and part-time employed men in the pulp and paper industry present flagrant example of this sabotage of national recovery; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record to petition the Congress of the United States to set quota on the importations of pulp and paper into the U. S. to the extent that local mills can operate at full time; and be it further

RESOLVED, That foreign-made pulp and paper shall be labeled, stating place of origin

Resolution No. 74 requests the support of the American Federation of Labor in securing legislation which would set a quota on importations of pulp and paper to the extent that American mills may operate on a full-time basis and also to require the labeling of imported pulp and paper to show its place of origin.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Legislation to Prohibit Government Agencies Purchasing Products Made in Foreign Countries

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are some public agen-

cies who are approving of purchasing goods made in foreign countries; and

WHEREAS, This is against the best interests of the citizens of this country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposing this practice and request this Federation to draft suitable legislation to prohibit this practice.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Social Security for Agricultural Workers

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Burt B. Currgan, from the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Social Security Board has recommended to the President and to Congress that old age insurance be extended to include agricultural workers employed in large scale farming operations; and

WHEREAS, The recommendation is grounded on the principle that it is good social policy to protect as many of the Nation's workers as possible from the vicissitudes of old age; and

WHEREAS, The Social Security Board considers that the proposed extension is administratively feasible; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby memorialize the President and Congress to enact the recommendation of the United States Social Security Administration regarding the proposed extension of old-age insurance to include agricultural workers into law.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Social Security Legislation

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Burt B. Currgan, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Employees of religious and educational institutions do not at present come under the protection of state and national social security legislation; and

WHEREAS, Employees of these institutions are in fully as much need of the protection of such legislation as are the employees of other establishments; and

WHEREAS, The very persons who employ workers in these institutions are in their own employments fully protected by such legislation; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has always advocated and fought for the equal right of all men and women, and these institutions are discriminating against their workers by asking legislation where these religious and educational institutions are exempt from paying social security and state unemployment tax; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the California Federation of Labor instruct its legislative representatives in Sacramento to seek changes in the provisions of State legislation to the end that employees of religious and educational institutions will no longer be discriminated against but will be afforded the same degree of social security accorded other workers, and that this convention of the California State Federation of Labor call upon the American Federation of Labor Convention to be held in Cincinnati to instruct its legislative representatives at Washington to seek amendments to Federal social security legislation to the end that employees of religious and educational institutions will no longer be discriminated against but will be afforded the same degree of social security accorded other workers.

In view of the indefinite nature of many employments to which Resolution No. 81 refers, your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and action to properly safeguard the interests of workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

War Risk Insurance

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Burt B. Currgan, from the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At the last session of the U. S. Congress, a Bill, HR 6572, was introduced by Congressman Bland, which had the approval of the Maritime Commission; and

WHEREAS, This bill seeks to set a minimum and maximum standard by the government in the matter of war risk insurance, covering death and disability; and

WHEREAS, This bill as it now reads would limit the protection of insurance for death or permanent disability to not less than \$2,000 nor more than \$5,000; and

WHEREAS, Under such a standard a seaman would get only 45 per cent of \$5,000 for the loss of an eye, to 65 per cent of \$5,000 for the loss of either legs or arms; and

WHEREAS, This bill may come up for Congressional action within two or three weeks; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the membership of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, are absolutely opposed to the ridiculously low standard set on loss of life and limb by this bill,

and hereby petition Congress to substitute for this provision that heretofore advocated by the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, i. e. \$10,000 for loss of life and \$25,000 for permanent disability and a percentage thereof for partial disability; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the California State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Oakland, California and the American Federation of Labor, to assemble at Cincinnati, Ohio, to give the American seamen the full benefit of their legislative department of the American Federation of Labor to see that the interests of the American seamen are protected in this matter.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Adopted by Fifty-Seventh Annual Convention of Illinois State Federation of Labor

The committee has received the following communication:

Chicago, September 28, 1939.
Legislative Committee,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Cincinnati, Ohio.
Brothers:

The attached Resolutions Nos. 82 to 93, inclusive, introduced in and adopted by the 57th Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor at Springfield, Illinois, September 18-23, 1939, were introduced by the delegates representing Chicago Post Office Clerks Local Union No. 1.

Our convention action provided that these resolutions be presented to the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor and that the delegate from the Illinois State Federation of Labor do all possible to have such resolutions adopted by the American Federation of Labor.

It is my understanding that these resolutions are a part of the legislative program of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks and that resolutions in accord therewith will be introduced in the forthcoming Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor by that national organization. In that event, the adoption of the attached resolutions by the Illinois State Federation of Labor convention and their presentation to your committee may be considered as an endorsement of such legislative program of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks and an urgent request that your committee take favorable action on such program.

Fraternally yours,

R. G. SODERSTROM, President,
Illinois State Federation of Labor.
(Delegate to the American Federation of Labor.)

Received Sept 29, 1939.

Accompanying this letter are eleven resolutions dealing with the objectives of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks. The subjects of most of these resolutions have been covered by other resolutions already adopted by this convention.

These resolutions were not received within the time to be included with the printed resolutions presented to this convention in conformity with the constitution.

However, we recommend that they be referred to the Executive Committee with the request that insofar as they conform to the program of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, they be given favorable action by the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Public Education

(Page 132, Executive Council's Report)

The report of the Committee on Legislation on this subject matter in the Executive Council's report was made earlier in the session, and on motion action was deferred until the Committee on Education had made its report.

Delegate Ornburn, Chairman of the Committee on Legislation: Mr. Chairman, upon investigation we find there is conflict between the report of the Committee on Legislation and the report of the Committee on Education on the subject matter under the caption, "Public Education."

I therefore move that this portion of the report of the Committee on Legislation be referred to the Executive Council for study and further consideration.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate George: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Legislation, which is signed by the committee:

J. M. ORNBURN, Chairman
LEO F. GEORGE
EMANUEL KOVELESKI
B. M. JEWELL
C. L. ROSEMUND
J. F. BENNETT
JAMES M. DUFFY
RICHARD J. GRAY
JAMES T. MORIARTY
JOHN DONLIN
CECIL B. CUSTER
THOMAS V. GREEN
EPPA HONEY

M. T. FINNAN
ARNOLD S. ZANDER
DON H. BURROWS
CHRISTIAN MADSEN
DAVID BEHNCKE
WILLIAM LEISHMAN

Committee on Legislation.

Delegate George moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Legislation as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Announcements

President Green: The Chair desires to announce a meeting of the Executive Council immediately after the adjournment of this session.

Vice-President Rickert: The Committee on Adjustment will meet Tuesday afternoon at 1:30 o'clock in Parlor G of the Hotel Netherland Plaza. The committee would like to

have before it those interested in Resolutions Nos. 35, 36, 37 38 and 39. Members of the committee and those interested in the resolutions please take notice.

Vice-President Gainor: The Committee on Shorter Work Day is requested to meet in the center aisle of the convention hall immediately after adjournment.

Delegate Masterton, Plumbers: The Committee on Building Trades will meet immediately after adjournment in Room 1729.

Delegate Lynch: The Committee on Executive Council's Report will meet at 10:00 o'clock Tuesday morning, Room 604.

Secretary Morrison: There will be a meeting of West Coast delegates in Parlor E immediately following the close of the Tuesday morning session.

At 5:45 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 10.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 10, 1939.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees:

Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordges, A. S.; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, R. J.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Hansen, H. I.; Heymanns, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly, Tom; Kelly, John P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Powers, Jos.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Claude S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

President Green: The convention will please be in order. Reverend Joseph T. Ware, St. James Episcopal Church, of this city, will deliver the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

Rev. Joseph T. Ware, Pastor,
St. James Episcopal Church,
Cincinnati

Oh, God, Thou Who has revealed to us that love is the way of life, look upon us who live in the midst of so many difficulties and perplexities, who find it so hard to see what we are to do. Grant us unselfish regard for the welfare of our fellow men, and especially for those who are poor, overburdened and oppressed, and that, guided by Thy spirit, we may thread our ways through the mazes of life and find a solid satisfaction in effective achievement. Pour Thy blessing upon these leaders of our working people, give them every success in their personal lives, but may this success never blind them to the needs of their humbler fellows, and especially to the hardships and privations of those of our working people who, because of lack of skill or strength, must maintain an unending struggle to secure a livelihood. Grant them honesty, integrity and sincerity, an honesty, integrity and sincerity proof against the assaults of ambition and expediency. Grant them breadth of vision that they may strive effectively for the welfare and prosperity of those whom they represent, and also for the welfare and prosperity of the masses and all the classes of the nation, nay, of the world as a whole. May they have eyes to see that the true prosperity of any one is

impossible without the prosperity of all. Direct these leaders, oh, God, in all their doings with Thy most gracious faith, and further with Thy help that all their deliberations and decisions may give multitudes of men larger opportunities and enriched living, all of which we ask in the spirit of Him Who loved and served the meek and lowly, Himself a Carpenter of Nazareth, Jesus Christ. Amen.

President Green: Mr. Fullerton, of the Vocational Training Board, will speak to us this morning, and I am going to ask Brother Henry Ohl, Brother Thomas Burke, and Brother Thomas Donnelly to serve as an escort and conduct him to the platform.

Resolutions Submitted After Time Limit

I want to submit to the convention a report of the Executive Council upon resolutions that arrived for consideration of this convention after the time limit for the introduction of resolutions had expired:

The constitution and by-laws of the American Federation of Labor were amended at the Denver convention one year ago, relating to the introduction of resolutions. The amended sections referred to read as follows:

Article III, Section 6. All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

Now, in conformity with the sections of

the constitution just read, a number of resolutions were submitted to the Executive Council. These resolutions were submitted to the Council because they arrived after the time limit for the introduction of resolutions had expired. The Executive Council has gone over these resolutions, and by instruction of the Executive Council, the Secretary-Treasurer will report the said resolutions to the convention. They will be submitted to you in consecutive order, and if any delegate in the convention objects to the introduction of any one of these resolutions, then the resolution cannot be considered by the convention. These resolutions can only be introduced now, even after the Executive Council has considered them, by the rule of unanimous consent of the delegates in attendance at this convention, and they may exercise their right, if they so desire, to object to the introduction of any one of these resolutions which will now be submitted by Secretary-Treasurer Morrison for your consideration.

In addition a number of resolutions submitted by local unions and Federal labor unions will be reported to the convention also, but not until after Secretary Morrison has submitted the resolutions to which I have just referred for acceptance by the convention and for reference to appropriate committees.

Secretary Morrison then submitted the resolutions to the introduction of which no objections were offered, and they will be found at the end of this day's proceedings.

The guest speaker, Mr. Fullerton, was escorted to the platform by the committee appointed by President Green.

President Green: Mr. Fullerton, our guest speaker this morning, responded promptly to the invitation I extended him to come to Cincinnati and address the delegates in attendance at the convention. Mr. Fullerton is the consultant in employee-employer relations, Office of Education, Washington, D. C. He has had a wide experience in apprenticeship training. I doubt if there is any man in the United States that has had more experience in apprenticeship training than has Mr. Fullerton. He comes, therefore, to us as an expert in employee-employer relationship, in the Vocational Education Division in the Department of Mechanical Training and Education. We are grateful for his coming here and for bringing to us his message.

MR. CHARLES N. FULLERTON **Consultant in Employee-Employer** **Relations, Office of Education**

Mr. President, Fellow Trade Unionists, and Visitors:

It is, indeed, a privilege and also a real pleasure to speak to you today, representing the Office of Education of our Federal Government, as Consultant in Employee-Employer Relations in the Vocational Education Division. In speaking to you, I would like to have you think of me, not as an educator, but as a fellow trade unionist, with a paid-up card of 34 years' continuous good standing membership in the International Association of Machinists. The International Association of Machinists admitted me to membership as an apprentice, after having served two years of my apprenticeship, just 34 years ago this month. I have maintained that membership continuously since. Incidentally, just six years ago, for ten months during 1933, it was necessary for me, because of the depression, to go in the shop again and pick up the tools, so that I have not forgotten how it feels to be a practical working machinist. My local Lodge, No. 346, located at Washington, Indiana, honored me in electing me to every local office within the gift of the Lodge, and I was later honored by being elected to the office of General Chairman or Business Agent of District Lodge, No. 29, composed of all machinists' and machinist-helpers' local lodges, whose members were employed on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad System. So, while it has been my good fortune to have had much experience in vocational education in apprentice training, yet, today as a fellow trade unionist, talking with I would prefer to have you think of me you about vocational education. As a matter of fact, I am indebted to both the International Association of Machinists and the American Federation of Labor for my present position with the United States Office of Education.

It had become apparent to both Labor and the Office of Education that an important problem, particularly in trade and industrial education, was centered in the matter of employee-employer relationships. It was clear that young people entering industry must be protected against exploitation by certain unscrupulous employers, that both vocational educators and labor be made more conscious of their common responsibility in safeguarding the interests of all parties concerned in vocational education. At the suggestion of the A. F. of L. United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. J. W. Studebaker, himself a trade unionist with a bricklayer's card and always sympathetic toward the aims and purposes of Organized Labor, decided to appoint to the staff of the Vocational Education Division a man with some experience in vocational education and with a background primarily of labor experience who could advise with vocational educators and serve as a representative between educators, employers, and labor.

And so, with the endorsement and recommendation of both the International Association of Machinists and the American Federation of Labor, I was appointed as Consultant in Employee-Employer Relations, effective November 1, last. In accepting this position, I was not unmindful of the tremendous responsibility that I assumed in entering upon this position, a responsibility to labor to assist in such contributions as I might make toward eliminating abuses in vocational education. Frankly, I entered upon the duties of my new position last November with considerable misgivings, but with a feeling that I owed a debt of gratitude to Organized Labor for its past assistance to me and for its confidence and trust in my ability to be of some service. I am a trade unionist from the heart, not from the pocketbook.

In my eleven months' experience in the Vocational Education Division of the Office of Education, there is one thing of which I am convinced, namely, that the vast majority of our vocational educators are not opposed to Organized Labor, but on the other hand, are friendly and sympathetic and want to administer vocational education to the end that there will be no abuse or exploitation of young people entering into wage-earning pursuits. It has been my privilege to have visited vocational schools where a very close cooperation between labor and the school prevailed. This represents what we would like to see in all vocational schools. The difficulty has been that since educators, in their own particular sphere, do not have sufficient contacts with labor, the mistakes which have been made heretofore have been "mistakes of the head and not of the heart." My associations with vocational educators in the brief period of eleven months have convinced me that once they clearly understand labor's point of view, they are ready and willing to adopt the program of vocational education accordingly. I trust that you will pardon these prefacing remarks, which I appreciate are somewhat personal, but I wanted you to get something of a picture of my position in the United States Office of Education in appearing before this convention today and speaking to you about vocational education.

Let us look at the picture of vocational education. Organized Labor is and properly should be interested in vocational education. The statement made in a resolution adopted at the A. F. of L. Convention in 1908, 31 years ago, that "Organized Labor has the largest personal interest in the subject of industrial education" is just as true today as it was the day it was uttered.

The Smith-Hughes Act, setting up Federal aid for vocational education, was enacted in 1917. The A. F. of L. was largely responsible for this legislation, having urged consistently as early as 1912 the establishment of a Federal program. The late Mr. Arthur E. Holder, for many years an active and influential member of the International Association of Machinists, who was chairman of the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee on Industrial Education, was appointed labor's representative on

the first Federal Board for Vocational Education. He continued in this position until March, 1921, being succeeded by Mr. Harry L. Fidler, who held the office until February, 1928, when he was succeeded by Mr. Perry W. Reeves, a Pennsylvania Railroad Conductor, who continued until the appointment of Brother Henry Ohl, Jr., on September 4, 1935. Brother Ohl is still a member of the Federal Advisory Board for Vocational Education. The function of the Federal Board changed on June 10, 1933, from an administrative to an advisory capacity when President Roosevelt assigned the Federal Board for Vocational Education to the Department of the Interior. Two months later the Secretary of the Department of the Interior merged the Federal Board for Vocational Education into the Office of Education. The point in the foregoing is that from April, 1921, until the old Federal Board was merged with the Office of Education, the labor member of the board, which was an administrative board, was not affiliated with the A. F. of L. When Brother Ohl was appointed in 1935, the Board had already been changed from an administrative to an advisory board. The A. F. of L. have, therefore, not always had direct representation in the determining of policies of vocational education, this notwithstanding the fact that theirs is the largest personal interest. This, then, brings me to the point where I say frankly that I appreciate fully the responsibilities of my position, which is not administrative, but rather advisory. I have worked and will continue to work very closely with labor in advising with my boss, Dr. J. C. Wright, Assistant Commissioner for Vocational Education, in matters relating to labor. Dr. Wright can be depended upon to cooperate to the fullest extent in eliminating abuses whenever they are brought to his attention. This, my friends, is the keynote of my remarks today—Dr. Wright will cooperate to the fullest extent whenever abuses are brought to his attention.

Labor groups, as I have said, have the largest personal interest in vocational education of any parties concerned. They likewise, in having this personal interest, have a very real responsibility. I shall try to convey to you a word-picture of that responsibility, as I see it, in the light of my experiences. First, I would like you to examine the chart on Federal Administration of Vocational Education which has been placed in your hands. You will note that this chart indicates that the Office of Education has administrative authority over the several States only through the state board and the chief executive officer for vocational education, and I might mention, through these only in so far as the Smith-Hughes Law and the State Plan permit. The United States Office of Education has no administrative authority over a local school vocational program. This I want to make very clear, that the whole Federal aid program for vocational education, as set forth in the Smith-Hughes Law, is based upon a policy of cooperation as between the Federal office and the several states. It is not a

policy of the Federal office to say to the States, "You must do this, and you must do that." The Smith-Hughes Law, as you may be aware, provides for three phases of vocational education, namely, agriculture, home economics, and trade and industry, and further provides that each state, in order to receive aid for its vocational program, must set up a State Board for Vocational Education, and must draw up a State Plan, setting forth the minimum standards governing its state program for vocational education. These minimum standards, relating to types of classes, age limitations for students, requirements for standards for teachers, etc., are set forth in the Smith-Hughes Law, and no state may be reimbursed by the Federal Government unless its State Plan does provide for the minimum requirements as set forth in the Smith-Hughes Law. A state, in setting up its State Plan, may set its standards as high as it chooses, but may not go below the minimums as set forth in the Smith-Hughes Law. Trade and industrial education, under this law, is the phase with which labor is primarily interested and which we are considering today.

Now, having set up a State Board for Vocational Education, and having drawn up a State Plan, setting forth the minimum standards, under which it proposes to operate its vocational program, the state, not the Federal office, through its State Director and State Supervisor for Vocational Education, administers its state vocational program. Complaint has been made that the Federal Government is encroaching on States' rights from time to time, but I think that you will agree that in so far as vocational education is concerned, this is not the case, and that the states do have complete autonomy.

If you will examine the chart further, you will note that the set-up in the Federal office, namely, the several services, through the chief of the service, the regional agents, and special agents, has no line of direct administration to the states, only a line of cooperation. The only line of administration is from the Assistant Commissioner for Vocational Education through the State Board and the chief executive officer and within the limitations of the state plan. For example, a regional agent, in dealing with a State Director or State Supervisor concerning problems having to do with a local vocational program in the State, must perforce conduct his dealings on a cooperative basis and can not direct the state officer to change a local program as long as the program is not in violation of the State Plan. If the program does not comply with the State Plan, then the regional agent, if unable persuasively to influence compliance, can only recommend to the Federal office the withholding of funds to the State. The Federal office may then exercise its only direct authority and withhold funds from the state. As you can appreciate, this happens only infrequently.

It follows, therefore, that in local communities a program of vocational education can be set up, sponsored by, say, migrating industry and not reimbursed by any Federal

monies. In such a case, even if abuses were occurring and young people were being exploited, there is no direct authority by which we could stop the program.

For illustration, let us take an example with which you are familiar. Take a general contractor who contracts to build you a house. He agrees to build a house for a certain price and in accord with the architect's specifications. You, the builder or owner, might be compared to the Commissioner of Education, the general contractor to the State Executive Officer, and the architect's specifications to the State Plan. Now the general contractor sublets the various building operations to subcontractors. The subcontractor might be likened to the Local Superintendent of Schools. Now suppose that the subcontractor, on your house, faithfully does his work, say heating, for example, and complies with the exact specifications as prepared by the architect. All parties, the builder, the general contractor and the subcontractor agree that everything is as it should be. All bills are paid, and everybody is happy. Now this is exactly what we would find in the case of a good local vocational program. The Commissioner would have no hesitancy about approving the State Plan. The State Executive Officer, having delegated the Local Superintendent of Schools to perform the job, would be pleased, and the Local Superintendent of Schools, having conducted his vocational program in full accord with the State Plan, would be reimbursed for his work with Federal money.

Assume, on the other hand, that while the subcontractor was installing your heating system, he was also installing one in your neighbor's house across the street. You may be inspecting the job in your house, and just casually happen to take a look at the work he is doing for your neighbor. You can see at a glance that the other job is a poor one as compared with job he is doing for you. But what can you do about it? Exactly nothing. In a similar manner a local vocational program, not reimbursed by Federal monies, is not our program, and hence, we are unable to do anything about it. As a matter of fact, there are training programs being carried on and called vocational programs that both Federal and state vocational educators know full well are not bona fide vocational programs and should not be permitted to continue, but which we cannot stop and over which we have no responsibility. Their being called vocational programs causes many to associate them in their minds with the Federal vocational program, and we are criticized for a condition over which we have no control.

Therein lies the responsibility of labor in every local community, to have been sufficiently interested in Education to have set up, and functioning always, a Committee on Education in every Central Labor Council. Through this committee, relationships can be built up with local educational authorities and with school boards, so that an improper program can not get started. Further

along this same line, the Smith-Hughes Act does not make it mandatory to set up State Advisory Committees in a State nor to utilize local advisory committees in local communities. Dr. J. C. Wright, Assistant Commissioner for Vocational Education, tells a story illustrating the need for advisory committees.

He says that, as a boy on a Kansas farm, he learned very early in life that a one-legged milking stool fell over when he got off it, that a two-legged milking stool was not much different. A three-legged milking stool, however, solved the problem and stayed put when he got off it, and continued to stand upright wherever it was placed. In a similar manner a combination of the three interested parties in vocational education, namely, employers, employees, and the school, usually, by reason of utilizing each of their experiences in combination, are in a position to work out a program of vocational education which is in the best interests of all parties concerned. The best interests of all parties concerned is the goal for which we are all striving; hence the full utilization of advisory committees, both State and local, should be our mutually constant aim.

Take any typical American community. We find relatively few labor members on local school boards. Whom do we find? Usually we find men and women who are prominent in local civic affairs. They usually are people of the highest type and are outstanding citizens. But the point is just this, that unless Labor is sufficiently interested to have elected some one representing labor as a member of the school board, or on the other hand, to have a standing Committee on Education to present Labor's point of view, educational authorities can not be expected to understand the problems confronting Labor. Consequently, Labor is handicapped to begin with, when issues arise, by its inability to have its point of view understood. In vocational education, particularly, it is of paramount importance that Labor's point of view be understood. This, by reason of the fact that, in trade and industrial education, those who are being trained will be those who tomorrow will make up the rank and file of Labor. Therefore, Labor should be vitally interested in the kind of training these young people receive, whether the teacher is occupationally qualified, and whether the trainees are being absorbed properly into industry. When you stop to think that we in America spend annually the tremendous sum of \$2,659,000,000 for education, and that there are approximately 185,000 Federal, State and local units engaged in educational work, you can begin to appreciate that education is "Big Business" and that Labor must interest itself in it.

Local vocational school authorities will welcome opportunities to utilize the advice and counsel of Labor through the use of Advisory Committees made up of an equal number of representatives of employees and employers, if and when the subject is presented to them in a helpful constructive manner. Just imagine yourself in an educator's place. Would you not welcome the advice and coun-

sel of men familiar with the details of a work you were doing? Of course you would. As a matter of fact, you do this in your trade unions. For example, when you set up a research, a statistical, or an educational department in your own trade union, you employ some one who is trained and qualified in this specialized type of work to advise and assist in accomplishing the objective for which you are striving.

The Federal Office is constantly endeavoring to have these State and local advisory committees set up and utilized, but I am frank in saying to you that there is yet much room for improvement in this direction. We can not require this to be done. The law does not specify this so that we can only persuade and through cooperation urge the use of advisory committees. So, in speaking to you today, I want to say with all the emphasis I can, that we need your wholehearted cooperation in your setting up Educational Committees in every local community to the end that you can assist us in preventing abuses creeping into vocational programs and further in setting up and utilizing advisory committees composed of an equal number of representatives of employees, and employers. If you have this representation which you should have, it is not likely that anything wrong will occur for the simple reason that you will be able to prevent it.

The A. F. of L. has issued pamphlets from time to time, emphasizing Labor's responsibility in matters relating to cooperation with local school authorities, and in bringing it to your attention again today during this Convention, it is to be hoped that every Central Labor Council, that has not yet done so, will appoint a live Committee on Education, whose business it will be to keep in touch with educational matters locally. We know full well that Labor has problems continually confronting it and that educational matters sometimes seem of secondary importance. This, however, is a mistaken idea, and to Labor, education should always be of primary importance, and this by reason of Labor having the largest interest in industrial education. With the constantly increasing demands for vocational education and with the scope of vocational education constantly being extended into occupations outside the relatively small number of occupations heretofore served, it behooves Labor as well as educational authorities to be ever on the alert to avoid mistakes. And, then further, with the critical situation confronting the world today in European affairs, it seems that vocational education is fully justified in the interest of all concerned in coming to Labor and seeking your cooperation in educational affairs. This is a time in America for cool heads, and this in matters relating to education as well as other matters.

As I said to you before, Dr. Wright, Assistant Commissioner for Vocational Education, will cooperate to the fullest extent in eliminating abuses whenever they are brought to his attention, but this necessitates a very real responsibility on the part of Labor to bring it to our attention at the

earliest possible moment and before it gets to be serious. So, again, let me urge you, if you have not already done so, to set up in every local Central Labor Council a committee on education to work cooperatively with local school authorities to assist in the formation of State and local advisory committees, and to assist in vocational education affairs wherever you can do so.

America's progress is due in large part to the fact that we have trained and developed highly skilled professionally and mechanically trained men. Labor's interest lies in seeing that we continue to train and develop these skills, and further in the establishment of a wage commensurate with these skills. There is no point in acquiring skills unless a compensating remuneration is also assured. This, too, is the objective for which we should strive—the teaching of our young men and women not only the manner of earning a living but, in addition, also how to live.

Finally, in my position as Consultant in Employee-Employer Relations, I will appreciate your cooperation in calling to my attention instances where you believe that the Federal Office can be of assistance in helping you to solve any of your problems in vocational education. I appreciate the confidence you have placed in me and assure you that I shall, to the utmost of my ability, endeavor to merit your continued confidence and support in working constantly for the interests of all concerned in vocational education.

President Green: I extend to Mr. Fullerton the thanks of this convention for his visit with us this morning and for the informative and educating address he has delivered. The address will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

Western Union Employees

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Powers of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, for an announcement.

Delegate Powers, Commercial Telegraphers: Mr. President and delegates—I have a very historic telegram from Washington, D. C., that I think the delegates would be interested in. The telegram reads as follows:

“Western Union employees tonight overwhelmingly ratified historic first Commercial Telegraphers' Union agreement with the company. While more could have been hoped for it marks an auspicious opening and holds much hope for the future. I am sure the convention will want this notice.

(signed) Arthur Martel,
Deputy President,
Commercial Telegraphers' Union.”

I want to amplify briefly what this means. The press operator out in the other

room working for the Postal Telegraph Company under a C. I. O. closed-shop agreement is getting 52 cents an hour. This agreement will provide a minimum of 80 cents and runs up to \$1.31 an hour. That is the difference between an A. F. of L. agreement and a C.I.O. agreement.

President Green: We hope and trust that this marks the beginning of a universal contract between the A. F. of L. Union and the employees of the Western Union Telegraph Company throughout the entire nation.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS Favoring A. F. of L. Establish Tribunal to Adjust Jurisdictional Disputes

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Mary E. Ryder, Trades and Labor Union, St. Louis, Missouri.

WHEREAS, Frequent labor disputes have become a menace and detriment to organized labor movement, resulting in bitter strife in the ranks and serious loss of time to all involved, this appealing to jurisdictional disputes; and

WHEREAS, Such disputes and strikes are generally condemned by both the press, the public and our organized labor movement as a nuisance interfering with the rights of others. We believe it is about time that some remedy be promptly applied to solve this serious problem; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the officers and delegates of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis and Vicinity in meeting assembled this 27th day of August, 1939, do hereby respectfully suggest and earnestly request that the next convention of the A. F. of L. will take some action by creating the office of High Commissioner or some other adequate means to suppress and eliminate jurisdictional disputes and that no strikes shall occur or be permitted when a jurisdictional dispute exists until a verdict has been rendered by the supreme authority of the A. F. of L.; be it further

RESOLVED, That copy of this resolution be forwarded to the A. F. of L. for its consideration and action at the convention to be held at Cincinnati, Ohio, beginning October 2, 1939.

Your Committee is in full accord with the thought that jurisdictional disputes and strikes be avoided until a verdict has been rendered by the proper authority within the

A. F. of L. However, this resolution proposes that such supreme authority should rest in a high commissioner, or some other designated group.

As the conventions of the American Federation of Labor are the supreme authority to decide questions of jurisdiction, and should remain so, your Committee recommends non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ryder, Central Trades and Labor Union, St. Louis, Missouri: Mr. President and Delegates, I can assure you that the Central Trades and Labor Union, in offering this resolution, has no desire to concentrate any particular power in hands that would in any manner abuse it. However, we have been the victims in St. Louis of a situation that arose out there which may perhaps entail the loss of a contract of some \$800,000.00 in a building that had been started. Due to an unfortunate situation which arose the firm which is building this particular building has stated that they would abandon the idea, because of a jurisdictional dispute between the Carpenters and the Machinists.

Of course we are not here to discuss that, because we believe both of those trades are able to iron out their problems, perhaps, but we were thinking mainly of the unemployment situation in St. Louis, the loss of a great contract, and perhaps something that might be, in the eyes of business men and others who are interested in progress and prosperity and the elimination of unemployment. That was what prompted this resolution.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: The delegate who just spoke referred to a jurisdictional controversy between the Machinists and the Carpenters on a job in St. Louis, I want to make this statement for the purpose of correcting the record. There is no jurisdictional controversy. The jurisdictional controversy was disposed of by this convention, by unanimous vote, in Philadelphia. Therefore, the controversy in St. Louis is one of trespassing upon a jurisdiction already decided by the American Federation of Labor.

Vice President Woll: Mr. Chairman, I rise to call attention to a serious situation that

is developing in the annals of the American Federation of Labor, and, as a matter of fact, in all labor organizations federated in character.

The resolution here contemplates that there be created a commissioner or a committee of one sort or another to determine all jurisdictional questions that might arise between affiliated organizations within the American Federation of Labor. The committee's report, of course, is very clear on that subject, in that the committee expresses the opinion that has been entertained by the American Federation of Labor ever since its inception, that the supreme authority in the annals of labor in determining these lines of demarkation as between one and other affiliated organizations rested solely within the councils of labor and as expressed by conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Yet to our great surprise, yesterday several of the Council members, including the chairman of your committee, were served with an injunction wherein these officers as well as the convention are restrained from interfering or deciding jurisdictional questions. I read you but a paragraph of the injunction served upon myself, as well as several other members of the Executive Council, including the President and Secretary-Treasurer of this organization.

This is the injunction issued in the case of the Brewery Workers versus Teamsters and the American Federation of Labor:

"NOW THEREFORE, it is the judgment of the Court that a permanent injunction should issue against the said defendants, and the said defendants Green, Morrison, Coe-field, Wharton, Woll, Bates, Gainor, Brown and Bugniazet, officers, members and representatives of the American Federation of Labor, and The American Federation of Labor, and Tobin, Hughes, Gillespie, O'Rourke, and Tobin, (Fred). Officers, members and representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, are heroby permanently enjoined and restrained from committing the following acts:

1. The defendants, Green, Morrison, Coe-field, Wharton, Woll, Bates, Gainor, Brown and Bugniazet, as officers, members and representatives of the American Federation of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor, in any form in any way or manner whatsoever carrying out or seeking to carry out and enforce the action of the 1933 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, above

referred to, purporting to transfer jurisdiction of beer drivers from the Brewery Workers Union (plaintiff), to the Teamsters Union (defendant). In particular, the said defendants named in this sub-paragraph are permanently enjoined and restrained from notifying any employers of beer drivers, central labor bodies, state federations of labor, or other interested parties, of its said action in transferring jurisdiction of beer drivers from plaintiff Brewery Workers' Union to the defendant Teamsters Union."

In other words, if this injunction of the lower court would ultimately be maintained, then the American Federation of Labor would be absolutely deprived hereafter of ever determining jurisdictional questions. And may I add that it would likewise prevent the Peace Committee that the President has endeavored to call into conference from adjusting the controversy now existing in the house of labor.

I merely call attention to the importance of the issues involved in this litigation and the reasons for careful action and the necessity of safeguarding the right of the American Federation of Labor to maintain its supremacy in determining these questions of jurisdiction, and incidentally also to express extreme regret that one of our affiliated organizations found it fitting not to bring its case within these councils or to abide by the decisions of the convention of the American Federation of Labor in matters of jurisdiction.

This is an extremely dangerous tendency, and here we are as trade unionists, having denounced the injunction procedure for years in and years out, and now finding our own organizations applying to the courts and adopting methods that we have for years and years condemned, in order to maintain their position and to defeat the purposes and the decisions of the American Federation of Labor.

I thought it opportune while this question was pending as to where the supreme authority rested in the councils of labor in determining these questions to point out to you the dangerous situation which is now confronting us, and as the result of the action of one of our affiliated organizations.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Requesting A. F. of L. to Support President Roosevelt's Administration

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate John J. Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the Connecticut Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, expresses its confidence in the principles and ideals of President Roosevelt's New Deal Administration, and expresses the hope that the President will press forward toward his enlightened, liberal, and humanitarian objectives. While the New Deal and Labor are not one, no previous Administration has been as friendly to labor, and labor must support the New Deal and oppose the conservatives of both parties who, in the last session of Congress combined to defeat New Deal measures and thus injure such groups as the unemployed, men, women and children who work for sub-standard wages in shop, field, and factory; the business men whose profits depend upon greater buying power; and the underprivileged who live in the slums; be it further

RESOLVED, This convention take notice of the fact that similar A. F. of L. conventions in such states as Ohio, Iowa, Missouri, and Tennessee, have already spoken out vigorously and without hesitation on these crucial issues of 1940; be it therefore finally

RESOLVED, That this convention, for the reasons given above, recommend to the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it give its full support to the New Deal and to President Roosevelt, and that our delegate to that convention be hereby instructed to present to the convention, and vote for, the sentiments contained in this resolution.

This resolution calls for a blanket endorsement of what is popularly known as the "New Deal" without defining what is covered by the term "New Deal."

In addition, it calls for the condemnation of the members of the political party in power who failed to support all so-called "New Deal" measures, and for the same condemnation of members of the minority party who had done likewise.

The actions of previous conventions on certain legislative measures, the action of special conferences called by the American Federation of Labor, and recommendations made in connection with certain measures by the American Federation of Labor, make it impossible for your committee to recommend any blanket endorsement as called for by the resolution.

The resolution does not distinguish be-

tween Congressional and Administrative action, neither does it distinguish between actions of the Administration, and of Bureaus, Boards and Commissions.

The Houston Convention of the A. F. of L. instructed the Executive Council to energetically work to prevent the confirmation of Donald Wakefield Smith as a member of the National Labor Relations Board.

The American Federation of Labor was actively opposed to the enactment of the first Reorganization Bill.

The American Federation of Labor was actively and energetically opposed to the legislative measure which destroyed the Prevailing Wage which had previously protected labor.

The Houston Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a unanimous vote, insisted upon amendments to the Wagner Act, not in any opposition to the basic provisions of the Act, but because of its biased administration.

On the other hand, your committee is fully conscious of the many legislative and executive acts which have proven most beneficial to labor, some of them, such as Social Security, providing a necessary protection to labor which should have been enacted many years ago.

Your committee, however, has cited several instances where the American Federation of Labor in its efforts to protect labor's rights and welfare, has been forced to oppose legislation understood to have been originated by the "New Deal." We have avoided any cataloging of those "New Deal" measures which we have favored and which we have opposed.

Your committee is further of the opinion that members of Congress cannot be arbitrarily divided into "New Deal" and anti-New Deal, for a number of those who have been our outstanding champions over many years, and who have supported the majority of "New Deal" measures, have also at times opposed some measures which were recognized as "New Deal."

For these and many other reasons, your committee regrets the introduction of the resolution. It is obvious that a political construction would be placed upon the rejection of the resolution, and equally so upon its adoption.

The hearty support which the trade union movement has given to a large number of "New Deal" measures should not lead this convention to give its blanket endorsement of all legislation which has been proposed or enacted by the so-called "New Deal," neither should our opposition to certain "New Deal" legislative and administrative acts permit us to voice condemnation of the "New Deal."

In view of the foregoing, and the substance of your committee's report, we recommend non-concurrence with the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Egan, Connecticut State Federation of Labor: I happen to be the introducer of that resolution. I introduced the resolution as per the instructions of my organization. I have not approached anyone in this convention to support the resolution. Many of the delegates have spoken to me and said that it was peculiar that in the position I occupy, being a member of a party that is opposite to the President of the United States, I should be the one selected to introduce this resolution.

The Connecticut State Federation of Labor has attempted to follow out the principles of the American Federation of Labor, and when the President of this organization called upon us to go down the line to defeat a former United States Senator who was anti-labor, the Connecticut State Federation of Labor did not hesitate to do that, regardless of what their membership was comprised of, whether they were Democrats, Republicans, or Socialists.

That has been the history of the Connecticut Federation of Labor that we have gone down the line with the American Federation of Labor as a non-partisan organization, and we have succeeded in defeating men for the United States Senate twice in succession who were anti-labor.

During this past year we offered to the people of the state of Connecticut a man for the highest office within the gift of the state, with the possibility of his becoming Governor, a man from the ranks of organized labor. We were turned down by the powers that be, and we went to the polls on election day as organized labor and succeeded in defeating the man who had 100,000 votes under

his belt, an anti-labor man, and we elected in his place one who was not anti-labor, but who was friendly to organized labor.

Our State is considered a conservative state, and it has at times been considered a reactionary State, but since organized labor has taken an active part during the last eight years in attempting to defeat those opposed to organized labor, we have come to the conclusion that regardless of what a man's politics are, so long as he is friendly to labor and does for labor what we think he should do for labor, we take the position we are going to support that particular man.

I happen to be identified with the opposite party. I happen to be represented in its national councils as a member of its advisory committee, but I recognize the fact that there has been no administration in this country that has done more for organized labor than has President Roosevelt's administration. We have heard it said in this convention that much legislation has been passed in many states throughout the entire country that has been antagonistic to labor and detrimental to labor. This occurred in the elections last November.

Let me say to you that the labor movement of our state has served notice upon the Democratic Party and the Republican Party that as far as we are concerned in our State, any man who stands for reactionary tactics or reactionary administration shall not receive the vote of organized labor. We defeated the reactionary Republican in our State and we defeated the reactionary member of the Democratic Party in our State, who offered us an anti-labor man in the last election. We succeeded in electing a new Republican Administration that at least professes to be friendly to organized labor.

We succeeded in passing in our last legislature more legislation favorable to organized labor than in any previous legislature in the history of the labor movement in our State. Instead of our State going to the right I think we went to the left, because we had the pleasure and the honor in Connecticut of having almost elected a man who has attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor in the past, a Vice-President of the Connecticut Federation of Labor, who came very near winning as a Governor of the State of Connecticut, a man running on the

Socialist ticket, a former president of the Roofers and Slaters, Jasper McLevy.

I say to you that labor today in Connecticut is serving definite notice upon the Republican Party as well as upon the Democratic Party that as far as we are concerned we are not going to accept reactionaries in either party. We stand upon the platform and upon the band wagon of liberalism and progressivism as far as Connecticut is concerned.

I am sorry that the committee did not see fit to do something with this resolution. While I did not expect they would go so far as to endorse the resolution in its entirety, I felt something would be done toward showing that we of Connecticut feel that credit should be given where credit is due, that the present President of the United States has done more for organized labor than any previous President.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Favoring Annual Wage System

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Hamilton, Ont., Canada Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The fluctuation in employment in industry has brought tremendous hardships upon the working people, resulting in a challenge to our democratic system of government with its freedom of speech, assembly, and worship; and

WHEREAS, The uncertainty of permanent employment and income is greatly retarding our progress toward recovery; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of a living annual wage, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the National and International Unions, affiliated with this Federation, be requested to attempt to negotiate all new agreements, with the employers for an annual wage, based upon their prevailing or improved wage rates.

Your committee has had presented to it no workable plan by which the present method of paying wages could be superseded by an annual wage system.

Your committee is of the opinion that it would be most unwise for the American Federation of Labor to declare itself in favor of an annual wage system, until a practical plan

has been suggested and made the subject of intensive study.

Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Increase in WPA Schedule to 130 Hours a Month

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, An increase of the WPA schedule to 130 hours a month will result in a reduction of the hourly scale beneath the American level of fairness and decency, will increase the cost of administration and will increase the financial burden of the state, counties and cities; and

WHEREAS, This is definitely a move of those who would increase the competition and supply of labor for their own selfish ends and will jeopardize the wage-hour structure in private industry; and

WHEREAS, We recognize the similarity of interests between organized labor and the WPA workers and labor's responsibility to WPA; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we strongly protest the curtailment of WPA work and the departure from the prevailing wage requirements; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that a special session of Congress be called to remedy the errors made; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Delegate from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor to the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to present this resolution to that convention.

Your committee in lieu of acting on the resolution, recommends that this convention approve of the action taken by the special conference called by President Green in Washington, July 12, 1939, to consider the extension of the WPA hours to 130 per month, and the elimination of the prevailing wage which had previously prevailed.

After this national conference had declared its position, it appointed a committee to present the conference decision to the President of the United States; the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House.

In addition, the American Federation of Labor actively interviewed members of Congress in an effort to have the prevailing wage restored. It failed in this effort because a majority in Congress believed it was carrying

out the Administration's desire in eliminating the prevailing wage.

Your committee is informed that since the regular session of Congress adjourned, the Attorney General has handed down an opinion holding that Section 15 (b) of the Emergency Act of 1939, approved June 30, 1939, permitted WPA to pay the prevailing wage on work already begun before July 1, 1939.

Your committee regrets to inform the convention that up to the present time it has been impossible to learn whether the Administration of WPA intended to accept the opportunity presented by the law and the opinion of the Attorney General.

We, therefore recommend that the Executive Council continue to press for the restoration of the prevailing wage, and for the full application of the decision reached by the national conference called by the American Federation of Labor to consider the subject

The report and recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Program of Government Projects as a Continuing National Policy to Correct WPA Deficiencies

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present program of the Works Progress Administration seems to fall short of its primary objectives—rehabilitation and recovery—for the following reasons:

FIRST, The WPA worker is becoming discontented and discouraged with having his or her social and economic horizons limited by a \$55.00 a month or less pay check;

SECOND, Organized Labor is becoming legitimately concerned with the mushrooming of WPA into fields in which labor has always been employed at standard wages and under regular working conditions;

THIRD, Non-Federal governmental agencies, such as Counties and Cities are finding it increasingly difficult to finance WPA activities to which they are required to make approximately a twenty per cent contribution in materials, supplies, etc.;

FOURTH, Communities in need of improvements which they are well able to promote and finance have failed to go ahead with those improvements in a normal way because of the expectation that sooner or later the WPA would do this work for them without assessment against their properties;

FIFTH, The WPA set-up as it is, on a month to month or, at best, Congress to Congress basis, does not permit either the worker or business to project any reasonable plans for their own future against this background;

SIXTH, The WPA worker attempting to support a family on earnings of \$55.00 a month, is no great economic asset to the community. He may be able to pay a part of his bills and may put his small amount of cash in circulation, but these losses incident to the bills that he cannot pay, such as medical and dental attention, rent and other items that are the easiest to let go, more than offset the economic gains incident to his being able to pay for his family's groceries; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That there exists a need for a continuing program of government "enterprises" as distinguished from "relief" sufficiently broad to provide employment for workers who are properly qualified, who are willing and able to work, decently diligent in the pursuit of a job and diligent in their application to the job after they have been successful in getting it. Such a program could and should involve the establishment and construction of a super highway system for the Nation, flood control and reclamation work where such projects are feasible and necessary, construction of needed air traffic facilities and air traffic safeguards, re-forestation, proper housing for government agencies, construction and modernization of schools, slum clearance and other activities in which the government has a legitimate and recognized interest, such programs to be set up as a continuing national policy and to involve cooperation on the part of the state and local governments with the Federal Government such a program to pay standard wages and observe standard working conditions in the communities in which such works are undertaken and to be carried out on the basis of contracts competitively arrived at where this type of project is most likely to be advantageous or under properly supervised Government force account work; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled endorse a program along this line and use their best efforts to secure legislation to accomplish the intent of this resolution.

Your committee reports its full approval of the objective of the resolution, and with this recommendation recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Endorsement of Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal Across Florida Project

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate E. C. Val-

entine, Central Labor Union, Jacksonville, Florida.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of War have formally transmitted to Congress recommendations that the Federal Government proceed with the completion of the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal; and

WHEREAS, In hearing before the Committee on Rivers and Harbors of the House of Representatives, the Committee has had evidence submitted to them that as a protected route for the movement of troops, munitions and supplies . . . the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal will serve as a major element of National defense in time of war; and

WHEREAS, The building of this canal will shorten by many hundreds of miles the distance between the farming, stock raising, lumbering and mining sections of the Mississippi Valley and the West, and the industrial sections of the East, thus reducing the cost of many of the vital necessities of life; and

WHEREAS, The construction of great public works, when such projects are found to be economically justified and in the public interest, represents one of the fundamental policies of labor, and has been the means of providing many thousands of workers with employment during times when employment in private industry was at low ebb; and

WHEREAS, The construction of the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal has been found, after a very thorough investigation to be of "unusual merit" and that "its benefits will increase with time and will accrue to a larger portion of our country and its population than those of almost any other Federal project," and that "its construction is needful and in the public interest; and

WHEREAS, The construction of this canal, contemplating as it does, the expenditure of nearly two hundred million dollars (\$200,000,000) would create a demand for almost every case of construction labor as well as to act as a stimulant to trade and industry in supplying the needed supplies and materials used in its construction, and come at a time when there are millions of workers praying for employment; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as approving and endorsing the Atlantic-Gulf Ship Canal project and that this convention request the Executive Council to further by every reasonable means, the passage of this legislation in the National Congress authorizing its completion at the earliest possible date.

Your committee, after hearing parties interested in the resolution, is of the opinion that the resolution should be referred to the Executive Council for further study and consideration.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded:

Delegate Valentine, Jacksonville Central Trades and Labor Council: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention: As the introducer of this resolution in behalf of the Jacksonville labor organization, I would like to make a brief statement for the record. For the past seven years we have been trying to get legislation through the national Congress to authorize the completion of this canal. I was appointed as a representative to go to Washington and appear before congressional committees. On May 12 of this year I appeared before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council approved of the idea and President Green addressed letters to the members of the Senate before whom this bill was then pending.

We believe this is one of the most outstanding, if not the most outstanding, projects before Congress. During the closing weeks of the 76th Congress a special committee was authorized to make a survey of the toll structure in order to determine the feasibility of a toll structure to make this a self-liquidating project. Last week I distributed booklets to the delegates entitled, "Questions and Answers on the Florida Canal."

I believe if the delegates will study this they will find it to be extremely beneficial, not only to organized labor, but to more than three-fourths of the population of the entire United States. This project, if it is authorized, calls for the expenditure of about \$197,000,000. They will employ at the peak of construction about 35,000 men, composed of practically every class of building and metal trades construction, besides the amount of work it would create in the production, manufacture and transportation of supplies, materials, tools, etc., that would go into the construction of this canal.

We know that unemployment is still one of the greatest problems before our people today, and any project that has the approval and the endorsement of as many people in public life as has the Florida Ship Canal is entitled to every consideration. During the past several years the Administration in Washington has appointed a committee to undertake a survey of the economic problems in the South. In that report it was conceded that the South was the nation's No. 1 economic problem. We believe that by the opening of this canal it will create, not only em-

ployment in the construction, but it will create lots of work in the maintenance of the canal. As you will note from the book, there are eleven steel bridges to be built and two hydro-electric plants. In the building of those bridges and plants iron, steel, coal and everything that goes into fabrication of articles will be employed, and it will require the services of many building trades and metal trades mechanics and others. It will create permanent jobs for a great many people as well.

We believe the canal will open up commercial and industrial activities in that portion of the South. And while I hope that the Executive Council that has already once passed upon this proposition will take into consideration all of these matters, I want the delegates to be informed so that when they go back to their homes they can keep this one thought in mind: That if your Executive Council sees fit to approve of this proposition and recommends it to Congress, our representative in Washington alone cannot get the support we need. We need support from every state and every congressional district in the United States from the laboring people who vote in those states and districts.

You will hear a lot more about this, no doubt, because the committee that was appointed at the last session of Congress is making this investigation and will make a report to Congress, I think, about January 15, 1940. Through our labor papers and through the daily press you will be kept advised. Before I close I want to ask again that you keep your eye on this project, and if it is authorized by Congress we will need the support of the men back in your districts. We want your congressmen advised as to how you feel on this proposition.

I have several matters here that I could read into the record, but I don't think it is necessary, because, inasmuch as this is going to be referred back to the Executive Council, I believe that matter properly should come before them. I want to ask the delegates who receive the pamphlets to give them careful study, to realize the magnitude of this project and realize what it will mean to the labor movement of the South and of the entire country. I thank you.

Chairman Woll: In connection with this resolution . . . There were several delegates

who appeared before the committee in opposition to it, and they presented such opposition that your committee deemed it best that the whole subject be inquired into before this convention and the American Federation of Labor be asked to take a definite position with regard to it. I might say that in opposition were representatives of our railroad organizations.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Extending Immigration Laws to Admit Bata Shoe Company of Czechoslovakia for Industrial Operations in U. S.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has been presented to the Forty-seventh annual convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor that the Bata Shoe Company of Zlín and Prague, Czechoslovakia, has announced its intention of establishing a shoe manufacturing plant in the United States, providing the government would be willing to grant extensions to the existing immigration laws; and

That the Bata Shoe Company "has made formal application in this regard to the United States Immigration Authorities to import 100 citizens of Czechoslovakia, as skilled workers or instructors, for the purpose of training help along the system employed by the Bata Company in the production of boots and shoes;" and

That "there is at this time a serious condition of unemployment prevalent in the United States, including an abundance of available highly skilled shoe operators and technicians—more than sufficient to supply present needs of industry;" and

That "authentic information from the British Trades Union Congress to the effect that this company, now operating factories in Great Britain, has shown hostile tendencies against dealing with Organized Labor for the redress of grievances and other conditions of employment, which position has been confirmed in a recent statement made by Thomas Bata to newspaper representatives;" and

That it appears to be "the intention of the Bata Company, if they are successful in starting operations in the United States, to build on their premises a dormitory system of housing the employees, where all of the activities of the workers would be subject to the surveillance of company officials, and in all respects would be a company-owned town;" and

That "the Bata plan of determining rates of pay and other conditions of employment

has always been imposed by dictatorial policies and not through the democratic principles of collective bargaining by free and independent trade unions;" and

That "the system employed at established Bata plants is highly mechanized through the conveyor system of routing the shoes through the various operations and by reason of the excessive pace used and of mechanical compulsion, results in monotony and fatigue and has been responsible for many complaints on the part of the workers;" and

WHEREAS, The establishment of the apparently proposed plant or plants in the United States by the aforementioned Bata Company is not only objectionable because of the present deplorable economic condition of our country, with its accompanying joblessness of many millions of our people, but because the type of plant or plants sought to be established is repugnant to the American idea of free labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor from its inception has protested against and striven for the elimination of domination of the workers through a vicious system of paternalism, which is merely another form of slavery; and

WHEREAS, The nature of such menacing encroachment as here set forth would affect the standards and welfare of all of our people, and involves the departmental functions of our Federal Government, and thus warrants the attention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the officers be directed to make the necessary investigation of the Bata Company's plan and purpose and take such steps as may be found necessary to prevent an encroachment on our standards.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Mara, Boot and Shoe Workers Union: The resolution introduced by Delegate Ohl, of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, was acted upon at our convention held in June of this year at Toronto, Canada. Prior to the adoption of the resolution in our convention I protested to the United States Department of Labor against the importation of the Czechoslovakian shoe workers who were to be sent over here to teach the American shoe workers the Czechoslovakian method of making shoes.

About twenty years ago Mr. Bata spent seven or eight years in the city of Lynn, Massachusetts, to learn the American method of making shoes. He went over to Czechoslovakia and taught the Czechoslovakian workers how to make shoes. Now they want to open a plant in Maryland. I pointed

out to them that we had an abundance of shoe workers in the United States who are qualified to act as instructors. Their reasons for sending these shoe workers over here is to place the American shoe workers in the category of apprentices so they could pay them 20 or 25 cents an hour.

I would like to protest vigorously against this importation of shoe workers. I don't know that they can come over now on account of the war situation, but they should not be sent over here, and I would like to have this convention go on record protesting to the United States Department of Labor because they do not seem to pay any attention to the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously carried.

Requesting A. F. of L. Activity to Secure Legislation to Protect Workers in Sugar Industry

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Roy M. Brewer, Nebraska State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many of the workers in the beet sugar industry of the United States and of the State of Nebraska are members of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The beet sugar industry and its prosperity are of the greatest importance to the workers and farmers of the State of Nebraska and of many other States in the Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation go on record as favoring the principles contained in the following paragraph:

That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, as evidence of their allegiance to the many workers in the beet sugar industry of the United States, hereby pledge their assistance and help in securing the legislation, and the proper administration of such legislation, as is necessary to maintain the domestic sugar industry and to protect the livelihood and prosperity of the workers engaged therein.

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Establishment of A. F. of L. Marine Trades Department

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, It has long been the object of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union both directly and through the American Federation of Labor, to foster the establishment of a Marine Trades Department, to operate in the same manner as does the Metal Trades and the Building and Construction Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, The lack of such a department in the maritime industry is a serious handicap to the advancement of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union Marine Division, and of the American Federation of Labor in this industry; and

WHEREAS, It is acknowledged that before such a department could function in normal pursuits much preliminary work and organization will be necessary before a full-fledged functioning department is realized; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record for the establishment of this department as soon as practicable after the close of this convention.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council so that it may take up the subject matter of the resolution with the International Organizations interested.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing that Canadian Trades and Labor Congress be Instructed Not to Issue Charters to Central Labor Unions in Canada Except With the Approval of A. F. of L.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Hamilton, Ont., Canada Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, A regrettable condition still exists within the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress due to the infiltration of both the C. I. O. and the Communist Party; and

WHEREAS, The officials of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress in complete violation of Section 5, Article V of their own Constitution are still granting the Communist-dominated C. I. O. Organizations representation in City Central Bodies in Canada; and

WHEREAS, The failure of the said officials of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to expel KNOWN COMMUNISTS from the ranks of City Central Bodies, Provincial Federations of Labor and National Unions chartered by the Canadian Congress, has resulted in the practical impossibility to secure the consideration of labor legislation in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec; and

WHEREAS, The Canadian Trades and

Labor Congress has and still is chartering National Unions in conflict with the jurisdiction of existing International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall issue instructions to the Executive Council that they SHALL IMMEDIATELY issue instructions to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress that every Central Labor Union in Canada MUST hold a charter from the American Federation of Labor in addition to any charter they may hold from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, with further instructions to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress that it CANNOT issue charters of any kind without such application for charter first having received the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and with the further understanding that all charters heretofore issued by the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress or those hereafter to be issued may be suspended or revoked at any time by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 15 is coupled with the report of the Executive Council on Chartering of Central Bodies within the Jurisdiction of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (page 43 Executive Council's report).

The subject matter of this resolution makes it advisable that this convention should review the necessary authority of the American Federation of Labor, and the necessary autonomy of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, particularly in the field of legislation.

The American Federation of Labor is composed of National and International Unions, the International Unions having their membership in the United States and Canada.

The International Unions are subject to but one constitution, to but one disciplinary authority, and to full autonomy in the regulation of their internal affairs, including the issuance of charters to local unions.

National Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor existing within the United States, are subject to the decisions of the American Federation of Labor in connection with all decisions relative to national legislation. Where National Unions exist composed exclusively of Canadians, they should be subject to the decisions of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress in matters of Canadian legislation.

Members of International Unions in the United States and Canada are respectively

governed by the legislative decisions of the American Federation of Labor and the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress.

The conditions underlying Resolution No. 15 developed as a result of the C. I. O. and Communist activities in the Canadian trade union movement, charters to Central Labor Councils issued by the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress apparently coming under the control of the C. I. O. or of the Communist Party, in such a manner as to prevent the legitimate official and necessary activities of bona fide trade union Central Labor Councils.

It is the opinion of your committee that while the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress should exercise the authority to issue charters to Central Labor Bodies in the Dominion of Canada, that this should not prevent any local union or local unions affiliated with such Central Labor Body from appealing to the Executive Board of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, and should the Executive Board fail to correct the situation complained of that such local union or local unions should have the unquestioned right to place their complaint before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for consideration and action.

Relative to that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Chartering of Central Bodies within the Jurisdiction of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada," your committee finds that the Executive Council recommends the elimination of Section 4 of the report of the special committee on relation of organizations in Canada and the United States approved at the 1910 convention of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee is of the opinion the elimination of Section 4 limits the Trades and Labor Congress to the chartering of Central Labor Councils in Canada, and places the chartering of local unions entirely and exclusively in the hands of the International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee further recommends that where a Central Labor Council in Canada has previously been chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and any question arises regarding the validity of that charter, such question shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for consideration and adjustment.

Your committee therefore, in lieu of the resolution, and with the foregoing understanding, recommends the adoption of the Executive Council's report.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded.

President Green: You have heard the reading of the report of the committee and the motion is to adopt. Are there any remarks?

Delegate Cauley, Hamilton, Ontario, Central Trades and Labor Council: Mr. President, before I can concur in the report of the committee, there are three questions I should like to ask the Secretary of the Committee, through you, in order that we may all understand the report. Am I to understand by the committee's report that the national unions now chartered by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada will have their charters revoked and the membership returned to their international unions before the report goes into effect?

Secretary Frey: That portion of the committee's report which was under consideration on the platform a moment ago reads: "Your committee is of the opinion that the elimination of Section 4 limits the Trades and Labor Congress to the chartering of central labor councils in Canada, and places the chartering of local unions entirely and exclusively in the hands of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor."

Delegate Cauley: The second question is this: In case the Central Labor Union will not agree with the decision of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, will we have a right to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and their report will be final?

Secretary Frey: That portion reads: "That where a central labor council in Canada has previously been chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and any question arises regarding the validity of that charter, such question shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for consideration and adjustment."

Delegate Cauley: The third and last question is: Has this recommendation and the recommendation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor been based upon one point, and that point is the auton-

omous right of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to the chartering of central labor unions and provincial federations of labor only?

Secretary Frey: The delegate from Hamilton has a most serious situation to deal with. He properly has the right to be fully informed of the committee's report before he discusses it. I believe that portion of the report which he refers to, is the elimination of Section 4 of the report of the special committee on relation of organizations in Canada and in the United States, approved in the 1910 convention of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee is of the opinion the elimination of Section 4 limits the Trades and Labor Congress to the chartering of central labor councils in Canada and places the chartering of local councils entirely and exclusively in the hands of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Cauley: Is not the recommendation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee in this convention based solely on the right of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to issue charters to central labor unions and provincial federations of labor?

Secretary Frey: The report of the committee says: "It is the opinion of your committee that while the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress should exercise the authority to issue charters to central labor unions in the Dominion of Canada, that this should not prevent any local union or local unions affiliated with such central labor bodies from appealing to the Executive Board of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, and should the Executive Board fail to correct the situation complained of that such local union or local unions should have the unquestioned right to place their complaint before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for consideration and action."

Delegate Cauley: The point we are trying to arrive at is this: Wasn't the decision contained in the Executive Council's report and the decision brought in by the Resolutions Committee based solely on the claim of the Trades and Labor Congress Executive Council for the autonomous right of that body in

issuing charters to central labor bodies and provincial federations of labor in Canada?

President Green: The Chair cannot speak for the committee as to the meaning of the committee's report, but the Chair can speak upon the subject matter dealt with in the Executive Councils' report.

The Executive Council recommended that an agreement that had been entered into at St. Louis, when a convention of the American Federation was held there, provided for the exercise of dual authority to issue charters to central bodies in Canada. Now the Council believes that that has operated badly. Consequently, the Executive Council recommends an amendment to that agreement which would confer upon the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada the right to charter central labor unions in the cities and towns of Canada, said central labor unions to be made up of local unions chartered by international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

That language of the Executive Council was based upon two understandings. One was that an understanding and an agreement would be reached between the Executive Board of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which would provide for perfect cooperation in the execution of the administrative and organizational policies of the American Federation of Labor in the Dominion of Canada as laid down by the convention of the American Federation of Labor; and, second, upon the Council's recognition of the autonomous authority of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to issue charters to central bodies within the Dominion of Canada. Does that answer your question?

Delegate Cauley: That answers it and brings up the point contained in the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee, that we have a right to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and their decision will be final. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will have the final decision relating to central bodies in Canada. I fail to see where the autonomous rights of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is jeopardized by maintaining the decision arrived at in the Houston convention last year.

Following the Houston convention last year in relation to the same case, and for the benefit of those of the Executive Council who heard Secretary-Treasurer Tallon in Miami last January-February, and for those who no doubt have been in possession of the report of the Executive Council of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, that the recommendation of the Houston convention was based upon information that was false and misleading. I will neither withdraw nor modify those statements made last year in Houston.

The unfortunate situation that exists in Canada is due entirely to the inroads made into the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada by the C. I. O. and the Communist Party. Last year in Houston I accused the Executive Council of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada of associating with the C. I. O. and the Communists. I have a number of newspaper clippings, too numerous to put in the record, to show what happened in Hamilton, Ontario, the Canadian headquarters of the C. I. O. and of the Communist Party, I will mention a few of these things.

After having the legislative halls closed to all of us who followed the ethics of the American Federation of Labor, those of us who believed in the policies and principles of our international unions and the American Federation of Labor called a conference with the Canadian representatives of international unions in order to attempt to remedy the unfortunate situation. The conference was called to put the C. I. O. and the Communists outside of the ranks of the legitimate organized labor movement. This was done in May, 1937. Immediately following that we received a favorable response from elected representatives of civic and provincial governments.

In Sarnia a sit-down strike was formulated, the first and only sit-down strike that was called in Canada. That action brought forth a proposed bill by what is called an Order in Council of the provincial government to license the representatives in Canada of the International Labor Organizations. The passage of such an Act would mean complete annihilation of the American Federation of Labor organizations in Ontario. Due to our action in cleansing the labor movement in Hamilton the government did not put the bill through the cabinet or the legislative

assembly. That decision was widely circulated because of our action in Hamilton.

The same year, when the legislative brief was presented to the Ontario Cabinet for the international unions by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, representatives of the international unions refused to accompany this delegation because, as stated in a telegram from Secretary Ingles of the Conference of International Representatives in Canada, and Vice President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, said International representatives would not accompany any delegation having Communists thereon. There wasn't one piece of legislation in that brief acted upon by the Ontario government, and up to the present time there has not been one piece of legislation presented to the Ontario government by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada that was acted upon favorably. The Ontario government will not give consideration or support to any legislation which, in their opinion, is fostered by the C. I. O. or the Communist Party. I have a letter here from the Prime Minister of the Province of Ontario. I do not think there is any one who is more capable of expressing the opinion of the Provincial government than Prime Minister Hepburn, who says in part:

"I have no sympathy or admiration for either the Communists of the C. I. O. organizations which, in my opinion, have done more harm than good so far as the legitimate aims of organized labor are concerned. I have at all times expressed my complete support of the American Federation of Labor and have quoted on various occasions extracts from speeches of its leaders."

I think the fact that the same Ontario government has put into every office of the Department of Labor of the Province of Ontario a member of an international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shows where their sympathies are. Every person in a key position in the Department of Labor of Ontario is a member of an international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This proves that he and his government are favorable to organized labor as expressed by the American Federation of Labor.

A charter was granted by President Draper of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada

to the group who had been expelled three months previous from the Central Labor Union for C. I. O. and Communist affiliations and associations. The chairman of that central body is Sam Lawrence. I do not believe he is a Communist, but he has associated with and has been active in meetings with members of the Communist Party.

The vice president of that body is H. Hunter, who was referred to by the Hamilton Spectator on August 30 last as "Communist Harry Hunter." He is regional director of the C. I. O. One secretary of that central labor union is M. Montgomery, a member of the C. I. O. Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, and a third is G. Hilderbrand, a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union.

That central labor union continues to function. Last Friday they refused to act on the expulsion which took place in London a week ago, which should have automatically eliminated that central labor union.

I also bring before the delegates what I think is the prize point on which I based the statement I made in Houston. It is a copy of an article in the Daily Clarion of October 1, 1937. The top picture is that of R. J. Tallon, Secretary of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and the lower is that of J. B. Salsburg, head of the Communist division of the trade union movement in the Province of Ontario. And there is also in this publication a photostat copy of a Canadian National Telegram, addressed to J. B. Salsburg, which reads: "Congratulations on your nomination. Best wishes for a successful election." This is signed by R. J. Tallon, who is Secretary of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

I would like to know the condition of this convention if Secretary Morrison had wired a telegram of congratulation to Earl Browder when he was nominated for the Presidency in 1936. I think this will point out to the delegates the seriousness of the situation, especially in view of the war we find ourselves involved in today.

Under the present set-up with Tom Moore re-elected as president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, we do not look for any more trouble. It is our opinion that if Tom Moore had been retained in the presi-

deney we would not find ourselves in the position we are in today. Nevertheless, the reaction of the public has been so severe that in our opinion it will take two or three years to eliminate that feeling.

That is why we ask for a continuation of the direct affiliation of the American Federation of Labor, because if it had not been for that direct affiliation we would have suffered unfavorable public reaction as President Draper would not follow up that expulsion.

I want to acquaint the delegates, the Executive Council and the present officers of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada with our desire for a direct affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. As I said, as long as Tom Moore is president there is no danger, but God help us if we ever get a president that hasn't the courage to follow out the policies laid down by the international unions and the American Federation of Labor.

In the 1937 convention in Ottawa, questioning President Draper about Levitt, the fraternal delegate sent to the British Trades Union Congress, J. A. P. Hayden, Canadian representative of the publication "Labor" in his letter to the late F. Healey of which I have a copy, said that while talking it over with President Draper he denied that he had anything to do with the promotion of the fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, but he did request J. B. Salssurg not to run for office on the Executive Council of the Congress. President Draper gave his reason by saying that it would not look well for a Communist to be on the Congress Executive Council.

I can imagine President Green saying that to Earl Browder, the same as I did with regard to Secretary Morrison. I think if that occurred in this Federation they would both be thrown out.

I think you will be safe in concurring with the report of the Committee on Resolutions, and I think the statements made this morning should clarify in the minds of the Executive Council and the delegates the statement I made in Houston last year.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Opposing Subsidies to Commercial Transportation Companies

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates John F.

Cauley, Hamilton, Ont., Canada Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The continued high taxes on real estate is still causing stagnation in the Building Trades; and

WHEREAS, The enormous subsidies paid to Commercial Highway, Waterway, and Airway Transportation Companies in the form of Canals, Harbors, Deepened Waterways, Streets, Highways and Landing Facilities, is one of the chief causes of high property taxes; and

WHEREAS, The large majority of those on relief in most cities are connected with the Building Trades, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to petition the American and Canadian Governments, as well as State and Provincial Legislatures, to compel all forms of Commercial Transportation to pay for all right-of-way services and other necessary facilities, in order that there may be a reduction in property taxation, which would again permit the Building Trades to function in a more normal capacity, bringing greatly increased purchasing power to our country.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Federal Legislation to Prohibit Public Bodies from Offering Inducements to Industry to Move to Their Communities

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Kenneth I. Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Thousands of workers in Massachusetts have been left stranded through the migration of industry to other states and even within the state; and

WHEREAS, This migration is artificially stimulated by the uneconomic and anti-social practice of offering inducements, including tax exemption, free rent, guarantees of freedom from "labor trouble," cheap power, and free factory buildings; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor go on record as urging federal legislation to prohibit the offering of inducements, directly or indirectly, by any public body, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a resolution to this effect be presented to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor from this body.

The committee is aware of the problem referred to in the resolution, but the commit-

tee is of the opinion that the suggested remedy would foreclose all state rights under our Federal Constitution, and for this reason recommends non-concurrence in the resolution, but further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to give every study to the problem presented.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Appointment of Army and Navy Officials in Administrative Positions in Civil Activities of Government

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Kenneth I. Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Ours is a civilian government and all other agencies of government are subordinate to this civil authority; and

WHEREAS, The trend at the present time is to appoint in administrative positions officers of the armed forces of the United States, in control of purely civil activities of our government; and

WHEREAS, This is contrary to all principles of government by the people, as we understand it; and

WHEREAS, It is common knowledge that these officials by their very training, have little sympathy for the rights of the workers; and

WHEREAS, Such officials have been guaranteed high salaries for life, too often have been used by big business and the politicians to throttle the liberties and the rights of the workers, and their being placed now in control and supervision of civilian activity is detrimental to the rights and continued liberties of the organized, as well as the unorganized workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, call upon Senator Walsh and Senator Lodge and each of the congressmen from our commonwealth to seek legislation which will prevent any army or naval official being placed in control of civilian activities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to present to that convention a resolution requesting that the American Federation of Labor seek legislation which will prevent army or navy officials being placed in control or supervision of any governmental activity performed by civilian workers.

This resolution refers to the control and supervision of civilian labor by Commissioned Officers of the Army and Navy.

Your committee is advised that there is upon the statute books a provision that Army and Navy officers shall be limited in their supervision and control of civilian labor, particularly in the naval and marine establishments, such as navy yards and arsenals.

Your committee is further informed that there has been a definite tendency in recent years on the part of the naval and military officers in control of arsenals and navy yards, to ignore this law, and to place commissioned officers in charge of labor direction and control which should properly, and under the law, be confined to civilians.

Your committee further finds from information brought to it that there is a steady tendency for this supervision and control of labor by Army and Naval officers to extend itself to civilian labor outside of navy yards and arsenals.

Your committee notes that in connection with public works and the administration of labor legislation that more and more commissioned officers of the Army and Navy are being appointed to executive and supervisory positions, bringing the atmosphere of military discipline, military orders and military control where civilian control alone should exist.

So that this growingly serious situation may be adequately handled, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make such a study and take such steps as are necessary to prevent any development of supervision and direction of civilian labor other than by civilians. Your committee approves of the purpose and principle of the resolution and therefore recommends adoption of the committees report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Appreciation of Assistance Extended to Marine Division of the Commercial Telegraphers Union

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, Through the understanding and assistance of President William Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; President Joseph P. Ryan and other officials of the International Longshoremen's Association, and President Harry Lundberg and other officials of the

Seafarers' International Union of North America, the Marine Division of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union progressed in waterfront and maritime organizational work; and

WHEREAS, This understanding and assistance has proven to be of invaluable aid to the healthy continuance and growth of the Marine Division of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the appreciation of the convention be expressed to the individuals and organizations aforementioned for their work in protecting American shipping from control of any but recognized and acknowledged American radio officers without suspicion of being controlled by foreign agencies.

Your committee finds that this resolution is an expression of appreciation, which we welcome, and for this reason requires no further action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Commending Support of A. F. of L. Against Racial Discrimination

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its various conventions has condemned and declared against various racial and color discriminations in the trade unions which is slowly but surely bringing the Negro and white workers to realize that they have interests in common and that they should work and unite with each other and not fight each other; and

WHEREAS, President William Green, and the Executive Council have readily responded to the call to speak out against the lynching evil from time to time, with President Green, especially, joining in condemnation of the notorious discrimination against the internationally known and celebrated Negro singer, Marion Anderson, by the D. A. R.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officials and members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters through their delegates herewith express in resolution in the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, their sincere appreciation and profound gratitude for the fine and constructive spirit of the American Federation of Labor and its leadership in constantly going on record for the principle of equality among the workers and the high and noble ideals of democracy and the Brotherhood of Man without regard to race or color.

This resolution is an expression of appreciation by the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters for the fine and con-

structive spirit of the American Federation of Labor in constantly going on record for the principle of equality among the workers, and the high and noble ideas of democracy and the brotherhood of man, without regard to race and color. Your committee welcomes this expression of appreciation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Anti-Lynching Bill

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, In the last half century, some 5,000 or more persons have been the victims of lynching in the United States of America, some of whom have been white and women; and

WHEREAS, Lynching harks back to the brutal methods of the barbarian and savage, and constitutes a blot, a stigma and a shame and disgrace upon a so-called civilized country, and earns the condemnation and scorn of all civilized peoples; and

WHEREAS, Convention after convention, together with the Executive Council and President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, has made definite and sharp declarations against this national evil and inhuman practice, and that there is a growing enlightened sentiment in the South against this horror; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor express its unqualified condemnation of lynching and mob terror, and denounces the Southern filibuster in the United States Senate against the Wagner-Van Nys-Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill, as opposed to and in contravention of all democratic procedure and practice, preventing, as it were, through physical force and a blocking process, the will of the people from being heard and registered, and calls upon the Congress to enact a Federal law to wipe out lynching.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Poll Tax

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Poll Tax and White Primaries discriminate against the poor whites and blacks in the Southern States, denying them the right to vote in utter violation of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Fed-

eral Constitution and only serve to entrench corrupt and prejudiced political machines, thereby arresting the growth and development of real democracy and the enactment of sound and constructive social and labor legislation in the Southern area of the Nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Cincinnati, Ohio, go on record as condemning White Primaries and the Poll Tax as un-American, unfair and unjust, and against the principles of sound trade union organization as represented by the American Federation of Labor, since White Primaries and the Poll Tax divide and weaken the workers, and calls upon all national, international, city and state bodies, to work for and support legislation which seeks to abolish the Poll Tax and White Primaries.

In lieu of this resolution, your committee recommends that this convention declare its approval of the principle that all citizens, regardless of color or race, should be equally entitled to the full rights of adult suffrage.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention: I rise to express agreement with the conclusion of the committee on this resolution and to make a few remarks.

The declarations from time to time of the American Federation of Labor show profound interest and concern for the preservation of our democratic institutions. The broad basis of American democracy is universal suffrage. Wherever there is a limitation upon universal suffrage it is a blow to the foundations of democracy.

Following the Civil War there was the enactment of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. These Amendments were designed to give former Negro slaves full citizenship rights, but there grew up at that time what was known as the Ku Klux Klan. Various political demagogues, such as Ben Tillman, of South Carolina, Hoke Smith, of Georgia, and Vardaman of Mississippi advocated violence in order to keep the Negroes from the polls. We had what is known as the tissue ballot; we had the rope and the fagot to prevent Negroes from voting, and when public opinion revolted against this violence various constitutional and legal means were resorted to to prevent the Negroes from exercising their right of suffrage. For instance, there was the famous

Grandfather Clause, which said that any citizen who was able to vote prior to 1866 or whose lineal descendants voted prior to 1866 be eligible to vote. Well, of course, Negroes did not vote prior to 1866. In fact, their enfranchisement was not complete.

The Supreme Court declared the Grandfather Clause unconstitutional, and then other means were resorted to, such as, for instance, the white primaries and the poll tax. The white primaries were designed to prevent Negro citizens from participating in what is known as the primaries of the South. According to the primary election in the South, whoever is nominated is elected. Therefore, you see that when Negroes are barred from participating in the primaries they are actually denied the right to vote.

However, the Supreme Court declared the primaries unconstitutional. Associate Justice Holmes and Associate Justice Cardozo wrote the opinion declaring the primaries unconstitutional, one case arising out of El Paso, Texas, and another out of Houston, Texas.

Following the action on the white primaries some of the states of the South adopted what is known as the poll tax. A poll tax is a tax upon the heads of men. It is not a property tax. It really means a price upon the vote and it also is a handicap to poverty. Although \$1.50 a year may not be much to the rich it means a whole lot to the poor, and consequently the poll tax has served not only to disfranchise Negroes but white workers as well.

For instance, in the poll tax states, out of 15,000,000 eligible voters only 16 per cent voted in 1936 whereas the average vote throughout the nation of the possible voters in 1936 was 53 per cent. Only nine per cent of the eligible voters in South Carolina voted in 1936. Only eleven per cent of the eligible voters in Mississippi voted in 1936. Only 26 per cent of the eligible voters of Tennessee voted in 1936, and only 21 per cent of the eligible voters of Texas voted in 1936, all indicating that the poll tax has disfranchised the poor whites and the Negro voters of the South.

Wherever you have a limitation upon universal suffrage, such as the poll tax, it makes for political corruption and it makes for the oppression of the people. At the polls the workers go to register their convictions rela-

tive to certain governmental policies. When a worker is denied the right to register his choice for representatives to adopt laws in the various legislative bodies of the nation, that worker is disarmed of defense, and when he has no weapon with which to defend himself as a citizen he is subject to victimization and exploitation.

That is shown by the fact that the appropriation for the education of Negro boys and girls in the South is very much lower than the appropriation for the education of the white boys and girls. Now, as a matter of fact, we have had various movements that have operated against various groups in this country, dating back to the early 1820's, 1830's and 1840's. We had what is known as Know-Nothingism in America. Know-Nothingism was a movement of persecution against the Irish Catholics. The Irish Catholics found themselves defenseless in the various cities, and they sought to use the ballot to protect their rights. That is why the Irish were able to build great political power in the various cities of the East.

Know-Nothingism was expressed in the fight upon Alfred Smith when he ran for President of the United States. The Solid South turned from the Democratic Party and broke up and voted the Republican ticket in order to defeat Al Smith. As a matter of fact, we know that if a Catholic were nominated for the Presidency today a whirlwind of religious bigotry and hate would swirl again and crush him in defeat. Therefore Know-Nothingism is not yet dead, Know-Nothingism is still alive.

And just as the Catholics had to employ the ballot to protect their citizenship rights, the Negro workers, too, must have a right to use the ballot to protect their status in the nation. Just as you had Know-Nothingism against the Catholics you have anti-Semitism against the Jews. As a matter of fact, in certain of the public utilities they will not permit Jews to exercise any consideration in the handling of managerial affairs or either in the field of labor in certain of the public utilities.

So that these various groups in the country who have been victims of persecution have seen the necessity of using the ballot to protect their rights. The Negroes constitute the largest single minority in America. The population of Negroes in America is larger than

the population of Canada and larger than the population of the Baltic States. Negroes have the right to exercise suffrage in this country. They are not here upon sufferance they are here upon right. The Negroes are American citizens. They were born here, they have helped to fell the forests, they have dug the ditches, they have picked the cotton, they have picked the turpentine, they have built the country and they have also defended the nation with their blood. If there is any group in the country who have a right to exercise citizenship privileges it is the Negro people.

So that I am very glad to note the attitude of the Resolutions Committee on this resolution, because it is fundamental. Labor more and more is recognizing the necessity of employing political action to supplement their economic action. That is shown by the fight for the National Labor Relations Act, workmen's compensation laws, the Federal child labor laws, the Social Security laws that make for the amelioration and the relief of the ills of the workers.

But here you have in this country 13,000,000 Negroes who are practically disfranchised, and so the disfranchisement of the Negro people by the nullification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, through the devious method of the white primaries and the poll tax is the outstanding No. 1 disgrace to American democracy.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Racial Discrimination

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Negro people are the victims of varied forms of discrimination which result in limiting their rights in the purchase and use of property; and

WHEREAS, Race discrimination serves to deny their right to certain types of employment, thereby creating the unfair and un-American practice known as "white man's jobs," regardless of merit and ability, which makes for the economic impoverishment of the Negro people; and

WHEREAS, Hotels, restaurants, and theatres, colleges and universities, hospitals and recreational facilities, together with railway carriers and other means of transportation and places of general public convenience, licensed by city, state or federal agencies,

refuse the Negro people accommodations on account of race or color, or humiliate and exploit and rob them by segregation or jim-crow practices that are extremely despicable and offensive to Negroes of a similar plane of culture and education of the white people that have access to such conveniences; and

WHEREAS, The denial of these elemental and necessary privileges of accommodation to the Negro people, involve their basic civil rights, guaranteed by the Federal Constitution; and

WHEREAS, Negro blood, brain and brawn have helped to make these United States of America what they are today; and yet the Negro people are disfranchised by various unconstitutional devices, and are held in peonage; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, go on record in harmony with its past declarations for the abolition of all forms of discrimination on account of race or color, and call upon the Executive Council, State and City bodies, as well as federal locals, national and international unions and the various departments to express their definite moral opposition to this sinister and destructive practice of race discrimination, and to support the fight for legislation which purports to secure for the Negro people their civil and political rights.

As a substitute for the WHEREASES and RESOLVES of the resolution, your Committee recommends that this convention reaffirm its past declarations for the abolition of all forms of discrimination on account of race or color, and call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, State and City Central Bodies, as well as Federal Local Unions, National and International Unions, and the various Departments of the American Federation of Labor, to express their definite moral opposition to the destructive practice of race discriminations, and to support legislation intended to secure for the Negro people full civil and political rights.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Scottsboro Boys

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Court trials and investigations have demonstrated that the nine (9) Scottsboro boys were the victims of an infamous frame-up, having been tortured almost a decade in jail; and

WHEREAS, Rescued from Alabama judicial and mob terror by the United States Supreme Court, at different strategic times, the stricken conscience of Alabama, under the pressure of an aroused public opinion, was forced to set free four (4) of the Scottsboro boys charged with the very same crime the five (5) boys are charged with that are still held in prison awaiting their doom; and

WHEREAS, It is clear and obvious to friend and foe of the boys that if it was fair and just to give four of the Scottsboro boys their freedom, when the State of Alabama contended that the nine (9) boys were guilty of the same crime, then it is just and fair to release from the Alabama prison dungeons the remaining five boys, some of whom have suffered from the brutal assaults of prejudiced prison guards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, in agreement with its past declared policy, call upon the State of Alabama, in the name of justice and humanity and fair-play, to let the other five Scottsboro boys go, and cleanse the hands of Alabama from the blood of the innocent Scottsboro boys.

Your committee recommends reaffirmation of the action of the previous convention upon this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Ethiopia

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Ethiopia, one of the most ancient kingdoms of Christendom, has been cruelly betrayed and "sold down the river" by her alleged allies, and, especially, England, with a smirk and genteel hypocrisy, resulting in the murderous usurpation of the sovereignty of a free and peace-loving people by the barbarous legions under the pompous dictator, Mussolini, of Fascist Italy, in contravention of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the various declarations of the League of Nations, the Good Neighbor policy of President Roosevelt's Administration and all principles of international law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, in compliance with previous positions, go on record as condemning the ruthless policy of aggression by Fascist Italy against an orderly nation, expelling and exiling its great ruler, Haile Selassie, the Lion of Judah, the heir of King Solomon, and demand the restoration of Ethiopia to the people of Ethiopia, and urge the United States, the League of Nations and civilized society never to recognize the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

Your committee recommends reaffirmation of the declaration of previous conventions on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee to Escort Archbishop McNicholas

President Green: Archbishop McNicholas, of Cincinnati, will address the convention tomorrow at 11:00 o'clock. I will appoint as a reception committee for the Archbishop, Vice-President Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; President P. J. Morrin, of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union, and Brother James Duffy, of the Operative Potters' Union.

I will ask that this committee meet the Archbishop at the Fifth Street entrance of the hotel tomorrow and escort him to the hall.

Committee to Escort Senator McCarran

President Green: Senator McCarran is coming from Washington to speak to the delegates tomorrow. I will appoint a reception committee to meet the Senator and escort him to the hall—Brother Maurice Hutcheson, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; Brother Charles D. Duffy, of the Letter Carriers, and Cecil Custer, of the American Federation of Government Employees. Please meet the Senator in the morning and escort him to the hall.

Vice-President Woll: The Committee on

Resolutions will meet immediately after the adjournment of the afternoon session to hear those who desire to be heard on the new resolutions that have been submitted to the committee.

Vice-President Tobin: Mr. Chairman, I hope and trust that after we hear the speakers who have just been announced, there will be no more public speakers, because we will need all the time we have in this convention to transact the work of the convention and get through late Friday night or Saturday morning.

My object in asking you to do this is so that we may expedite the work of the convention. In my judgment we have had enough public speakers up to now. If we hear these two other distinguished gentlemen, to which I have no objection, I think that will be sufficient. Otherwise we will be doing the same as we have been doing for many years—referring innumerable questions to the Executive Council or rushing them through here at the last minute—and there are many important controversial questions to come before this convention.

We violated all the rules yesterday of the constitution by admitting a lot of resolutions for further discussion. You did that this morning. It was absolutely senseless for us to amend the constitution and then open up this convention for the admission of a number of resolutions this morning, long after the time for the introduction of these resolutions had expired.

I hope and trust we will get down to business for the remaining three days of this convention and try to finish our work here Friday night.

At 12:30 o'clock, p. m. the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

Absentees

Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordges, A. S.; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, R. J.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Hansen, H. L.; Heymanns, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly, Tom; Kelly, John P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Powers, Jos.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Claude S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wilkinson; W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read communications urging that the 1940 convention be held in the following cities:

Indianapolis, Indiana—From the Indianapolis Convention and Publicity Bureau; from M. Clifford Townsend, Governor of Indiana; from Reginald H. Sullivan, Mayor of Indianapolis, and the following letter from the Recording Secretary of the Indianapolis Central Labor Union:

Indianapolis, Ind.
October 9, 1939

Wm. Green, President,
A. F. of L.,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati.

Will you please convey to the officers and delegates in the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention assembled our heartiest fraternal greetings. Please consider this telegram as a sincere invitation to hold the Sixtieth Convention of our great American Federation of Labor in the City of Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1940. We of the Indianapolis Central Labor Union would consider it an honor and a pleasure to have the convention at this time, and also feel that Indianapolis has the facilities and accommodations to handle this convention and make it interesting in the way of entertainment. This appeal has the support of the entire labor movement of Indianapolis, as well as officials of the State and city and many civic leaders who will do all in their power to see that your time is well spent. With the hope that the Fifty-ninth Convention will be the most successful in the history of the American Federation of Labor to date and wishing you Godspeed in your deliberations, and with the hope that I leave you with the

slogan "Indianapolis in 1940" indelibly stamped in your mind. Regards.

Indianapolis Central Labor Union,
D. R. BARNECLO,
Recording Secretary,
Lyric Theatre Building.

Boston, Massachusetts—From the Boston Central Labor Union, as follows:

Boston, Mass., October 9, 1939.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Sir and Brother:

It was voted at the last meeting of the Central Labor Union to invite the American Federation of Labor Convention to Boston in 1940.

As you are aware, the writer was the Secretary for the 1939 convention and worked with a committee from the Central Labor Union to make the stay of the American Federation of Labor delegates in Boston a pleasant one, and we believe that we succeeded.

The coming year, we have the promise of our membership and also the Mayor of our City, who is very much interested in the American Federation of Labor organizations here, that they will do as well for the delegates in 1940 as was done in 1939.

We hope and trust that you will use your best efforts to have the convention come to Boston.

Fraternally yours,
HARRY P. GRAGES, Secretary.

From St. Louis, Missouri—K. F. Niemoeller, Manager of the Associated Retailers of St. Louis.

Hamilton, Ontario, Canada—William Morrison, Mayor of Hamilton.

From Edward W. Burns, Central Trades and Labor Council of New Orleans, La., as follows:

October 4, 1939.

Honorable William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The labor movement of the City of New Orleans and of the State of Louisiana, as well as of the entire southern part of the United States, assisted by the Convention Bureau of New Orleans, would feel highly honored to have you and the gentlemen of the entire Executive Council as their guests at an especially prepared Creole dinner, to be given in the Netherland Plaza Hotel, on a

day and at a time convenient to yourself and the gentlemen of the Executive Council.

Respectfully and fraternally yours,
(Signed) EDWARD W. BURNS,
Delegate, Central Trades and Labor Council, New Orleans, La.

Firefighters

President Green: The Chair recognizes President Baer, of the International Firefighters' Association.

Delegate Baer, Firefighters: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I rise at this time to prey upon you for a few moments of your valuable time to explain something of valuable importance that affects our membership here in Cincinnati and in the entire State of Ohio. In starting out you might be curious in your mind as to what I am trying to say, but if you will just be patient I think your time will be well spent and you will be better advised as to what is happening in the City of Cincinnati than you were when you came here.

Forty-one years ago the first charter was granted to a fire department in a municipality in these United States. That was considered a revolutionary action on the part of any official or any political component part of a state, county or municipality. You can imagine the fight the firemen had in maintaining that charter, and so for many years our successes were few and far between. But eventually somebody from the labor movement saw fit to introduce a bill in the State Legislature of this commonwealth that would have for its purpose putting into effect the eight-hour day for all public servants, and to our amazement we found that the firemen and policemen were the only exceptions to that rule. The bill was passed, we were tossed out of the bill and left on our own resources.

And so in 1918, at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Buffalo, a handful of struggling pioneers of the fire departments of the country who had weathered the storm up until that period were successful in having that convention go on record as chartering the firefighters of the United States and Canada as a component part of the American Federation of Labor, and a charter of our own has been in existence from that day to the present time.

Naturally the firemen of the City of Cin-

cinnati wanted to get in on the ground floor. They wanted to improve their conditions if possible. They immediately applied for a charter and were accepted. They functioned for a few months until such time as they found themselves on what they thought was safe ground.

They made an appeal to the City Council and to the labor movement of this city. They were supported by the labor movement to the fullest extent in their appeal, which was to this end, that an ordinance be passed, not a State law, but an ordinance, that would divide the fire forces into the two-platoon system of working conditions—in other words, reduce their working day from 24 hours to 12 hours per day. To our surprise it caused more consternation and more upheaval, not only in the ranks of labor but in the City of Cincinnati, than anything that has ever been entertained before or since. Immediately the business heads and the business men of the city tossed the firemen out as revolutionary members of the political setup and demanded that their affiliation be canceled and that their charter be returned to Washington, D. C., to our office there, and that if cards of membership were issued from that date on to firemen they could consider themselves non-members of the city's personnel.

The firemen valiantly struggled for their existence, they stood by their charter, their pledges, and all that goes with it, and they found themselves by the first of April outside of the realm of the political setup, no longer members of the city's personnel, and the National Guard of the State of Ohio was called in immediately to supplant them here in this city.

From that date up until a few short years ago the firemen of the city of Cincinnati struggled alone, along the pathway with their own setup, forced upon them by the political heads of this city. We tried to do our best for them. We were restricted from appearing before the City Council. We did everything within our power, and in 1921 we were successful in having a State law passed that made it mandatory upon every city where a paid municipal fire department existed in the State of Ohio, to give the firemen the two-platoon system.

I may say that the city of Cincinnati spent upwards of \$35,000.00 for a committee, headed at that time by James Dalton, who

made the trip to Columbus and did everything possible to defeat that measure. Much to their surprise, it was practically a unanimous setup in the State Legislature at that time. And so from that angle, while they were not members of our organization, it was compulsory on the officials of Cincinnati to introduce into the service the two-platoon system for its firemen. You can imagine what the firemen of this city had to contend with from that day on and for many years to come.

The one miserable thing that happened shortly thereafter came through an act of Divine Providence, when the Mayor of this city was called to his eternal reward and passed away in 1921. You can imagine the surprise of the International Association of Firefighters, and especially the firefighters of the city of Cincinnati, when the President of this Central Body of Cincinnati eulogized that Mayor publicly at his funeral bier, and he eulogized that City Council for the action they took in 1919 in kicking the daylighters and the clothing off your fire fighters. It went by unnoticed until this moment by any member of the American Federation of Labor in the ranks or by any public official.

Now get me right—I am not condemning or criticizing their actions. We had no contact with this city and in consequence thereof no one was to do our bidding. We waited for a time that would be opportune. The firemen struggled along under that handicap for many years, until just a couple of years ago, when we were successful in again chartering the firemen of this city. But we had to have an ordinance repealed before it would be possible, an ordinance that prohibited the firemen of this city from affiliating with our organization. We were successful. We had plenty of help at that time, and since that date we have again gone to the Legislature of this great commonwealth and had an amendment to the eight-hour bill.

It may appear to you gentlemen sitting in this audience that it is a ridiculous setup when we would come and ask for at least a 72-hour week for the firemen of this commonwealth, while at the same time this hall is plastered with signs reading that the way to reduce unemployment is to put into effect a 30-hour week. But we will be temporarily satisfied at least with the enforcement of that law.

To my amazement, the first opposition to that law emanated from the city of Cincinnati. Under a peculiar setup they called for a suspension of the rules, and in one short night they passed an ordinance that prohibits and denies firemen the right to protect themselves in this matter.

The firemen of Cincinnati are appealing to me at this time to make this protest here in this convention, and I am asking the convention to go on record as condemning the action of the City Council of this city in denying the firemen the right of a twelve-hour reduction in their working day, which has been legally given to them by an act of the State Legislature. They are trying to circumvent the law by saying that they are under home rule in this city. If I am in order at this time, I so make that motion.

President Green: President Baer, you must have this matter brought before the convention in the regular way. I was under the impression you were here to make an announcement. That was what you asked to be allowed to do. It will be necessary, President Baer, for you to take the matter up with the Committee on Industrial Relations.

Delegate Baer: Remember that there was no action taken until September 6th. That was less than thirty days allotted for the introduction of a resolution to this convention, and in consequence thereof we could not even bring it before the convention in the form of a resolution.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the committee continued the report as follows:

Favoring Endorsement of Patman Bill for Taxation of Chain Stores

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, William J. Moran, Thomas H. O'Donnell, John J. Mulligan, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

WHEREAS, There is pending in Congress the so-called Patman Bill, designated to destroy the power of the Chain Store organiza-

tions, which have long fought the building trades, forced down wages in factory trades, through the abuse of their immense purchasing power, discriminated against union-labeled products, and increased unemployment by driving friendly neighborhood stores out of business; and

WHEREAS, Beginning with the Houston Convention of the American Federation of Labor in October, 1938, a lavishly financed campaign has been under way to make it appear that by weight of money, labor had been lined up with the Chain Store interests in opposition to the Patman Bill, a campaign that has deceived many honest men, some local unions and at least one State Federation by mendacious misrepresentation of labor's actual position on the measure: be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go squarely on record in favor of the Patman Bill, or any other bill of like interest and meaning, to the end that Chain Store abuses be abated and the country placed squarely on notice that the power and influence of the organization is not for sale; and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Green, and the Legislative Committee, be directed to give every possible aid and assistance to any movement in Congress, looking to an investigation of the activities of the Chain Stores, and the various agencies employed by them, in their attempts to defeat desirable legislation.

Your Committee is of the opinion that the proper step for this convention to take is to refer this resolution to the Executive Council, with the further recommendation that the Executive Council be instructed to have a study made of existing industrial relations between chain stores and organized labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Bates, Bricklayers: Mr. President and delegates to the convention—Resolution No. 8 deals with the Patman Bill, the provisions of which are well known to most of the delegates. This bill provides for a tax of \$50.00 on chain stores up to the number of fifteen, and it is graded upward to \$1,000.00 tax on chain stores to the number of five hundred or more.

There are two whereases in Resolution No. 8 which was read to you by the Secretary of the committee, one of them dealing with the misrepresentation that has been placed upon the action of a previous convention and the fact that a widespread campaign has been engaged in by publicity agents that would make it appear that the American Federation

of Labor is on record as opposed to the Patman Bill.

At the Houston convention two resolutions were presented to that convention by Brother Ornburn, the Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department. These resolutions were Nos. 86 and 87. Resolution No. 86 was quite a lengthy resolution and attempted to have the convention oppose the Patman Bill and joined it up with a resolution to have an investigation of what was called punitive taxation. Resolution No. 87 was also very cleverly drawn. Resolution No. 87 provided for an investigation of the punitive tax on chain stores and was reported to the convention by the Resolutions Committee and adopted by the convention, the report of the committee providing that the Executive Council make a study of that subject.

The committee also referred to Resolution No. 86, and according to the evidence, that inasmuch as Resolution No. 87 had been adopted by the committee's report, Resolution No. 86, bearing on the same subject, should also be referred for adoption.

Either immediately before the convention or some time before, or some time after the convention, the chain stores entered into a wide publicity campaign. Either the Byor Publicity Agency of New York or the chain stores direct employed Chester Wright and his associates. Shortly after the Houston convention, through the daily newspapers, the world was notified that the American Federation of Labor was opposed to the Patman Bill and was supporting the chains. Very soon after a flood of propaganda was sent to our subordinate unions and central bodies advising those organizations that the chain stores had changed their spots and that they were entering into agreements with workers of the American Federation of Labor unions.

When the Executive Council met in Miami last winter there was hurrying and scurrying about in the arrangements for a dinner. This dinner was arranged by the same group, and powerful leaders of the American Federation of Labor were invited. I assume that the purpose of this dinner was to show the president of one of the largest chains the power and prestige of this agency with certain leaders of the American Federation of La-

bor. What good was accomplished I don't know, but I suppose that a good time was had by all.

Soon after that the Executive Council considered Resolutions Nos. 86 and 87, passed by the Houston convention, and they appointed a committee of three men to investigate this subject fully and report back to the Executive Council. Due to the illness of several members of the committee, no report has been made to this date, and I want it known here and now that I have confidence in the committee that was appointed and feel sure that when their report is made it will be very enlightening to the Council.

What I want to refer to is the mode of propaganda followed out by this group, the misrepresentation of the American Federation of Labor on this subject. We found their agents acted in central bodies in recruiting delegates to the State convention, in attending State conventions, in attempting to have these State conventions endorse resolutions praising the chains and condemning the Patman Bill. Joined with them in at least two States were paid organizers of this American Federation of Labor, who attempted in one instance to influence the President of the State Federation of Labor to use his influence to pass this measure, contending that the American Federation of Labor was in entire support of the chain stores, and that such an action had been taken by the Houston convention.

I want to touch upon the activities of some of these chain stores. At the same time our central bodies and State Federations of Labor were being told of the love and affection of the chain stores for the American Federation of Labor and its workers, complaint after complaint arrived daily against the type of non-union, scab building trades workers that were employed on the great majority of the buildings erected and occupied by these chains.

The New York Building Trades Council had the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company on the unfair list at that time. The usual method employed by these chains in the additions or changes to these stores that they occupied was to let the work out, lease the stores from the owner, and then the owner would let the work out to a non-union contractor. When complaint is made about the

employment of non-union building trades workers the local superintendent in the district tells you that the chains have nothing to do with the alterations or the changes to the building, that they are only leasing the property from the owner, and they have no knowledge at all as to the conditions under which these buildings are being erected or remodeled.

Only in those cities where the building trades are strong enough by their own economic conditions are union conditions in effect on buildings built by these chain stores.

What kind of goods are on the shelves of the majority of these chain stores? Are they union-made goods? Are they goods from Japan or Germany? Well, we have had the American Federation of Labor protest the buying of goods from Japan and Germany, but the chain stores sell 90 per cent of these products. Still we are told that those chains are altogether all right and that they should have the support of the American Federation of Labor and that we should vote against the Patman Bill.

What tactics do these chain store groups employ in putting independent stores out of business? I don't have to tell you delegates it is practically impossible to run an independent store in foods and in many other lines because of the nefarious conduct of the business of these chains. They will go out into a little business community in a city and one, two or three of the chains will establish stores there, and it won't be long until the independent store that has been in existence in that locality for years is forced to close shop and go out of business.

After they put the independent store out of business and have created unemployment for the workers in these stores, they put in some efficiency system and even refuse to hire the same number of employees in their own stores. And what do you have? You have unemployment to the extent of the number of people that normally worked in that locality and, in addition, you have four or five empty store buildings standing there as monuments to the unscrupulousness of these chains.

I am not going to touch on the marketing feature. It is well known to anyone who studies the subject that they have the producers at their mercy, they pay the farmer

whatever they want to pay for his products, and if he does not want to take it they let it rot between the source of shipment and the place where it is sold.

These chain stores advertise the cheapest of their products. If you live in a neighborhood where working men live you will find the chain stores have put the independent store out of business. You can look at an advertisement in the morning paper and then look over in another section of the city where the rich people live, and you will find you can buy grapefruit for one cent less than you can buy it for in the store adjacent to you.

No doubt all the phases of this subject will be discussed before Congress when the Patman Bill comes before that body. I am only going to deal with those phases of the situation that concern labor. But with all this manifestation of love and affection for the A. F. of L. Unions, it is a well-known fact that since the establishment of these chains they have been absolutely non-union from their inception.

Is it the Patman Bill they are afraid of, or what is it? And have they changed to employ members of the American Federation of Labor? In certain localities, in fact, in practically every section, they have employed the teamster who works outside, and why? Not because they like the teamster any more than they like any other labor organization. They employ the teamster because through the strength of his organization he is able to force them to recognize his group. They employ the bakery worker in many instances, but what about the clerks and the butcher workers? I am advised that in the New England States, notwithstanding the fact that over a year ago they were going to promote the organization of their company union employees by A. F. of L. unions, they were going to deal with the American Federation of Labor. I dare say there are not 200 clerks and butcher workmen in the stores in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts.

It might be well for the delegates of this convention to determine here and now whether the prestige and the power of this American Federation of Labor can be bought or sold by these publicity agents. If the chain stores and their representatives desire to deal with the A. F. of L. unions they

know where the headquarters of these organizations are located. There isn't one of them that they cannot deal with through themselves, through their officers, and determine the wages and conditions under which their employes shall work, and there is no necessity for any representative of these groups going around to the back door or to the side door and dealing through some other party in reference to wages and conditions of the building trades workers in this country.

In closing I want to say that it is high time that this American Federation of Labor stop the practice of these groups that hang around on the fringe of the labor movement and advocate and promote this or that privately owned proposition with the name of union labor attached thereto. The world should know that if the chains or any other groups desire to have their workers united into A. F. of L. unions, that can be easily done by approaching the officers, even through the local officers up to the highest officers, without going through any third party.

If this Patman Bill is defeated in the next Congress you will find another "about-face" on the part of these chains and their love and manifestation for this American Federation of Labor will cease.

I respectfully request that the delegates of this convention vote down the recommendation of the committee, and vote favorably for the passage of this resolution.

Delegate Gorman, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen: I would like to be able to agree with Vice-President Bates on some of the statements he made with regard to chain stores, but I believe he has been grossly misinformed. From the remarks that he made here today I take it that they are directed chiefly against the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Stores, because I could glean from his remarks, in mentioning a conference that was held last January, with the delegates representing the various unions that were interested in chain stores by having employes therein, an inference that the American Federation of Labor was to a certain degree "soft soap."

Inasmuch as he mentioned the butcher workmen, I think I know something about butcher workmen, and especially butcher workmen in connection with chain stores. There are other large chain store operators

throughout the nation in addition to the Atlantic and Pacific Tea stores, and I know that with my organization, as well as with others connected with the American Federation of Labor, these chain stores were signing contracts recognizing our Union long before the Patman or the Wright-Patman Act was ever heard of.

I don't know whether the delegates to this convention are cognizant of the fact that the largest employer of working people west of the Mississippi River is the Safe-Way Stores. They employ more people than the Standard Oil does west of the Mississippi River, numbering some 55,000. As many as fifteen years ago a vast majority of these employees were working under strictly closed shop agreements with the Safe-Way Company, and for the past eight years we have had a nation-wide agreement, and they are paying the highest wages to our membership, higher even than some of the smaller competitors.

What is true of the butcher workmen in the Safe-Way Company concern is true of the teamsters, it is true of the building trades on the West Coast. It is also true of most of the organizations that are connected with this Federation, and I say that if the Patman Bill would become a law tomorrow the American Federation of Labor would, by adopting this resolution, contribute to the unemployment of a good portion of 55,000 people who are safely enrolled now within the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

What is true of the Safe-Way Stores can also be said of the eastern chains. Let us look at the First National chain in the East. They employ approximately 7,000 people. They work 1,600 of our membership in Boston alone. They have contacts with the teamsters as well as the rest of the people who represent the International Unions in this Federation, and they all work under strictly closed-shop conditions.

The B. H. Kroger Company, whose headquarters are in Cincinnati, and which is second only to the Atlantic & Pacific Tea stores—I want the delegates to point out where the B. H. Kroger Company in the last ten or fifteen years has refused to treat with organized labor, has refused to sign contracts comparable with any of the agreements that are in existence with any of the trades.

I think if this Federation would go on

record to adopt this resolution it would be without doubt the most destructive and damaging resolution against our own people that the Federation ever adopted in all of its history.

From the remarks of Brother Bates, what do we glean again? We glean that from his standpoint the large chains are attempting to put out of business the smaller concerns. From the day of industrial development that has been the constant complaint on the part of the smaller man, that the larger ones are devouring them. But the inevitable system will go on, irrespective of what decision this convention might make. This inevitable system of growing corporations will continue, no matter what action this Federation might take.

I believe, inasmuch as we have the chains going down the line with us, it would be the most foolish thing we could do to attempt to legislate them out of business. Let us take the Atlantic & Pacific Tea Stores. I will admit that for some 20 years that I have been connected with my International Union, the Atlantic & Pacific Tea Stores were almost impossible to organize. I was in that group down in Miami, Florida, that Brother Bates made reference to, and I never want to become so cynical in life that, irrespective of what the attitude of a person or corporation might have been in the past, that person or corporation cannot see things in a different light. It has not been more than two years ago when we did not have a single employee in the Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company organized. Now we can look back and analyze and make a survey of our accomplishments, with the help that has been given us by every union within the Federation, and what do we find? We find that from Chicago all the way to the Pacific Coast the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company does not work a single non-union meat cutter. We can start at Chicago and go South, where we failed to organize even the smaller grocerymen and meat market men that Brother Bates is defending. They chased us out of their stores, and when the Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company signed our contract at Birmingham, at Atlanta, and in a dozen other Southern cities they opened the way for us to organize the fellow that Brother Bates says should be saved by this Federation. I think the report

of the committee should be adopted. Don't stop the progress that is being made.

So far as the East is concerned, even with the Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company, in the last six months we have been able to sign a closed-shop contract with them, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at Baltimore, Maryland, at Washington, D. C., at Richmond, Virginia, at Roanoke, Virginia, and only this week a contract has been agreed to for Cincinnati.

I think, irrespective of what kind of business we might be engaged in, whether it be large or small, the primary purpose of the American Federation of Labor is to organize those people, to raise their standards of wages and living conditions. We have these chain stores treating with us, signing closed-shop agreements, and it is almost astounding that such a resolution as this would be presented to this convention at this late date.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Ornburn.

Delegate Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I must apologize to you for having to impose upon your time, in view of the report of the committee. The committee's report is entirely satisfactory to me, but because of circulars sent broadcast, leaving the impression that an officer of the Union Label Trades Department had committed some wrong, it is therefore necessary for me to present some facts in consideration of the matters brought before this convention by Delegate Bates of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers.

The resolution and the committee report before this convention offer us but a narrow and limited ground for consideration of a problem that warrants fuller and broader treatment. My reasons for entering this discussion are trade union reasons and they are union label reasons. They have to do with vital principles and they have to do with trade union growth and welfare. They have to do also with the welfare of the trade unionist as a consumer—yes, as a consumer of union made goods, if you will.

I have no desire to direct my remarks at the delegation which has had placed upon it the obligation to introduce this resolution and to make for it the best defense it could make. Out of force of circumstances the resolution has been introduced, and it raises an issue. The committee report is for reference

to the Executive Council. Only because the proponents of the resolution have been permitted to offer argument do I presume to ask the convention for the time in which to make a counter argument. Here are the reasons why I seek to show that the resolution not only would record labor in an utterly untenable position, but why it never should have been introduced in a labor convention.

First, it seeks to destroy a principle vital to labor, the principle that there must be justice to all alike.

Second, it would, if it could be given force, destroy a great field for future organizing work, while at the same time wiping out a large trade union membership already gained.

Third, it would take away from the building trades unions construction running to millions of dollars a year for construction that is union without any argument.

Let me pause here to read into the record a few out of many telegrams and letters which attest the fact that the chain store industry is one of the best friends and heaviest employers of the building trades, of which the introducers of this resolution are, strangely enough, a part.

Chicago, Illinois—All chain stores within our jurisdiction are one hundred per cent union and have been for a great number of years.

Signed by Earl J. McMahon, Secretary, Chicago Building Trades Council.

Los Angeles, California—Following named chain stores are strictly union in their construction work: Safeway Stores, Sears Roebuck Company, Western Auto Supply Company, Woolworth, Kress, Brooks, and W. T. Grant.

Signed by C. J. Haggerty, Secretary.

Miami, Florida—Chain store construction work now and for many years past has always been one hundred per cent union. Atlantic & Pacific, Sears Roebuck, Liggett's, Western Auto Stores, Walgreen, Goodyear, Firestone, Shell Oil, Standard Oil, Texas Oil, Gulf, Sinclair, Lerner's Stores, Darling Shops, Saks Fifth Avenue, all operate retail outlets here and always consult this office before letting contracts for construction work.

Signed by J. L. Kenney, Secretary.

Denver, Colorado—Please contact James A. Brownlow, Netherland Plaza Hotel, representing Denver Building and Construction Trades Council, for all information you request. If not necessary answers, contact me again.

Signed by Homer J. Meyers, Secretary.

Denver Building and Construction Trades Council.

Delegate Ornburn: I contacted the Denver delegate and inquired from him as to the chain stores with respect to construction work, and he assured me that they had no trouble with the chain stores in that locality.

Buffalo, New York—All chain store construction work including food and five and ten work at present and in recent years has been 100 per cent union.

Signed by George M. Willax, Secretary, Buffalo Building Trades Council.

Jacksonville, Florida — Retail friendly chains, Kress Company, W. T. Grant, Woolworth, McCrory, Silver, Walgreen, Lane, Liggett's, United Cigars, Western Auto, Sears Roebuck, Montgomery Ward, A. & P. Tea, Lerner's, Mangel's, Baker's, Boyd's, Hub, J. C. Penney, Thom's. Was in recent years 75 per cent but now 100 per cent. All very friendly now.

Signed by R. R. Bridgewood, Building and Construction Trades Council.

Springfield, Massachusetts—Atlantic & Pacific, First National Stores and Economy Grocery Stores are not friendly to organized labor. Kresge Five and Ten, Woolworth, Neisner Company and Enterprise are very friendly and use our men 100 per cent.

Signed by M. J. Scanlan, Secretary, Central Labor Union.

San Francisco, California—All construction work for all chain stores in this locality conducted on a 100 per cent union basis.

Signed by J. H. Smith, Business Representative of Building and Construction Trades Council.

Portland, Oregon—Please be informed following chain stores 100 per cent union on construction work with this council: F. W. Woolworth Company, Kienow Grocery Company, Kress and Company, Safeway Stores, Fred Meyers Company, J. C. Penney Company, Sprouse Reitz Company, Piggly Wiggly Stores, J. J. Newberry Company, Walgreen Drug Company, Sears and Roebuck Company, Montgomery Ward Company, Owl Drug Company, National Dollar Stores, Bedell Stores, Marshall Wells Company, Mallon Kamp Stores Company, W. P. Fuller Paint Company, Western Auto Supply Company and the General Paint Company. Only unfair firm to this Council known as Anderson Chain Stores.

Signed by B. R. Mathis, Secretary, Building and Construction Trades Council.

Baltimore, Maryland—The following chain stores are fair to the Baltimore Building Trades Council: Kresge Five and Ten Cent Stores, Woolworth's, Schulte, United, Gulf Oil Company, Sears Roebuck, Montgomery Ward, Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company, American Stores 50 per cent, Murphy's Five and Ten, Grant's, Read Drug Company, May Company and Stewart Company. This is a complete list of chain stores in our city.

Signed by Frank Clark Ellis, President, Building and Construction Trades Council.

Dayton, Ohio—Dayton Building Trades have favorable relations with all chain stores. Ones in a great while we have some little difficulty, but so far we have always ironed it out satisfactorily to both sides.

Signed by John E. Breidenbach, Business Manager, Dayton Building Trades Council.

Salt Lake City, Utah—Chain store construction work both national and local are union in this locality excepting one statewide concern called Red and White Stores, which are individually owned markets operated under central purchasing system with headquarters this city.

Signed by F. A. Noller, Secretary, Building and Construction Trades Council.

Boston, Massachusetts—Three chain stores in greater Boston are First National Stores, Atlantic & Pacific, Economy Stores. We rate good union relations in order mentioned; no signed agreements with any. Verbal agreement that all work on property owned or leased by chains will be done with union labor, all accessories and equipment to be manufactured and installed by shops employing union labor in letting contracts. Specifications read good standing members of unions affiliated to Council must be employed. Maintenance building tradesmen only became members our unions within past year, then only after strike threat. One trade steamfitter still in dispute over jurisdiction on Atlantic & Pacific. Prior to October last year cat and dog relationship, constant complaint against Atlantic & Pacific and Economy both on maintenance and new store installations, particularly leased premises. Better feeling, less complaints now, although all chains will not sign general agreement covering all trades which we submitted. Attempt was made by chains to sidetrack building trades unionization of maintenance men by direction men to affiliate with Engineers, Firemen and Building Service Employees. We ironed this out with minor exceptions.

Signed by E. A. Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer, Building and Construction Trades Council of the Metropolitan District.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania—Wire received contents noted. We have had most pleasant relations with practically all chain stores in Philadelphia. Have submitted your wire to President McDevitt, who is attending convention. Would suggest for further details that you consult with him. Stopping at Netherland Plaza Hotel.

Signed by Norman Blumberg, Secretary-Treasurer, Building Trades Council.

Delegate Ornburn: President McDevitt is in the convention and can testify as to the conditions there in the building trades.

Hartford, Connecticut—Majority of chain stores have work done union—Big Lion, J. J. Newberry, Sears Roebuck, W. T. Grant, F. W. Woolworth, Lerner's, Bond Clothing Company, Crawford, Kresge's, Liggett's, First National, Loft Candy, White Tower, A. S. Beck, Douglas, Thomas McCan, A. & P. work non-union.

Signed by C. B. Scott, Secretary.

Cleveland, Ohio—I received your telegram in regard to the chain stores, and wish to state that Fisher Brothers, Kroger's, A. & P., McCrory's, and all the small independent chain stores, as far as the Cleveland Building and Construction Trades Council is concerned, have always had their work done 100 per cent union.

Most all of their work has usually been let out on contract. I don't believe that any of our people work direct for any of these chains.

I understand some of the miscellaneous trades have unions in different chain stores, but as far as the building trades is concerned, in regard to remodeling, repair, or new construction work, they have always been 100 per cent union with our Council.

Trusting this is the information you desire, and if there is anything further I can help you with, I shall be glad to do so if possible.

Signed by Albert Dalton, Business Representative, Cleveland Building and Construction Trades Council.

Detroit, Michigan—Your wire in reference to the conditions in Detroit on chain store work received.

May I say that our relationship with the Montgomery Ward Company, the Sears-Roebuck Company, the Kroger Company, and the A. & P. Food Stores is very amicable, and while at times we have a little trouble, we have no trouble in calling it to the attention of these companies and having the matter straightened up. I would say that the work in conjunction with the above named concerns is as close to 100 per cent as can be reasonably expected.

I might further qualify the statement as far as the Kroger Company is concerned, we have some difficulty with the Teamsters Union but on the construction work in general we have no trouble with them.

Signed by Ed. Thal, Secretary, Detroit Building Trades Council.

Birmingham, Alabama—The following chain stores are 100 per cent fair: The A. & P. Stores, Kress, Woolworth, Silvers, Grant, Newberry, Bond Clothing Company, Peggy Hale Dress Shop, Lerner's Dress Shop, Love-man, Joseph & Loes, Liggett's Drug Company, McKesson Drug Company, Lane Drug Company, Thom McAn Shoe Store, Florsheim, Baker, Buris, Guarantee Shoe Company, Shell Oil Company, Sinclair, Pan-Am. Oil Company. Fifty per cent fair: Sears Roebuck, J. C. Penney Company, Firestone, Goodyear, Goodrich, General Tires, Kelly Springfield and U. S. Tires and Accessories. One hundred per cent wrong: Standard, Texas, City Service, or Loric, Gulf, Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company.

Signed by Roy Copeland, Secretary-Treasurer, Building and Construction Trades Council.

Delegate Ornburn: I am authorized to say to you that Delegate McElroy, Secretary

of the Kansas City Building Trades Council, has certified to me that the construction work in Kansas City is 100 per cent as far as the building and construction trades are concerned.

Seattle, Washington—Reference to chain store construction, work has been completely organized for years doing business with Atlantic and Pacific and Safeway Chains also have local chain stores going along 100 per cent furnishing firms with union building trades maintenance men all new construction and extensive alterations being done by union contractors.

Signed by F. W. Monrean, Secretary, Building Trades Council.

Fort Worth, Texas—The following chain stores have been very friendly to the local Building Trades Council: Grant's, Woolworth, Kress, McCrory, Safeway, Bond's and Benfro. The A. & P. Stores are the only ones we have had trouble with in this locality. Through building trades cooperation we have been able to hold the construction fair to organized labor.

Signed by W. L. Akers, Secretary, Fort Worth Building Trades Council.

I have available a considerable volume of material showing the dollars and cents volume of construction work done under union conditions as reported by chain companies that would be destroyed by the Patman Act. Two chains for which I have figures, in the past year expanded nearly three and three-quarters millions of dollars for union labor on construction jobs, and one of these chains alone expended \$175,000 for union materials.

Moreover, one of these chains had more than 200 separate contracts for union construction work. First National Stores require union labor on all contract jobs, and there are 14 of these under way today in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts. Union Labor does all the repair work, also, for this company.

The A. & P. has constructed or caused to be constructed more than 800 new buildings during the past year and three months, and more than 90 per cent of this work, I am informed, has been done by union members of the Building Trades Department of this Federation.

Chain companies the Patman Act would destroy are in many cases using interstate contracting firms to whom the Building Trades have looked for work and support for many years.

Let me continue:

In the fourth place, the Patman Act would increase the cost of living to union men and women in their capacity as consumers.

Fifth, it would narrow and limit the outlets for union made commodities and make infinitely harder our struggle to make union made goods and services available to our own membership and the public.

Sixth, it would make it infinitely more difficult for the union man and woman and the friendly public to find a union clerk or meat cutter to offer them services in the making of their purchases in the whole great field covered by the retail industry.

These are practical reasons. They are trade union reasons. They have about them nothing that is personal or that is built upon a desire to enter into conflict with the delegation which has sponsored this amazing resolution.

If I were to add a seventh reason—and I shall cover it in detail as I proceed, it would be that to carry out the provisions of the resolution would immediately destroy part of, and permanently dislocate the rest of, the great unionized railroad transportation industry and the great trucking industry which is being rapidly unionized within the militant ranks of the union headed by President Daniel J. Tobin.

To carry out the intent of this resolution, to bring into enactment the legislation which it seeks to promote, would be nothing short of a major economic, financial and industrial catastrophe, cutting sharply, deeply and with devastating effect into the entire industrial and economic structure of the country, including farm, shop, factory, mill, mine and store.

The introducer of the so-called Patman bill and the "front" for the interests who are endeavoring to misuse the taxing power of the nation is Representative Wright Patman of Texas. Giving Mr. Patman all the credit that belongs to a devoted but misguided crusader, it is nevertheless revealed that his sacrifices have not gone unrewarded.

I have here a copy of a letter sent out by a speakers' bureau, in which it offers to all and sundry, the services of Mr. Patman for the trifling stipend of \$300 per lecture, plus hotel bills, plus \$100 for expenses:

\$300 For Talk—\$100 For What!

THOMAS BRADY
Speakers' Bureau
MANAGER - LECTURE TOURS
236 West 44th St. - New York
July 6th, 1938

Dear Sir:

Your letter of June 28th was brought to my attention, upon my return to the office, this morning.

At this writing, I can arrange for Congressman Patman to address a meeting of the Independent Retailers of West Philadelphia, in the Fall, for a fee of \$300, and hotel in Philadelphia, setting aside \$100 for special expenses.

Please be good enough to advise me, as soon as possible, the date you desire, so that I can confirm same with Congressman Patman. Awaiting your early reply.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) THOS. BRADY.

Mr. Patman, cavorting about the country at \$300 per cavort, seems to have been unfortunate, as innocent and devoted spirits often are, in his associates. The record shows that, in addition to being a stooge of the lecture bureau as I have just shown, he was, at the same time and in effect an employee of the McKesson-Robbins Drug Company. The McKesson-Robbins Drug Company is that concern which achieved national notoriety, some time back, through revelations of its looting by the late Coster-Musica, who committed suicide when his operations were exposed. One of its officers has recently become the head of a national association of wholesale firms selling to independent merchants.

Let me read an extract from a publication of the Consumers Union of the United States. Incorporated: (I quote)

"Like any other company, like an individual, McKesson-Robbins has developed a personality. Part of its personality has been its ownership and distribution of a whole raft of worthless and worse patent medicines.

"In trades circles it has established itself as a voracious expansionist, as a pusher of hard bargains, as an expert in forcing retailers to overstock its lines. So successful has it been at doing the latter that an indefinite number of stores (estimated by some to be in the thousands) have simply turned over their business to it. And to further this, the company has been a blunt and active lobbyist.

"One of the chief agents has been Representative Wright Patman, stooge of the retail

druggists, lobby and sponsor of the bill intended not to control but to destroy chain stores, scheduled to come up early in this session of Congress."

Mr. Patman's misfortune did not end here. Some time back, he made a connection with a certain Charles G. Daughters. Together they organized a league under the high-sounding title of the Foundation for Freedom of Opportunity. This organization proceeded to collect contributions from various and willing individuals and concerns for the holy purpose of assisting in enacting the Patman Bill. Thus, the public was given the opportunity to pay twice for the privilege of raising its own cost of living. Among other activities was that of a gathering of several days duration in Washington in which was included a steamboat excursion down the Potomac River to which every and all Congressmen were invited. The attendance is reported to have been disappointingly slim. A war chest of several millions was pledged and about \$100 paid in.

But something happened. Suddenly Mr. Daughters and Mr. Patman disagreed. Mr. Daughters seems to have secretly betrayed Mr. Patman. At any rate, it suddenly appeared that Mr. Daughters had incorporated the Freedom of Opportunity outfit under his own name. The incorporation application, of which I have here a photostat copy, reveals that the incorporation is perpetual and that the support of the organization is to come from voluntary subscriptions. In other words, Mr. Daughters visionalized something into which the money was to flow to infinity.

Now, Mr. Patman has disowned his child. He has excommunicated Mr. Daughters. But Mr. Daughters is still going on in the cause to which he had dedicated himself, that of collecting subscriptions from those whom he can persuade to value his services.

I hold here a voluminous file of newspaper clippings and other references to the McKesson-Robbins, Daughters and other episodes in Mr. Patman's stormy career.

This will, in my opinion, sufficiently identify the author of the measure upon which this resolution seeks to place the warm approval of this convention, even to the extent of attempting to personally discredit its opponents and to stultify the action of the Houston convention of this body.

Effects of the Patman Act would be felt by every workman and his family in the nation, because the chain store system deals in every necessity of living. Its customers are largely drawn from the income groups ranging from \$1,200 a year downward. From the chains they buy their food, drugs and accessories, clothing, shoes, hats, gasoline and auto supplies, their necessities of every kind. Let us remember, the chains operate in all of these fields and more.

Most recent impartial and authentic surveys show that the customers of chain stores save 8 to 12 or more per cent in the cost of their necessities. The average is probably around ten per cent over the whole range of a family's needs. It is reliably calculated that the Patman Act would raise the cost of living by at least \$900,000,000 for wage-earners and the low-income families least able to bear the burden. With many of them this increase means the difference between HAVING or NOT HAVING.

The Journal of Business of the University of Chicago published in March of this year the results of a study of food prices by Charles F. Phillips, assistant professor of economics at Colgate University. The survey, made in Central New York State, is the third in a series started in 1930. It shows that late 1938 prices on branded food products indicated the chain stores were underselling independents by 7.9 per cent and voluntary chains by 8.38 per cent. The study covered 53 products sold in stores in five towns. Even greater savings to buyers were reported in identical studies in 1934, and in 1930 the savings were as high as 12.83 per cent.

Other startling and sweeping effects of the Patman Act are discussed by Hugh M. Foster, writing for *Printers' Ink Monthly* for November, 1938. He says:

"A semi-official estimate has been made on the probable effects of the Patman Bill. But it must be remembered in studying this estimate that the figures in it relate to present conditions and that the consequences predicted are predicated on the elimination of all chain stores. It is not to be supposed, of course, that, if a million and a quarter people were suddenly thrown out of employment, some of them would not find other jobs. And if all chain stores were vacated on a certain date landlords would probably find other ten-

ants. This is the gist of the estimate, however, according to the more important phases:

"EMPLOYEES: 1,250,000 employees in 140,000 chain stores, earning a total of \$1,250,000,000 annually, would immediately be added to the already burdensome unemployed rolls.

"FARMERS AND OTHER SUPPLIERS: The proposed chain store destruction bill would have the effect of destroying a very large portion of the six-billion-dollar annual market now provided by chain store purchases. Destruction of the chain stores would virtually destroy the most effective marketing system for farm products.

The farm organizations in Washington, D. C. are unalterably opposed to the Patman Bill. They tell me that they get better prices for their produce from the chain stores than they do from the competitors of the chain stores, and it seems to me the figures quoted by Delegate Bates do not quite square with the case.

"CONSUMERS: Passage of the proposed chain destruction bill would mean an increased cost to the consumer of two billion seven hundred million dollars—as compared with a present annual saving of \$940,000,000 to the patrons of chain stores—equivalent to an annual tax of \$100 per family.

"REAL ESTATE: In addition to a loss to property owners of \$450,000,000 annually in rentals now paid them by chain stores, this proposed chain destruction bill would result in a collapse of real estate values, and necessitate an increase in the tax base on residences as well as business properties.

"TRANSPORTATION: The proposed chain store destruction bill would have the immediate effect, if enacted, of wiping out the \$475,000,000 now spent annually by chains for freight, trucking, fuel, repairs and electricity. The chains have made a tremendous contribution to transportation, both on the highways and the rails. This has been largely done by the development of the widespread use of such commodities as citrus fruits, etc., at prices within the reach of the average consumer."

As a result, the truck driving industry has been greatly expanded and thousands of jobs provided. And no part of the highway transportation industry has been more consistently friendly to organized labor than have the

chains. The Teamsters' delegates are here to witness this statement. Their union now has contractual relations with chains or the companies which they employ to the number of hundreds of union agreements.

Furthermore, rail transportation has benefited at least as much. In proof of this let me place in the record figures vouched for and distributed by no less an authority than Emmet Davison, secretary of the International Association of Machinists. Without going into detail, these statistics reveal that about one railroader out of every four owes his job to freight originating directly or indirectly in and for the chains. I quote briefly from this detailed analysis. It is shown that chain store traffic accounts for 15.3 per cent of the total railroad freight revenue, and 26 per cent of the total payroll.

Washington, D. C.

To All Grand Lodge Representatives,
General Chairmen and Business Agents.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

Several of our members have written me asking, "What about this flood of federal, State and local special tax proposals aimed at chain stores? Does this concern us? If so, how?"

On the surface it looks as though special taxes of this kind are of no concern whatever to our membership or to related organizations. Yet, the facts under the surface indicate very definitely that we have three stakes in the continued existence of this important part of America's retail distribution system.

These three stakes are:

1. Opportunity for organization.

2. Maintenance of a part of the business machine which employs about 900,000 workers. Among these are mechanics, machinists and a large number who work in truck service garages as well as in manufacturing and processing plants owned by chain corporations.

3. Volume of work for railroad membership and earnings of the nation's railroads are directly affected because at least one-fifth of all railroad freight serving the retail trade is traceable to chain store operations. Nearly 30 per cent of grocery chain railroad freight moves in refrigerated cars.

Already organization work in the chain store field during the last two years has brought many thousands of new members to the American Federation of Labor throughout the country. This extends unionization definitely into a field heretofore hard to reach. For example, one great grocery chain has within the last year definitely entered upon a program of unionization on a closed shop basis, covering all classes of employees in their respective international eligibilities

and within six months has executed closed shop contracts covering nearly one-sixth of all their employees. Others are in negotiation and the program is moving rapidly.

This general movement is significant because as legislative difficulties of the chains increase, so also do the benefits of organization already secured in the retail field; these two great forces combine to promote even more rapid and more secure contracts for interested unions. Now that the ice has been broken, new opportunities for solid organization are opening fast and often in the chain field.

Still another very real concern in the chain picture rests in our hands. That is the maintenance of lower prices on living necessities. There is ample proof in government records that the chain store industry sells its foods, clothing, medicine and other varied supplies at prices from 8 to 10 per cent lower. The so-called super-market food store is reported to sell at from 18 to 25 per cent less. These prices affect so many million wage-earners who must spend carefully that any disruption of the system could only result in certain penalties upon these wage-earners.

Many branches of organized labor have already taken a definite stand against discriminatory and punitive taxation which would destroy or further cripple the efficient working of the chain store system. Among these are five State Federations of Labor. Special committees of these groups have studied the situation carefully.

I learn there is a strong feeling among them that many of the special States and local tax plans aimed at chain stores have actually been inspired by groups more concerned with protecting their own selfish interests than in the continued employment of chain workers or in the low cost movement of living necessities to the consumers.

This letter is sent for your information and guidance. Do not be misled as to the importance of any city, State and national legislation of this kind to organized labor and the International Association of Machinists. All or any of it is of first importance to us. If the chain system is destroyed or crippled by federal or pyramided State and local penalties, our share of potential new membership is gone, our present employment volume will suffer, and our living costs will increase.

It is, no doubt, of great importance to you to make a study of all sides of this very important question and to advise the membership along lines that will be to their very best interest after an analysis of the facts as presented in the attached survey.

You may be called on to state your views before a committee of State legislature, City Council, or other taxing bodies, and this will give you the information upon which to base an opinion.

With best wishes, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

E. C. DAVISON,

General Secretary-Treasurer.

Attached estimates covering 88 commodities shipped over Class I Railroads during 1937 indicate the chain store industry affects working force of the railway system of the nation as follows:

1. Railroad freight revenue traceable to chains (\$516,262,000) exceeds combined passenger (\$443,000,000) and express (\$58,000,000) annual revenue (1937).

2. Carloads of freight traceable to chains (6,594,000) account for 17.4 per cent of total freight carloads (37,993,000).

3. Traceable freight revenue from chain operation (\$516,262,000) amounts to 15.3 per cent of total railroad freight revenue (\$3,377,000,000).

4. Traceable freight revenue from chain operations is equal to wages for 329,250 workers—26 per cent of 1,265,415 railroad employees.

5. Freight revenue traceable to chain operations is equal to 26 per cent of total railroad payrolls of \$1,983,990,485.

I quote again from Printer's Ink: "NEWS-PAPERS: Almost every newspaper in the United States would be materially affected if the \$200,000,000 now spent by chain stores for advertising were discontinued.

"TAXES: Local, State and Federal Government would immediately lose the \$225,000,000 now paid by chain stores in direct taxes, as well as the many other millions collected from these retail outlets in direct taxes."

What about wage differentials? Luckily there are new and adequate facts at hand. On the whole the chains pay higher wages. The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor at Washington is now compiling each month figures that cover adequate samples of the work forces of chain and independent employers, on a basis that is more nearly comparable than have been available until recently. These figures are right up to date.

As of July, 1939, the average weekly wage for 131,291 employees in 20,221 retail food chain store establishments was \$20.45. This is 6.6 per cent higher than reported for 20,345 employees in 2,087 independent stores. Their average week's wage was \$19.19. Both full time and part time workers are included.

In January of 1939 the average weekly wage for 96,236 employees in 17,106 chain retail food stores was \$21.81. This is 15 per cent higher than reported for the same month of 20,649 workers in 1961 independent retail food stores.

Commissioner Isador Lubin has requested that it be stated in connection with the above figures that they relate to all employees, both full and part time, who worked during any part of one pay period ending nearest the fifteenth of the month, except proprietors, firm members and executives, such as salaried officers of corporations, general managers, and others whose work is mainly supervisory.

Last wage figures covering all units of the entire retail industry were compiled in 1933, when the average annual earnings of chain store employees were \$1,079; while the average for independents, was \$947. The chain average is about 14 per cent higher.

Let me say here that these comparisons are offered without any motive except to establish the facts in the case. I believe alert and competent independent retailers have as much right to their existence as have the chain stores. They both serve useful purposes, and there is an obvious demand for what they offer. Our affiliated Unions have good friends in both groups, and we want to see them prosper.

There are weaknesses, perhaps some evils, in the business systems of both kinds of retail business. It would be a miracle if there were no room in either for improvement. But I do not believe this convention should be asked to help destroy a useful part of America's business system, either because it may need some changes, or because the leaders of one of our unions is apparently trying by pernicious, devious and evil indirection to attack my personal integrity. I resent that personally; I resent that for my fellow officers, and I resent it officially for the Union Label Trades Department of The American Federation of Labor.

I refer to the wording of the resolution introduced by the Bricklayers, and to the article reprinted from the September issue of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union Journal, entitled "Destroy the Chains," which you members of the convention found on your desks when the convention opened.

It seems to me a peculiar and thus far unexplained circumstance that a great and powerful union should use a questionable legislative proposal as a vehicle for dealing with an economic situation, and use the same evil

smelling vehicle at the same time to besmirch the reputations of the officers and board members of one of the great departments of this Federation.

Let me say pointedly to the delegate from the Bricklayers' Union, and to their officers who are not here, that this is a peculiar business, indeed; and that it is one which I am sure their membership would denounce as vigorously as I do.

This reprinted article is written in such form as to appear to desire to create false impressions. For example, the closest reading is necessary to discover that the resolution referred to is not the action of the New York State Federation of Labor but of a State conference of Bricklayers. Equally close reading shows that the resolution was not that of the N. Y. Federation but was for introduction before that body.

Following the reprint of the resolution is a list of names, so placed as to be clearly for the purpose of creating the false impression that these high notables, including Mayor LaGuardia, denounced the chains.

A lengthy excerpt from the speech of a clergyman is interpolated. This is for the obvious purpose of inducing the reader to believe that the Reverend Father has spoken against the chains. There is not in this speech one single reference to anything remotely relating to the subject.

The resolution of the Boot and Shoe Workers, referred to in the pamphlet, is directed primarily at the Bata Shoe Company because of its practices in relation to the maintenance of factory-to-consumer distribution, accompanied by low wages in the shoe industry.

I need not tell the delegates to this convention that the American Federation has always opposed inequitable taxes. The tax which this resolution seeks to support is but another form of sales tax, although a particularly wicked one. A. F. of L. conventions in 1921, 1922 and 1923 opposed sales taxes vigorously and pledged a fight—which was made—against permitting them to be "foisted on the American people." The text of these resolutions will be found on pages 280 and 281 of Volume 2, "A. F. of L. History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book." In addition, the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service for Feb. 12, 1933, contained the text of an Executive Council declaration asking repeal or

modification of the undivided profits and capital gains tax. Labor opposes unfair and deceitful taxes, always and consistently. The American Federation of Labor is not tricky.

The real question at issue is far too big, far too important to all members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and to all working people in the country, to permit personalities.

There is no sound, competent and technically qualified opinion in support of the aims or the principles of the Patman Bill. I find an amazing unanimity of competent opinion, based on impartial study, strongly opposed to the Patman Bill, and also opposed to the special, punitive State and local taxes that burden and threaten the chain industry.

I will not take time to go into all these now, except for one significant instance. The most recent and perhaps most comprehensive study of the entire system of distribution which moves American goods from producers to consumers has just been completed and published by the Twentieth Century Fund of 330 West 42nd Street, New York City. This is an independent research foundation whose work is carried out with the help and guidance of committees of outstanding leaders in various fields of public interest.

It is an honor to the dignity, intelligence and importance of the labor movement, therefore, that Brother John P. Frey of the Metal Trades Department is one of the national committee of eight men who comprised the Distribution Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund, and supervised this monumental study. Dr. Willard Thorp, well-known economist and adviser to the United States Department of Commerce, was chairman of the committee. Other members are equally distinguished in their fields.

This report urges, "The immediate repeal of all laws which are designed to preserve or to destroy some special group in the distribution structure, without regard for the general public interest," and it cites chain store tax laws as the "outstanding" example of this legislation.

I will quote more about this report from a digest of it distributed by the Twentieth Century Fund, for it bears exactly on the kind of thing we are talking about:

Again I quote: "In the section of the recommendations dealing with legislation, the com-

mittee urges the immediate repeal of all laws designed to preserve or destroy some special group in the Distribution Structure. Chain store tax laws are given as an outstanding example. The committee opposes the use of legislation for such purposes and says that "attempts to freeze the structure already in existence, or to control the process of its development, or to tax certain types of distributors out of existence, or to give special governmental aid to others, are . . . attempts which cannot be justified, as a rule, on economic grounds."

This report is now available in a 400-page volume which may be purchased from the Twentieth Century Fund. It was offered for sale beginning August 15 of this year, and the work had just been completed, so its study has been made during the period when the Patman Act has been in wide discussion. Other members of the committee besides Brother Frey and Dr. Thorp, were Stuart Chase, author and former President of Consumer's Research; Alvin Dodd, President, American Management Association; Carl L. Hamilton of Booz, Fry, Allen and Hamilton; Helen Hall, head of the Henry Street Settlement; Hector Lazo, Executive Vice-President, Cooperative Food Distributors; Paul H. Nyström, President, Limited Price Variety Chain Store Association, and Professor of Marketing, Columbia University, and Robert G. Stewart, formerly director of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

I have endeavored to submit a case based upon reason. I have by no means presented to you all of the available material. I have in my possession enough material, pertinent to the subject before us, to occupy the time of this convention for at least a day. It is a large subject. It involves our entire tax structure and our entire economic structure. I marvel at the temerity of an organization which, in a simple resolution such as we have here, should attempt to deal with a problem so enormous.

It is, I fear, the temerity of the uninformed, not the courage of a crusader.

So, while it has been possible to present only the most abbreviated discussion of the subject, as I see it, I trust you will accept it as an index to the great mass of fact which is available. Let me repeat again, an organization as great and as influential as

the American Federation of Labor has no business to risk its reputation by an action as unwise and as superficial as is contemplated in this resolution.

This great body of labor has a reputation before the public for integrity, for common sense, for protecting the rights and interests of the wage earners. Common sense and sound economics do not dictate that we shall attempt to meet a great economic issue in any such random fashion as is here contemplated.

If by any chance which I have overlooked, there should be a shadow of merit in the resolution, then I am sure the Executive Council will find it and bring it back to us in the report which we expect from that body.

We are here to build, not to destroy—to protect rights, not to demolish them—to guard the interests of our affiliated unions, not to place them in jeopardy—and in this resolution there is a direct threat and thrust at fully twenty unions here represented. If it is not our job to protect the work of our memberships and the outlets for our union-made products, then I wholly misconceive our obligation.

Just a word in closing. The delegates who represented the American Federation of Labor were never used to shape the opinion of the State conventions of State Federations of Labor or of city central bodies. Because of the intensity of interest and the importance of this matter before the Congress of the United States, I was a party to asking the State Federation of Labor of Texas and other State Federations of Labor to make a study of the Patman Bill. I say that so far as the investigation of any wrong on the part of any representative of the American Federation of Labor which I have been associated with, I shall abide by the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I have implicit confidence in every member of the Executive Council, and I know they will treat this matter in the way in which it should be treated, and to the Executive Council belongs this matter so that they can check up and give you any other sources of information.

Delegate O'Connell, San Francisco: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I rise to support the

recommendation of the committee. I feel in doing so I would be recreant in my duty to my constituents, the unions represented in the San Francisco Council, if I did not do so. I want to subscribe to everything President Gorman said with reference to the meat cutters. In no place in the country are better conditions enjoyed than we enjoy on the West Coast from the chain stores. All of them use the union label. Knowing something about the butcher workman, having participated in conferences with them, I say they are the easiest people we have to deal with. That extends from Seattle on the north to San Diego on the south.

Recently we have had trouble with a firm in Chicago. One of the biggest merchants in Chicago immediately stopped taking any product from that firm until they adjusted their differences with the labor movement. As a consequence, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters were successful in getting an agreement with this firm in Chicago.

Inasmuch as the delegates to this convention have survived that long discussion by our good friend Ornburn, I will take my seat and say "Amen" to everything he says in connection with the matter.

Delegate Haggerty, Book Binders: Perhaps this is an innovation or a pleasing revelation to learn the attitude of the chain stores. It is true that the chain stores were antagonistic to Labor at one time. Practically all of them were. But some have changed their attitude, perhaps for industrial reasons and some of them may have taken a broader view of economic conditions in this country.

We of the printing trades are pleased with the attitude of some of the large chain store operators. Bear in mind that some of the largest advertisers in newspapers, magazines, and in fact all forms of printing, are the chain stores. In the last year they spent approximately \$200,000,000 in printing and bookbinding. All that means work for the employees of the printing trades.

Recently I had the pleasure of meeting the presidents of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, the Wrigley Company, the Coca Cola Company, and several other large companies. I am glad that I had that opportunity and see nothing questionable about it. The A. & P. purchases millions of dollars worth

of printing every year. This work was formerly done in non-union shops but now is given to union shops. Sears & Roebuck spend about \$13,000,000 in advertising every year. Of that sum approximately \$9,000,000 is done under union conditions. In the past ten years, this company has spent \$60,000,000 in union construction.

It is a question whether the American public wants the chain store abolished. The public may be satisfied with the methods of distribution they employ. If that is the case, I don't think you will abolish the chain stores, no matter what resolutions you adopt. I think we should accept the recommendation of the committee in order that a proper study may be given to this question.

Delegate Coulter, Retail Clerks' International Protective Association: Mr. President and delegates to this convention—for a number of years we have been negotiating contracts with chain stores, particularly the Safeway, the Variety Stores, and various chain food stores. In 1922 I was first called into conference to work out a proposition whereby we would organize the employees of the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company. We held another conference at a later date, and in 1927 we laid plans whereby we proposed to organize the employees of that chain. We have had no trouble negotiating contracts with the A. & P. in any locality where we had a fair percentage of the people organized; neither have we had any trouble in negotiating contracts with other chains where we had a fair percentage of the people organized, and in some instances we negotiated contracts where a very small majority of the employees were organized.

The Executive Board of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association has gone on record as being opposed to the chain store tax, and when the chain store tax comes up again we will have representatives there to protect our rights, protect the rights of the workers, and protect the rights of the chain store owners.

We are interested in the chain stores because they employ people. Thousands and thousands of people are being given employment by these chains, and we are going to organize them and continue to organize them

and get them conditions. As I have said before, we have had no trouble in negotiating these contracts. I believe it would be useless for me to stand up here and consume any more of your time, because I feel the recommendation of the committee will be concurred in, and that is what we are in favor of.

Delegate Mara, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union: Mr. Chairman, I am only going to take a few minutes. There are 9,000 shoe chain stores in the United States, and I am very sorry to say that to date there has not been any display of love and affection for the shoe workers by these chain stores.

We claim that the chain shoe stores are largely responsible for all of the wage reductions the shoe workers were forced to take during the past few years. They monopolize the shoe industry. They shop around from town to town to see where they can buy them the cheapest. They have to pay the same price for their material as other manufacturers, they have to pay the same royalty to the Shoe Machine Company, so in order to cut prices they go to labor. When attempts are made to organize the factories are taken into the smaller towns and the workers are forced to work for starvation wages.

Perhaps some of you do not know the set-up in the purchase of a large number of pairs of shoes. Take a shoe that retails for \$6.00. The workers get about 15 per cent, or 90 cents of the retail price. The retailer gets 40 per cent, or \$2.40 of the retail price. We try to interest some of these large operators in buying shoes made under union conditions, but they say, "Your union prices are too high."

I heard the name of a large chain mentioned here. I was in St. Louis the other day and one of our men told me that this company would give a large order to a particular factory down South provided the workers would accept 10 per cent off their labor cost. The shoe industry is about 99 per cent piece work, and 10 per cent means a lot of money.

You will see a lot of names around on chain stores, but they are practically all owned by one company. They have fancy

names for them. They have one buyer buy all the shoes, and then chisel around from one place to another, and the final result is that the wages of the workers are reduced.

If the Executive Council will make a complete study of this situation they are going to find that the labor relations between the chain stores and their employees are not what they are cracked up to be, so far as the shoe industry is concerned at least.

I am not going to oppose the recommendation of the committee. I believe it should be referred to the Executive Council and a complete study made so that we can determine whether or not some action should be taken to curb the chain stores.

President Green: Are you ready to vote on the question? The question is to adopt the report of the Committee on Resolutions. All in favor of the adoption of the committee's report please say "Aye."

A negative vote was taken and the Chairman announced that the motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Presentation of Gifts to Fraternal Delegates

President Green: Now we will interrupt the report of the committee for a few minutes in order to perform a pleasant duty. The Committee on Good Will, Brother Adamski and Brother Frank Weikel, performed their pleasant duty. Now I wish to present for you, in your behalf and in your name, these presents to our fraternal delegates. In doing so we are carrying out a very happy custom which we have followed at all conventions of the American Federation of Labor at which fraternal delegates were present.

I am sure I can say for you that we appreciate more than words can express the visit of Brother Elvin, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress this year. He came to America following the declaration of war on the part of Great Britain and France against Germany and Germany's allies. That meant that in all probability the ship on which he must sail would pass through submarine infested zones. Consequently, he was risking his life to come to America, to Cincinnati, for the purpose of bringing the fraternal greetings of the British Trades Union Congress.

I am very much impressed by the significance of this fact. We have enjoyed his visit here immensely. We appreciate very much the fine address which he delivered and the conversations we have been permitted to hold with him and the discussions which have taken place when we have met from time to time. He occupies a very large place in our affections, because he has been pleased that he came here and brought to us the greetings of the membership of the British Trades Union Congress.

Our committee has purchased for him a beautiful watch and chain. The watch is engraved with the following: "Presented to H. H. Elvin by the A. F. of L. Convention, Cincinnati, Ohio."

I am presenting this watch to Brother Elvin in your name and for you, with the request that he carry it with him and that he will appreciate fully that this token carries with it the good will and the friendship and the best wishes of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

We have not forgotten his good wife, who could not come with him—but of course we want him to be greeted with a warm, hearty welcome when he returns home. In order to make that possible our committee has provided this beautiful wrist watch for Mrs. Elvin. I am presenting it to him and commissioning Brother Elvin to deliver it safely to her when he returns to Great Britain.

Then you know Brother Brown was selected as a co-delegate from the British Trades Union Congress and was commissioned to come to America with Brother Elvin. For some reason or other he could not come, but we have not forgotten him, and so I am asking Brother Elvin to carry back with him the remembrance which the convention has provided for his co-delegate—a gold watch similar to that presented to Brother Elvin and a wrist watch for Mrs. Brown.

And now, Brother Elvin, I extend to you the hand of friendship and good will. We hope your stay has been a pleasant one, that you have been benefited by it, and we certainly wish for you a safe return home to your family.

Fraternal Delegate Elvin: President Green—and, in view of this badge, I can now call you fellow delegates—I believe, as a matter of fact, I have full right to take part in your

discussions as a delegate, but you know that I have refrained from doing so for obvious reasons. But on this occasion I am doing so with the greatest of pleasure.

President Green referred to my coming here under present circumstances. Well, there is always one thing that I think is associated with trade union officials and even members of trade union organizations. None of us like strikes. None of us like fights. We do our level best to keep out of them, but if one comes along we are there in the thick of it. Consequently, whilst we do not seek out in any way danger of any kind, if we have to meet it in the course of our duty we take it as part of our day's work. So that there is really nothing at all very great in the fact that I am here.

I need hardly say that I have appreciated very, very much the kindness which has been extended to me on the part of your officials, President Green, whom you have deputed to look after my physical, my moral and my spiritual welfare. They have done their duty exceedingly well. I am still clothed and in my right mind.

There is, however, of course one shadow of regret to which President Green has referred. As I have already mentioned it was the intention of Mrs. Elvin to come along with me. All her parcels were packed ready to come, but war was declared and, mother-like, she felt that her children should come before her husband, and in spite of the fact that we did all that we could to press her, she felt that her first duty was at home. If the men may not be able to understand it, I feel sure the women folk will.

Now I am very glad indeed that the good old trade union tradition has not been forgotten, that when we are away from our homes on our duties we always feel it advisable to take home a peace offering to show that we have not forgotten our self-sacrificing wives whilst we have been away. I am sure Mrs. Elvin will appreciate most fully the kindness you have extended to her in the fine wrist watch you have given her.

In conclusion Mr. President, may I say that you on this side of the Atlantic, we on ours, are brothers and colleagues associated in a great struggle. Our aim is to make those for whom we cater, whom we represent, free from all the chains that bind us. We want

them to know what life is. Our goal has not yet been reached.

To those of us who have long been in the movement we are glad of the progress that has been made. To those who are following we would say that there is no greater movement upon earth in which men and women may be engaged in order to bring about economic and moral and spiritual freedom to our people.

I am sure that when I go back to my country I will be able to say, as has already been expressed by your President, that you and we are determined to stand together until the ideal society has been established upon earth. I thank you very much for the way in which you have received me.

President Green: And now we have a gift for the fraternal delegate from Canada. He represented the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress at this convention in a most fitting and appropriate way. We seem very close to our Canadian brothers. They seem to be our neighbors, living near by. There has developed between us a bond of neighborliness, of friendship, and of good will. I think our great labor movement here in America has made a distinct contribution toward the development of this fine, psychological condition, and we want to retain it, we want to make our contribution toward the maintenance of the fine, peaceful, interesting relationship that prevails between the Dominion of Canada and the United States.

The same relationship, of course, exists between us and our fellow workers in Great Britain, but they are three thousand miles away, and our neighbors who live in Canada are quite near us.

I present to you, Brother Kennedy, this watch. It is just like the one we presented to Fraternal Delegate Elvin and Fraternal Delegate Brown. It bears a suitable inscription, and there is a knife and chain attached to it. It is our gift to Delegate Kennedy, and in presenting it I might make this observation, that some good woman in Canada has missed out on a very fine present. I present this watch to you with the good will and friendship of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention.

Fraternal Delegate Kennedy: Mr. President, officers and delegates of this convention—I

know that it is beyond my power in even a small way to express in a manner that should be expressed my deep appreciation for this lovely gift that has been tendered to me. I want to say in no unstinted manner that I also appreciate the fine reception that has been tendered to me since I have been at this convention. I have been received practically with open arms by everyone. I really appreciate that.

As I said a moment ago, it is very hard for me, at least on this occasion, to express fully just how deep my feelings are toward the officers and assembled delegates of this convention for the very pleasurable time I have experienced since I have been here. It is something that I shall remember the remainder of my life. It is something that will be transmitted back to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada with pleasure.

I do not know, Mr. President and delegates, that I could more fully let you know in any manner just what my heartfelt appreciation is. It seems to me that on this occasion I might recite to you two or three short verses that I learned when I was a boy in school. I have thought of those verses scores and scores of times while out actively engaged in the organizing field. In fact, I think there is some connection between the words of those verses and the organized labor movement. I have really forgotten just who the author of those verses is, but the title is, "Fidelity and Perseverance":

"I live for those who love me, and
For those who know me true,
For the heaven that smiles above me
And waits my spirit, too.
For the cause that needs assistance,
For the wrong that needs resistance,
For the future in the distance,
For the good that I can do.
"Never give up, 'tis the secret of glory,
Nothing so wise can philosophy preach.
Look at the lives that are famous in story,
Never give up is the lesson they teach.
"And how men accomplish immortal achievements,
And how they have molded the world to their will,
'Tis that midst dangers and sorest bereavement,
Never give up is their principle still."

I therefore thank you from the bottom of my heart for the very kind reception that I have experienced at the hands of the convention.

President Green: I wish to thank the committee for the fine service they rendered and

for the contribution they made in making this delightful experience this afternoon possible.

Delegate Adamski: Mr. President, members of the Council, and delegates to this convention: Your committee wants to thank you, members of the Council, and all delegates for the generous contributions and for the kind words. All credit is due to the young man, Frank Weikel. This completes the work of your committee.

President Green: We will resume the regular order of business, and the Chair will recognize Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Secretary Frey, on behalf of the committee, submitted the following report:

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

(Executive Council's Report, Page 147)

Your committee again emphasizes the fact that the American Federation of Labor was the original sponsor of the National Labor Relations Act. The basic principles of the National Labor Relations Act, guaranteeing to workers the rights of self-organization, self-determination, freedom of choice in designating representatives and imposing on employers the duty to bargain collectively with representatives of workers, are sound. The American Federation of Labor will support these principles with all the vigor at its command. It will defend these basic principles of the Act from attack by any forces antagonistic to them.

Because of a perverted construction of provisions in the Act and an improper administration of it by the Board, the fundamental rights referred to have been weakened and in some respects destroyed. Because of bias on the part of certain members of the Board and its personnel, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates have been made the victims of maladministration. Recognizing this, the Houston Convention by unanimous action directed submission to Congress of amendments to the Act. These

were carefully prepared and submitted soon after Congress went into session in 1939. Extended hearings were held before the Labor Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, but because of the delay in starting the hearings, no action was taken on these amendments at the last session of Congress.

The overwhelming volume of proof and evidence submitted at these hearings sustained the position of the American Federation of Labor in sponsoring its amendments. The examination of many of the Board's decisions proved conclusively that the structure of the International Unions comprising the American Federation of Labor, and that of the American Federation of Labor itself, was at stake.

It is impossible to review all the National Labor Relations Board cases which the American Federation of Labor presented to justify the amendments, for they run into the hundreds. The evidence presented proved, among other things, that in numerous instances the National Labor Relations Board had postponed elections requested by American Federation of Labor organizations, these postponements giving the C. I. O. an additional opportunity to break down American Federation of Labor membership.

It was proved that the National Labor Relations Board had declared bona fide trade union agreements entered into with employers null and void, and that Federal Courts, including the Supreme Court of the United States, had held that the Board was in error and unjustified in its efforts to vacate these agreements.

It was proved that in instances when the American Federation of Labor desired to have subpoenas issued to secure the presence of witnesses, the National Labor Relations Board had unreasonably delayed issuing them.

It was proved that in numerous cases the Board had so prepared the ballots for election to determine the unit for representation, that American Federation of Labor unions were barred.

It was proved that in instances the National Labor Relations Board had refused to permit American Federation of Labor unions to be parties to cases coming before it.

It was proved that a number of examin-

ers had shown themselves biased and wholly incompetent and unfit to serve in that capacity.

It was shown that in many cases American Federation of Labor unions had been dealt with unjustly and in a prejudiced manner, the proof being the decisions which had been handed down by United States Circuit Courts of Appeals, and the United States Supreme Court itself.

Even the Board itself has since amended its rules in such a way as to meet some of the demands of the American Federation of Labor. The Board also rendered several precedent-making decisions which have had the effect of adopting amendments sponsored by the American Federation of Labor. Likewise several court decisions rendered in the past few months pronounced principles consistent with the amendments of the American Federation of Labor. Thus, great benefits resulted from the presentation of these amendments and the hearings held respecting them.

The necessity for the amendments, however, is not lessened, because this Board or some future Board may revise the rules now in force. This Board, or some future Board, may render decisions in other cases, reversing the present favorable decisions. Courts, too, may recede from their present position. Further, the amendments are vitally necessary in order to overcome several recent decisions of the Board which seriously jeopardize the interests of the American Federation of Labor; they are also necessary for the improvement in administration of the Act, and for the purpose of removing the existing bias of some of the members of the Board, and of its personnel, against the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

The decision in the American Can Company case, rendered July 29, 1939, as pointed out by the dissenting members of the Board.

"... once the industrial union has obtained an exclusive contract on a plant-wide basis, either by organizing before the advent of the craft union or by capturing the craft union's majority in a later election, thereafter the craft employees are irrevocably part of the industrial unit. The effect is, therefore, to crystallize the industrial form of organization and prevent the craft employees from ever thereafter changing their minds."

Indicates the imperative necessity for the

revision of the unit rule in the present Act and for the adoption of the amendment of the American Federation of Labor respecting the unit rule, which amendment is identical with the New York Act and is based on the principles of the Railway Labor Act.

In a recent decision—(the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company case,) the Board held that the workers in a separate plant of the company, who were overwhelmingly opposed to being represented by the C. I. O., were to be bargained for by the C. I. O. regardless of an existing contract to the contrary. A member of the Board, in a vigorous dissenting opinion, accuses his colleagues of flaunting the plain provisions of the Act in order to fix a unit to "suit their own fancy."

It is apparent from these and other decisions of the Board that the members are suspicious of one another's motives, and the accusations contained in these decisions emphasize the absolute necessity for the adoption of the American Federation of Labor Amendments so as to stop this illegal abuse of power by the Board and to eliminate decisions setting up units to "suit the fancy of its members" instead of complying with law.

Other problems of great consequence still remain which can only be resolved by amending the Act. The right of appeal has been denied in cases such as the West Coast Longshoremen's case, the Progressive Mine Workers' cases, whose petitions for certification have been dismissed without a hearing and without any reason being assigned for the dismissals. The problem of extraordinary and outrageous delay in adjudicating cases must be eliminated. The rule-making power of the Board by which it assumes the power to legislate and through which it has legislated against the interests of the American Federation of Labor must be curbed. This rule-making power as exercised by the Board, that is, the promulgation of rules without according interested parties the right of a hearing, endangers the constitutional form of government of our democracy.

Our movement could not remain silent when it became evident that it would not have an equal standing with any other labor organization before the law.

We were actuated by a deep-seated conviction that we were defending the structure

and the principles of the American Federation of Labor from one of the most insidious and dangerous attacks it had ever encountered.

Nothing could have been more dangerous to the American Federation of Labor than to permit decisions to go unchallenged which, in substance, declared that the American Federation of Labor did not stand equal before the law with any other labor organization, or that the National Labor Relations Act authorized the Board to reshape the form and structure of the American trade union movement.

The dilatory tactics in the commencement of hearings before Congress eventuated in the adoption of a resolution to investigate the National Labor Relations Board by a committee of the House. The resolution was adopted by an overwhelming vote. If the result of this investigation should materially impair the Act, the responsibility must rest upon the shoulders of the National Labor Relations Board and its adamant refusal to yield to reasonable amendments before the resolution was proposed, and must be charged to opposition groups who, by vicious propaganda and other reprehensible means, endeavored to prevent the adoption of constructive amendments to the Act.

When testifying before the committee of the House, President Green admonished the committee that if action were not taken by Congress before 1940, it was more than likely that the whole subject would be made a political issue in the 1940 campaign. Only through the adoption of reasonable amendments by the coming session of Congress can this be averted.

Your committee therefore recommends that the position of the American Federation of Labor remain unchanged and in all respects be affirmed; that the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to continue its efforts to amend the National Labor Relations Act in accordance with the amendments sponsored by the American Federation of Labor which are now pending before Congress.

Your committee further recommends that emphasis be placed on that amendment which provides for the creation of a new Board with a membership of five, and which provides, further for a complete overhauling

of the present personnel employed by the Board.

With these recommendations your committee moves the adoption of the Executive Council's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Burke, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers: Mr. Chairman, it is now quite apparent that the unanimous vote of the delegates to the Houston Convention in favor of amending the National Labor Relations Act did not represent the unanimous sentiment of the membership of the American Federation of Labor. I feel quite sure that there was at least a small minority of delegates to the Houston Convention who had serious doubts in their minds as to the advisability of amending this law. That minority, unfortunately, remained silent and permitted the convention to go on record as being unanimously in favor of amending the National Labor Relations Act.

Now, at this convention I think it is very, very important that those delegates who are opposed to amending the National Labor Relations Act should say so and should register their votes accordingly. The five delegates representing the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers' International Union are under specific instructions from our last convention to oppose any and all amendments to the National Labor Relations Act. Our members are opposed to amending this law because they know that this law was enacted to protect the workers in exercising the right to organize. They know, furthermore, that it has given them this protection. Because of this law the working men and women of this country now dare to assert themselves. They can now organize without fear of reprisals put upon them by the employers. They now have the right to be represented at the council table with employers by representatives of their own choosing.

In my opinion this great law must be placed alongside the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States as a guarantor and protector of the rights and liberties of the working people of this country.

One of the greatest contributions the American Federation of Labor ever made to the welfare of the working people of America was the part it played in getting this law

enacted. Why should we try to amend this law that has proven so beneficial to the working people of this country? Why should the American Federation of Labor try to undo the least little part of the magnificent work it did in getting this law enacted?

We all know that there are anti-labor elements in this country that want this law amended. There are anti-labor elements in this country that would like to see this law abolished. We know that the anti-union employers of this country were hoping and praying that the Supreme Court of the United States would declare this law unconstitutional. We know that many employers made no pretense of living up to this law until it was finally declared constitutional by the Supreme Court.

We also know, or at least I and my colleagues at this table know, that every time serious efforts have been made to amend the law, either by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor carrying out the mandates of the Houston Convention or by reactionary Senators like Senator Burke of Nebraska and Senator Bridges of New Hampshire, the employers have stiffened the opposition to our unions and in various ways, by various devices, they have stalled for time in the hope that Congress would so amend the law that they would not have to carry out their obligations under the law as it now reads.

I want to say to the delegates to this convention that I sincerely believe that to amend this law is dangerous for the future welfare of the working people of this country. Yes, let Congress pass our amendments. Let Congress get into the habit of amending this law. Congress passes our amendments today, this year. Tomorrow or next year it will be passing the amendments of the enemies of the trade union movement.

In the report of the Executive Council to the Houston Convention several pages are devoted to criticism of the National Labor Relations Act. Case after case is cited where the National Labor Relations Board has been unfair to the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Then the Executive Council, to remedy the maladministration of the law, proposes that the law be amended. Now it would seem to me that if there has been maladministration of the law—and I

think there has, I think it has been proven definitely and conclusively that the Board has not been fair in all instances—but if the Board has been unfair, then it would seem to me the remedy lies in changing the Board rather than changing the law.

The American Federation of Labor has already brought about an important change in the personnel of the Labor Relations Board. Donald Wakefield Smith has been retired. Dr. Leiserson has been appointed to the Board. The Executive Council in its report this year tells us that there has been an improvement in the administration of the law, there has been such an improvement that a howl of pain has gone up from John L. Lewis out in San Francisco, according to the papers today, and John L. now attacks the administration of the National Labor Relations Act. He claims that the Board is unfair to the C. I. O.

Well, I can imagine how the Board feels. I can imagine how some Congressmen and Senators feel. I can imagine what Senator Wagner is thinking about: This law apparently does not please anybody in labor's ranks at the present time. The A. F. of L. is dissatisfied with its administration, the C. I. O. is dissatisfied with its administration.

I hold no brief for the National Labor Relations Board. I am not acquainted with any of these gentlemen. I can say, however, that so far as the organization I represent is concerned, in the few cases we have had before the Board we have received fair treatment. I do not complain of the treatment we received, but I think this should be said in all fairness to the personnel of the National Labor Relations Board. Here is a great law that was passed to benefit American labor, to guarantee labor the right to organize and to bargain collectively. But what has labor done? Labor has split into two warring camps, which has made it difficult for the Board to administer the law, and you delegates know it. The Board is not responsible for the fact that we have the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.

We were all impressed with the speech made by President Ozanic the other day, and I think his organization has been treated shabbily by the National Labor Relations Board. I think it is disgraceful that he did not receive replies to his telegrams. On the other hand, let us not forget this: there

ought not be two contending factions in the coal mining industry of this country. We have had a lot of plain talk in this convention. Delegate Tobin started it the other day when we were debating the question of seating the delegates of the International Typographical Union. He did not pull any punches. Then Delegate Weaver followed it up yesterday. This plain speaking is contagious, and I have the disease, so I am going to talk plain.

I have been a delegate to many conventions of the American Federation of Labor. I seldom take the floor. I presume my name appears in the records of this convention fewer times than any delegate who has been here as many times as I have been here, but I am going to talk now and I am going to talk plainly.

A few years ago the Progressive Miners of America was considered a dual organization. It was in the "doghouse" as far as the American Federation of Labor was concerned. When members of that organization went on strike, members of the A. F. of L. unions were sternly forbidden to contribute one penny to feed their hungry wives and babies, because they were told it was a dual organization and they must not support a dual organization.

Well, in the shifting allegiances of the American labor movement, in the whirligig of whatever you call it that has been going on in this movement for years, the Progressive Miners have become "kosher" as far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned, and the United Mine Workers of America is a dual organization, it is in the "doghouse," where the Progressive Miners used to be, and these two organizations are fighting it out on the economic field for supremacy. The United Mine Workers of America want the National Labor Relations Board to favor them, and the Progressive Miners want the favor of the National Labor Relations Board, and then we criticize and blame the National Labor Relations Board.

How about labor indulging in a little self-criticism! And when I say that I include all of us, both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., and I am putting myself right in, too. How about a little self-criticism? Let us not place all the blame upon the National Labor Relations Board. Let us take a little of the blame ourselves and indulge in a little self-criticism.

The split in the ranks of labor has made it most difficult for the National Labor Relations Board to administer this Act in a fair manner, and you know it

I also want to call the attention of the delegates to this convention to the fact that the great Senator who sponsored this legislation is not in favor of amending this law. Senator Wagner is not an enemy of organized labor, is he? He is not in favor of amending this law. I know that at one time if a delegate in this convention spoke as I am speaking at the present time they would say he was tinged with C. I. O'ism. You can't say that now, because John L. himself is criticizing the National Labor Relations Board. I read the paper today, and what does John L. say? He says, "Possibly the benefits of the National Labor Relations Act may be outweighed by the harm that it has done in administering the law." Well, suppose they repeal the law, then John L. would find out pretty soon whether the harm done in administering the law outweighs the benefits of the law.

Repeal this law, destroy the effectiveness of the law, and see what an offensive will be started against our unions, by the anti-union employers of this country. How John L.'s membership will disappear, once that law is removed from the statute books of this country.

The National Labor Relations Act has proven itself a blessing that God sent to the working people of this country. If it has not been properly administered, let us continue the fight upon the administration of the Act. But as for the Act itself, let's keep it and keep it in its entirety.

President Green: I think perhaps our good friend, Delegate Burke, is laboring under a wrong impression. First of all, there is no delegate in this convention who entertains the slightest idea that the National Labor Relations Act should be impaired in any respect whatsoever. This great movement was the sponsor of this Act. It is our Act. We considered the fundamentals embodied in this Act very carefully before we approved the various sections of the Act, and today we stand as the defenders of the fundamentals of this Act.

We told the Senate and the Congress of the United States we were unalterably opposed to the amendments offered by Senator

Burke and others, and we would stand unflinchingly and immovably in our opposition to any such proposals. Our complaint, therefore, is not against the Act, but against the administration of the Act. Our unions are being destroyed. The appeals of workers who belong to our unions have been denied. Can we, as the representatives of these workers, refuse to respond to their appeals to help them?

Furthermore, the American Federation of Labor has not supplied the criticism to the administration of the Act. The Board itself has supplied that criticism in a most convincing way. Here is a newspaper article today headed, "NLRB Split on Guild Vote."

The Guild is a C. I. O. organization. I quote:

"Dr. William H. Leiserson, President Roosevelt's 'trouble shooter' on the National Labor Relations Board, today accused the two other members of the Board of exceeding the authority vested in them by Congress in handing down an 'arbitrary' decision favoring the C. I. O." Is that plain?

"Not only did Dr. Leiserson term the decision 'arbitrary,' but he also called it a 'mere device' to help the C. I. O.'s American Newspaper Guild dominate a group of workers where the guild admitted it did not have a majority.

"The decision, which may have far-reaching reverberations since the Board now is being investigated by a Congressional Committee, was handed down in the case of a Boston newspaper, the Boston Globe Newspaper Company.

"Board Chairman J. Warren Madden and Member Edwin S. Smith in their decision ordered an election within thirty days among editorial, commercial, building maintenance and certain composing room employees of the newspaper to determine whether they want to be represented by the guild.

"They held that all the workers in the plant with the exception of those already belonging to craft unions such as the printers' union, should be grouped in one bargaining unit. The guild, at a hearing, admitted that it lacked a majority in the commercial department, but asked that it be included in the unit because majorities in other departments, it was said, would offset whatever strength the commercial department might have against the guild.

"Madden and Smith said they had made thirty-five such decisions in the past. They held:

"The admitted lack of a majority in the commercial department only, does not preclude our finding the proposed bargaining unit to be appropriate."

"Dissenting, Dr. Leiserson pointed out that in one case the Board ordered a separate elec-

tion among commercial employees. He held that such an election should also be held in the Boston case, adding:

"The only difference between the two cases is that in the earlier one another labor organization contended for the right to represent commercial employees. However, if the Board has the authority to merge the commercial employees with the others, as in the present case, it has the same authority whether another organization is contending for the right to represent commercial employees or not."

"I do not think the board is vested with authority to order such a merging in either case."

That is the declaration of Dr. Leiserson. It would be but a small extension of such a decision to the mechanical departments and the printing trades departments in these newspapers.

Surely no one listened to the address of Joseph Ozanic the other day without being deeply touched. Eighty-five thousand miners signed petitions asking that they exercise the right to belong to a union of their own choosing and to be represented by the advocates they selected to represent them in collective bargaining. Have we always recognized that principle?

That is democracy—the right of the workers to select their own union. And yet these 85,000 miners were denied that right. How? By a skillful device, one we never dreamed of when the bill was drafted. That device is this, that there is incorporated in the Act a section which provides that the Board may determine the appropriate bargaining unit for collective bargaining. We never thought that that meant anything but that the collective bargaining unit would be the employees of an employer. Here is John Jones operating a manufacturing plant. He employs five hundred workers. Those five hundred workers want to become unionized. They select their own union, they join it, and then they petition the Board to be accorded the right of collective bargaining and the right of their union to be recognized. Isn't that collective bargaining? Isn't that democracy?

Did we ever dream we were taking away from the group of workers the right to select their own bargaining unit? And yet the Board substitutes geographical limitations as a bargaining unit rather than the employer and the employee, the plant where the bargaining unit should be established.

And so they say that notwithstanding the fact that the employees of the Island Creek Coal Company work for the Island Creek Coal Company alone and thousands of them unanimously sign a petition saying to the Labor Board that, "We, the employees of the Island Creek Coal Company, desire to belong to the Progressive Miners of America and be represented by the Progressive Mine Workers of America in collective bargaining," they are denied that right.

Merge all the miners in the State of Kansas into one appropriate collective bargaining unit? Merge the American Longshoremen on the Pacific Coast, where they have been engaged in collective bargaining with their employers for 25 or 30 years, into the Bridges' collective bargaining unit and compel these Federation of Labor representatives to be represented by Bridges in collective bargaining? Who ever dreamed that the law meant that?

My dear friend here who spoke would cry to the high heavens if this Board would force his Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers' Local Unions into a collective bargaining unit that would be represented by Harry Bridges instead of by him. And yet that is what we have to contend with.

Then the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers spent thousands and thousands of dollars from their treasury in order to protect a contract they have already negotiated. That contract was carried from the Labor Board to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the contract was saved because the Supreme Court said to the Labor Board, "You can't do that thing in America."

We don't want to have to go to the Court to save our contract and to protect us in the exercise of our right to bargain. We want to be able to do that in accordance with law and in accordance with the fair administration of the Act. We are not seeking an opportunity to spend the taxes paid by the members of our unions into their treasuries. We would have 85,000 more members in our Miners' Union here if this Board had carried out the spirit and the letter of the law and had granted them the right to belong to a union of their own choosing, and had accorded them the right of bargaining collectively through the union of their own choosing.

This law to me is sacred. It is, as I said in the beginning, our Magna Charta. The enactment of the law marks a new movement in organized labor in America, a new spirit, a new outlook, a consciousness of freedom and liberty on the part of the workers.

But when a law, good as it is, splendid as it is, wonderful as it is, is administered by an incompetent Board, possessing peculiar philosophical ideas, in favor of one and against the other, then we can't surrender to them, we must fight to save our unions and to save our people.

We pointed out to the appointing power that the Board was biased, prejudiced, thoroughly disqualified, unfit to administer the Act, and asked that the one man whose term of office expired be denied the right to serve longer. He was reappointed, but the Senate of the United States refused to confirm his appointment, and consequently his name was withdrawn and he is out. He is out because we opposed him, and we will do the same when the term of Edwin Smith expires. We are going to prevent him from being reappointed.

I can well understand how the officers and delegates in the convention of the Pulp and Sulphite Workers would take the position they did, after listening to the address of President Burke. They ought to have been told the truth. It was not a question of their having been saved from attack, it was a question of other unions having been exposed, contracts set aside, men denied the right to belong to unions of their own choosing, court denouncing the Board, and public opinion turning against it.

So far as I am concerned, I would rather lose an amendment than impair the act, and in presenting the amendments that is the position that the representatives of the American Federation of Labor will assume. We will fight to the bitter end to preserve the Act and keep it intact, preserve its fundamentals, but in doing that we also want to save our unions from annihilation by a prejudiced Board.

The report of the committee asks us to do that and nothing more, and it seems to me it fully meets the requirements of the situation.

Delegate Lynch, Pattermakers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to do something that is far from

pleasurable for the President of the Pattermakers' League. I rise to disagree with some of the remarks that have been made in connection with amendments to this Act. Let me say at the inception that we are all in common agreement as to what we wish to accomplish. There is no disagreement in the minds of any of the delegates to this convention that the decisions of the National Labor Relations Board have been highly prejudicial to the best interests of the International Unions in affiliation with this American Federation of Labor.

I personally am willing to go even further with the indictment of this Board than has been indulged in by the President of this Federation or the members of the Resolutions Committee. I have traveled this country much. I have been in many of the regional offices of this country, and I make the statement that in my experience much of the activity of these regional boards has been inspired, if not by direct members of the Communist Party, then at least by "fellow travelers" and those who are in sympathy with the ideologies of the Communist Party of this country.

There is no disagreement with regard to the indictment against the Board, but there is considerable disagreement as to the approach in order to correct the indictments, or any number of indictments, we bring against the Board.

In my judgment—and I analyzed the amendments proposed—some of them will not accomplish the objectives that some people have in mind. Now, it is just fallacious to say that after we have amended this Act all of the good things we desire as a result of the amendments will automatically come into being. That is just sheer nonsense. If I were sure that the amendments proposed would accomplish these great and desirable objectives I would be in agreement that the Act should be amended. At this time I am not going into any lengthy discussion with respect to the amendments that have been proposed. Some of them, in my judgment, will not accomplish the things that the committee especially appointed by the convention will have in mind. It would require hours, and I might say that I have devoted hours in the discussion of the merits of these amendments. It could not be done in any reasonable period of time.

But let me make this as a general statement with respect to all legislation. It is one thing to place laws and statutes into the federal scheme of legislation, but after these things are done, then comes the administration of these statutory provisions. Let your mind go back just a few years to the time when we had that so-called able leadership—and I believe it was able leadership, on the part of the past President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers. I for one want to say that I do not consider the leadership of that day any more capable than the leadership at the head of the American Federation of Labor today. But I recall that we referred to the Clayton Amendment to the Sherman Act as being Labor's Magna Charta. We were all convinced about that, but if my memory serves me right, that Magna Charta, after it was enacted, was used almost 100 per cent in the persecution and prosecution of the trade union movement, and not against the trusts which that law intends to deal with.

So we have had labor's Magna Charta before, and the lesson I get from this, President Green, is that no matter what sort of legislation you may place upon the statute books of this country, then comes the administration of those acts. You may enact the most vicious legislation of which the human mind can conceive, but place that legislation in the hands of men of kindly intentions, of humanitarian viewpoints, and that legislation will not hurt the people much. You can enact humanitarian legislation with the highest ideals and give that legislation into the hands of men who want to practice injustice against the people, and you will find injustice coming from that legislation.

So far as the Pattern Makers are concerned, I think they take a realistic viewpoint on this matter. We view this law as giving us opportunity, at least once in not more than five years, to pass judgment upon the administration of this Act, when the names of the members must be submitted to the Congress for approval of their reappointment. Nor, from the viewpoint of the Pattern Makers, have we amended at least one-third of this Act when we relieved ourselves of Donald Wakefield Smith. It was my judgment at that time, and still is, that we went out gunning for a lion and came back with only a lamb. The sinister influ-

ence on that Board is Edwin Smith, and that is the gentleman we want to get next, and in my judgment we will then have amended the Act by at least 75 per cent of its sinister influence upon the members of the American Federation of Labor.

In connection with this, Mr. Chairman, you have made the statement that the American Federation of Labor will oppose with all of its power any amendments to the Act that may be suggested or may be debated in the House and in the Senate. But do not be deceived into believing that our opposition is always 100 per cent effective. There is a possibility, especially with the trend today, that our opposition might be just about as effective in the present Congress as it has been in the several States where anti-labor legislation has already been successfully placed upon the statute books of these States.

I want to make reference to just one part of the proposed amendments to this Act. I do so because the Honorable Senator from this State the other day dealt with that part of the testimony of the Chairman, J. Warren Madden, in dealing with the power of employers to intimidate and coerce. I am now, without benefit of the record, but not without the benefit of a pretty good memory, and my memory recalls that testimony in effect being as follows:

Chairman Madden was asked if he thought that an expression of opinion on the part of an employer could constitute intimidation and coercion, and Chairman Madden replied in the affirmative. Then in true political style the Senator from Ohio said, "Well, I have more confidence"—and he said it in this convention, in effect—"well, I have more confidence in the integrity and the independence of the working people of America than to suppose that the expression of a mere opinion on the part of an employer could constitute intimidation and coercion to an independent, free, American citizen," or words to that effect, and Chairman Madden said that his opinion with regard to intimidation and coercion was not his own opinion, but that a recent Supreme Court Justice once said that even the winking of an eye or the nodding of the head could easily constitute intimidation on the part of the employer.

While Chairman Madden did not mention the name of the Supreme Court Justice, I want to tell you here that Justice was Wil-

liam Howard Taft, the father of the present Senator from the State of Ohio, and I have more confidence in the opinion of the dad of that family than I do in the opinion of the son expressed in this convention.

So I say, let's be practical. Plain talk, we have been told, is the rule of this convention. We have been told that men should be given their democratic choice with respect to unions. I would not go too far out on a limb with that statement. Let us see how much choice even the members of this Federation may have. We have certain rules, proper rules of discipline, proper rules with respect to jurisdiction, and we enforce them here. So don't let us say too loud that it should be the right of every individual worker to democratically select the union he might wish to belong to. We say that with certain very important reservations, and it is proper that we should do so.

So, in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me say that the position of the Pattern Makers' League is that it is imminently dangerous at the present time to open up this National Labor Relations Act for the purpose of having amendments given to the Congress, not only by the American Federation of Labor but by Senator Burke and others, and their proposals must be given equal consideration with all other proposals coming before the House and the Senate. Let us be patient. That is my admonition to this convention. We have got one of them. It won't be long now before another one comes up, and that, in my judgment, is the safest and best way to take care of the National Labor Relations Act. We constantly laud the purposes of the Act, and we constantly say we are in favor of the Act, and we constantly say we are opposed to the administration of the Act. Then let us go to the source of our complaint and get rid of a highly prejudicial board that has been biased toward the C. I. O. for these past too many years.

President Green: The Secretary of the Committee wishes to make a statement.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, I followed the presentation of views just expressed with close interest, and I am now left in doubt as to whether the recommendation is that this convention take action withdrawing amendments which it has presented to Congress, or whether it is the purpose

that the committee's report should be non-concurred in.

Briefly and in support of the committee's report, I am unable to accept the statement that the absence of Donald Wakefield Smith from membership on the Board and the probable absence of Edwin Smith when his term expires will remove two-thirds of the members of the Board and heal the wounds we have received. I am compelled to keep in touch with what goes on within the Board and its representatives, even to checking up the members of the Communist Party who have been appointed and who have worked as representatives of this Board for a long time.

Percentages are always unwise to deal with, perhaps, but it is my conviction that there can be no fair administration of this Act unless 90 per cent of all of the employees of that Board are removed from the Federal payroll.

Now, let us look at it just a moment. There is criticism over the amendments that were presented by the American Federation of Labor. At the convention last year your Committee on Resolutions, in addition to its recommendation that amendments to the Act were essential, named nine points on which amendments should be made. The President of the American Federation of Labor, the Presidents of the Departments of the American Federation of Labor and others, endeavored to carry out the specific instructions of the last convention. They rejected draft after draft until they finally believed that they had carried out as well as human beings could the instructions—and they were unanimous—of the last convention.

Then, understanding that human judgment is always fallible, these amendments were then placed before the Executive Council at their meeting last January, and two days were given by the Council to the consideration of the amendments. They made certain minor changes in those which the original committee had framed. The preparation of these amendments was as thorough a matter as any proposition which has ever been framed by any one representing the American Federation of Labor.

Inasmuch as the discussion has come up on amendments and something has been said about plain talking, let us look at the record.

because that is what should govern us. The original proposal to amend the Wagner Act came from the convention of the Metal Trades Department in 1937. That proposed amendment was advocated by the unanimous vote of the delegates to the Metal Trades Department convention. It called for one amendment to replace the amendment in the Wagner Act by which the unit for representation was to be determined by the judgment of the Board, to replace that by the provision in the Railway Labor Act enacted in 1926, approved by the Supreme Court of the United States, which compelled a labor board, the Railway Labor Board, to give every craft and every class the right to vote by themselves as to who would be the organization to represent them.

The delegate of the Metal Trades Department brought that in the form of a resolution into the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1937, and the convention, by unanimous vote, instructed the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to have such an amendment introduced. That amendment was introduced in the House and in the Senate, and as the representative of the Metal Trades Department I endeavored to have hearings on the amendment. We were denied hearings before the Committee on Labor of the House. We were denied hearings by the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate, on the ground that the Board was opposed to any amendment of the Act, and to clinch their position they quoted the statement of the distinguished Secretary of Labor of the United States, in which she publicly declared her opposition to our amendment. Had that amendment been enacted, it is my opinion that the rapid train of prejudicial decisions against us which followed in 1938 would never have taken place. Many of the amendments which are now necessary, in my personal opinion, would have been unnecessary had we been given a hearing by Congress.

But the Board, believing that we could secure no hearing, went ahead and became a law unto itself, and because the Board became a law unto itself and transformed the Act which we had supported, the right of labor to freely choose who would represent it, for that reason amendments are now so necessary. It is not enough to cleanse the Augean stables created by most of those who represent the Board throughout the country—their counsel, some of their regional directors, the rank and file of their office employees. We can take our choice. The committee has brought in a report. The committee recommends to you in convention that you approve of the amendments, that your Executive Council should be instructed to continue to press for their adoption by Congress.

If you refuse to accept the committee's report, then you are making clear what was not so evident to me in the remarks of the last speaker, that you desire to have the American Federation of Labor withdraw the amendments which it has submitted to Congress and no longer defend them. Your choice must be between the two. Reject the committee's report and you withdraw the amendments which are now before Congress. Approve of the committee's report and you then put some heart and substance and power behind the American Federation of Labor in securing amendments which are all-essential if you desire the right to retain the form of organization that you have built up in the American Federation of Labor.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Vice-President Woll announced a meeting of the Committee on Resolutions immediately upon adjournment, and Delegate Ornburn announced a meeting of the Committee on Legislation at 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning.

At 6:00 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, Wednesday morning, October 11.

RESOLUTIONS

The constitution provides that resolutions received after the expiration of time limits shall be referred to the Executive Council and (Article III, Section 6) "the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention."

The following resolutions were received after the expiration of the time limit and accepted by the convention:

Calling For Dismissal of Communists From Administrative Posts in National and State Governments and to Instruct Affiliated National and International Unions to Deny Membership to Communists

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, It is the openly avowed and clearly stated purpose of the Communist Party to obtain control of labor unions in order, first, to use them as recruiting grounds for more members and followers; secondly, to use them in order to spread inflammatory propaganda and so influence the great mass of the workers; and thirdly, to use them to create strikes and make impractical demands in order to disrupt industry and then to seize it for the social revolution; and

WHEREAS, Communism, in theory and practice, is violently opposed to democracy in all its forms, is militantly atheistic in principle, and is in every way opposed to American institutions and the American way of life; and

WHEREAS, Communist agitators, working under definite instructions from the organized Communist Party, are constantly endeavoring to "bore from within" in every union, to the end that they may obtain positions of influence and control and so lead the workers along the road to Communism; and

WHEREAS, In every instance where Communist-led groups have obtained any measure of such control in labor unions they have led the workers into strikes and industrial conflict, not for the legitimate purpose of bettering conditions, improving wages or hours, or defending the workers from attack, but for the radical purpose of developing class conflict, and for the purpose of creating situations which they could use for the spread of Communist propaganda; and

WHEREAS, These Communist leaders in their efforts to promote class warfare, and ignoring the legitimate purpose of labor unions and the legitimate interests of the workers, have disrupted unions, divided the workers into warring camps, crippled industrial production, and caused loss of jobs and wages to the mass of the workers; and

WHEREAS, There is a rapidly accumulating mass of evidence showing that avowed Communists, actual members of the Communist Party, and active Communist sympathizers, have worked their way into important administrative posts in National and State Government, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in general convention assembled, that we call for the immediate dismissal of such Communists and Communist sympathizers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct the various affiliated national and international unions to refrain from taking into membership any known member of the Communist Party, or active sympathizer.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Recommend approval.

Calling Upon National and State Governments to Appoint Persons of Practical Experience and Personal Knowledge of Labor Problems on Administrative Boards and Commissions Created Under Labor Laws

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The National Government and the various State governments have placed upon the statute books many laws designed to protect labor, and, under these laws, have created various boards, bureaus and commissions; and

WHEREAS, These laws, with the various boards, bureaus and commissions created by their provisions, have been called into existence through the persistent activity of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions as part of their work to protect labor and to advance the proper interests of labor; and

WHEREAS, The National Government and the various State governments, in staffing these various boards, bureaus and commissions, have shown an increasing tendency during recent years to appoint bookish theorists and intellectuals who have no direct personal knowledge of industrial conditions, and no direct personal, practical experience in dealing with the problems of labor and the im-

mediate aims and needs of the industrial workers; and

WHEREAS, There is a vital necessity for practical-minded men and women in these positions, men and women with direct experience and knowledge of the industrial worker and his problems, if the laws are to be administered in the spirit intended by their sponsors; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in general convention assembled, that we call upon the National Government and the various State governments, to pay close and serious attention to appointees, and they adopt the strict principle of making appointments on the basis of practical knowledge and experience, to the end that the various labor laws may be administered in the spirit of practical helpfulness to labor intended by their sponsors; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor, and the Governors, Senators and Representatives of the various states and commonwealths.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Recommend approval.

Favoring a Five-Man Board to Administer the National Labor Relations Act

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, During the past six years the Government of the United States has placed upon the statute books laws designed to correct long prevailing injustices directed against labor, and has endeavored to place labor in a position more nearly approaching equality in bargaining power with the powerful employers and their organizations; and

WHEREAS, One of the most important of these laws has been and is now the Wagner Labor Relations Act; and

WHEREAS, While the good intentions of these laws in general, and of the Wagner Labor Relations Act in particular, are not questioned, nevertheless, in the administration of these laws many injustices have developed; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the Wagner Labor Relations Act in particular, the controlling personnel has shown partiality and bias, and has gone so far as to invalidate contracts properly and legally entered into; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in general convention assembled, that we call upon the properly constituted authorities to set up a five-man board in place of the present board, a board of five men who will administer the law in the manner and spirit intended by its sponsors; and be it further

RESOLVED That copies of this resolution

be sent to the President of the United States and Senators and Representatives from the various states.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Recommend approval.

Favoring A. F. of L. Investigation Into Chain Store System for the Purpose of Drafting Corrective Legislation

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, With the ever-increasing multiple unit or chain store distribution of the necessities of life, including shoes, and the lesser number yearly of neighborhood independent merchandise distributors, the producers of the products manufactured under fair union conditions, wherein the workers are permitted to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, are being increasingly deprived of a fair opportunity of reaching the purchasing public; and

WHEREAS, This concentration of wealth and this concentration of power wherein a privileged few, through their tremendous buying and distributing power, can and do virtually dictate the price at which the manufacturers must sell their products for, thus preventing, in many cases, the actual employers of labor paying to their workers decent American wages; and

WHEREAS, The owners of these multiple or chain store groups have no interest in the communities wherein their stores are located other than to exploit the residents thereof, as they exploit the workers through depriving them of an opportunity of securing fair wages by forcing the manufacturers who try to pay decent wages to sell the product of the workers at prices which leave but little to pay the workers; and

WHEREAS, Apparently, the only effective way to correct this intolerable and un-American condition is through the adoption of legislation whereby each State, as well as the federal government, as has already been done in several States, shall be prevailed upon to levy and collect a tax, increasing in amount with the number of such multiple unit or chain stores in each group wherein such group owns more than three stores, such tax to be substantial and to make up to the State, as well as the federal government, for the taxes which have been lost through the driving of business of the many thousands of neighborhood stores which formerly existed throughout our land; and

WHEREAS, The Bata Shoe Company of Czechoslovakia is even now building a plant in the United States which they intend to operate in the same manner as their factories in Zlin, which will add to their already large chain of retail stores in the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to make an exhaustive study of this situation, and if they find conditions as above portrayed they shall be authorized to seek or support legislation which will effectively curb the dictatorial powers now possessed by these chain store owners; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall be authorized, after such study has resulted in finding that the continuation of chain stores are detrimental to the best interests of the workers, and have concluded that the imposition of adequate taxes on chain stores are necessary to prevail upon the American Federation of Labor, State Federations and Central Labor Unions to support the imposition of such taxes upon all chain store or multiple unit owners.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protest of Sleeping Car Conductors Against the Refusal of the Pullman Company to Obey Award Under Railroad Adjustment Board

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate J. J. Glenn, Order of Sleeping Car Conductors.

WHEREAS, The Order of Sleeping Car Conductors has an agreement with The Pullman Company which has been interpreted by the National Railroad Adjustment Board in its Award No. 779, issued December 12, 1938, to mean that wherever it is established that conductors' work exists, they have the right to perform it; and

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company has refused to obey that award and continues to operate portions of the run without conductors; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-ninth Annual Convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, 1939, condemns this violation of National Railroad Adjustment Board Award No. 779, interpreting the agreement between The Pullman Company and its conductors.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.
Recommend approval.

Opposing Entry of United States in European War

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate ——— Imperial Valley Central Labor Union, El Centro, Calif.

WHEREAS, This United States of America is a democratic nation; and

WHEREAS, The action taken by its representatives reflects the attitude of the citizens of this country; and

WHEREAS, War in all its ramifications is

destructive of all that is best in the world, not only of treasured buildings and works of art, the products of many years of effort but also, and which is much more important, war wrecks and destroys life itself.

The coming war will destroy not only the young men, the fighters, but also women and children, the fathers and mothers, the boys and girls, who have been left by the fireside at home. All these will become targets for bombs of opposing forces.

INASMUCH as war brings only sadness, misery and destruction; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Imperial Valley Central Labor Council go on record as opposing the entry of the United States into the impending world conflict; and, further, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the California State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor to take similar action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No action required by reason of subject being covered in Council report.

Favoring Recall of Judges

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Some members of the judiciary are not representing all of the people in dispensing judgment in cases involving capital and labor; and

WHEREAS, They seem to be representing industrial groups only, giving cause to believe that they are owned body and soul by these groups, whose exploitations, if not checked, would ruin our nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this body use the recall and all other legal means, to stamp out this type of judge; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this action be recommended to the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Referred to Executive Council for study and consideration.

Protesting Discrimination Against Union Fire Fighters in Promotions

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Officers and members of the Fire Department who are militant in the affairs of the Fire Fighters Union are being passed up in promotion and otherwise discriminated against in some cities because their union activities bring them into controversies with the officials over wages or working conditions, etc.; and,

WHEREAS, This policy tends to promote men to the position of officers in the Fire Department who are not in sympathy with trade union principles, and at the same time discourages many of our able members from taking an active part in the organization for fear of being discriminated against when they seek advancement; and,

WHEREAS, This is usually done under some subterfuge within the law (such as grading a man down for lack of cooperation), because this man was not a yesman when they wanted to reduce wages, or the firemen wanted an increase in wages, or reduction in hours, or other just considerations; and,

WHEREAS, The Fire Fighters Association and its affiliated locals, the Ohio State Federation of Labor and its affiliated Central Labor Councils and locals, as organizations and taxpayers are interested in seeing that men best fitted for officers in the Fire Department should be promoted to these positions, regardless of their affiliations, and that there should be no discrimination, either through subterfuge or otherwise, against a man because of his union activities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Ohio State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, request all Central Labor Bodies to actively interest themselves when promotional examinations are announced and when promotions are made, and see that justice is done to all; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all Central Labor Bodies have on file at their office or headquarters a complete roster of the Fire Department, and whenever possible a list of delinquent or non-union members of such department; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Delegate of the Ohio State Federation of Labor to the Cincinnati Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to convey to that convention the contents and purport of this resolution.

Recommend approval of intent and purpose of resolution—though not addressed to A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Assistance of Affiliated Organizations to Secure Advertisers for WCFL Radio Station

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate F. A. Ackerman, Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, WCFL, the "Voice of Labor, in the City of Chicago, has devoted its facilities to the furtherance of the policies of the American Federation of Labor and is the recognized "Voice of Labor" throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, WCFL donates large amounts of time without cost to affiliates of the American Federation of Labor which in other

cities would find it impossible to get on the air, or would obtain their broadcasting only at extremely high cost; and

WHEREAS, WCFL is a medium of reaching the public which will become more effective as time goes by, especially in view of the fact that many broadcast stations will not carry labor broadcasts on the pretense that they are "controversial" and therefore such labor broadcasts, in their judgment, are unsuited to the air; and

WHEREAS, The use of WCFL has proven an effective weapon against the lies and false propaganda against labor by its enemies; and

WHEREAS, This station faces the possibility of being obliged to increase its power in order to meet the competition of other Chicago broadcasters and to comply with Federal Communications Commission rules; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the officers of all International Unions and Federal Labor Unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, work with the officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor and WCFL for the purpose of conferring with national advertisers in the interest of Station WCFL.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Recommend approval.

Requesting That A. F. of L. Recommend Adequate Protection For Sugar Refinery Workers in Sugar Legislation

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, Fred B. Gerrard, International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, The refining of raw cane sugar in Continental U. S., gives employment to thousands of workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The jobs and payrolls of the sugar refinery workers have been reduced since 1925 by the flood of refined sugar which has been imported into this country from Cuba, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and other tropical islands; and

WHEREAS, A further loss in jobs and payrolls will occur after 1940 unless these workers receive an adequate protection in the Sugar Act to be written in that year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, the 59th of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as recommending that an adequate protection (through tariffs, quotas, or otherwise) be provided for the sugar refinery workers in any sugar legislation which may be developed by Congress in 1940 and under no circumstances should there be any further expansion in the importation of refined sugar made in the tropical islands for our market; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does endorse and advocate protective legislation for these workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Approve purpose and refer to Executive Council for consideration and action.

Requesting Endorsement of Song As Labor's Theme Song

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Frank Rolando, Oglesby, Illinois, Trades Council.

The Executive Council non-concurred in this resolution.

Calling For Presidential Proclamation to Restore Prevailing Wage on WPA Work

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Woodrum Bill was enacted by the 76th Congress, this bill destroying the prevailing wage of all union labor and lowering the present standards of all labor; and

WHEREAS, The Woodrum Bill calls for the layoff of 650,000 men and women who are dependent on W. P. A. for the sustenance of their lives, adding greater suffering and increasing the 12,000,000 already unemployed; and

WHEREAS, Private enterprise refuses to shorten the hours of labor to create more employment and also refuses to invest its surplus capital to start the wheels of private industry moving; and

WHEREAS, The same reactionary forces in the House and Senate which were responsible for the passage of the Woodrum Bill were responsible for the defeat of the Lending Bill which, if passed by Congress, would have undone part of the harm the Woodrum Bill has done to the working people; and

WHEREAS, Congress has already been called into special session to consider neutrality legislation and it is not likely that it will be possible to get this matter before this special session; and

WHEREAS, We believe the President has the authority to issue a proclamation for restoration of the prevailing wage on W. P. A. work and that an effort should be made to prevail upon him to take such action; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled direct its officers to take the matter of restoration of the prevailing wage up with President Roosevelt.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Already acted on—therefore no further action necessary.

(Introduced in accord with action taken on Resolution No. 1, Illinois State Federation of Labor convention, September 18-23, 1939, Springfield, Illinois.)

To Protect Trade Union Representation and Collective Bargaining Rights in Draft of Official Industrial Mobilization Plan

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is in existence a so-called "Mobilization Plan" which, being the joint work of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, lays down plans for the stringent regimentation of all labor in the event of war or a national emergency; and

WHEREAS, The proposals as stated in Appendix III of that Plan call for an Administration of War Labor and an Advisory Board of ten (10) members, all appointed by the President, the duties of the Board as stated being:

"1. Measures to prevent grievances of employers and employees, whether actual or imaginary, from interfering with war production.

"2. The effect of organizations of employers into trade associations and of labor into trade unions and the effect of the maintenance of the right of collective bargaining between such organizations or industry's ability to meet the material requirements of the armed forces.

"3. Standards of wages, hours of work, and working conditions.

"4. Equality of work for identical pay.

"5. The necessity for the modification of the statutory work-day with due regard for the national necessity and the welfare of labor.

"6. Maintenance of maximum production in all war work and the suspension for the period of the actual emergency and a reasonable adjustment thereafter of restrictive regulations not having the force of war, which unreasonably limit production."

The implication of which is, this appointed board will take over and determine those activities, which hitherto have been the province of Trade Unions, and as a consequence our organizations will be stripped of their function and so destroyed; and

WHEREAS, Other recommendations of the Plan brazenly call for the suspension of those laws which have from time to time been enacted in the various States, restricting the

hours and conditions of employment of women and children, and would bring back the intolerable exploitation which labor has combatted and ameliorated in fifty (50) years of struggle; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take steps to inaugurate a movement that will protect Organized Labor from the menace of such "War Dictatorship" as is contained in the "Industrial Mobilization Plan," to which end we make the following suggestions: That legislation be immediately drafted to include the following points, (1) That on all War Boards, labor shall be adequately represented by men appointed from the trades unions themselves; (2) That the rights of collective bargaining by trade unions be maintained, and (3) That present Labor Laws shall not be abrogated or nullified on the flimsy pretext of National Emergency.

Resolutions referred to Committee on Resolutions. Recommend approval.

(Introduced in accord with action taken on Resolution No. 99, Illinois State Federation of Labor convention, September 18-23, 1939, Springfield, Illinois).

Requesting Formation of National Council of Warehouse Employees

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate O. C. Moore, Virginia State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Virginia State Federation of Labor at its convention held, adopted the following resolution as submitted by Federal Labor Union No. 20558, as follows:

WHEREAS, There are 50,000 warehouse employees now organized in Federal Labor Unions throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, Approximately 18,000 of these warehousemen have indicated that they desire to form into an International within the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These local Unions have petitioned the American Federation of Labor for the formation of either a National Council of Warehousemen or an International Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the Virginia State Federation of Labor, go on record as recommending that it grant to the warehouse employees now organized into Federal Labor Unions, a National Council of Warehouse Employees, or an International Union covering these types of workers.

THEREFORE NOW, The Virginia State Federation of Labor, in accordance with the action taken by its convention, in adopting the resolution submitted by Federal Labor Union No. 20558, as set forth above:

DOES, Petition and recommend to this convention of the American Federation of Labor, that, it the American Federation of Labor, grant unto the Warehouse Employees, who are now organized into Federal Labor Unions, a

National Council of Warehouse Employees, or an International Union covering these types of workers.

Respectfully submitted, O. S. Moore, Pres., Virginia State Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Referred to Executive Council.

Urging Support of A. F. of L. Newspaper Writers' Union in Chicago

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The C. I. O. Newspaper Guild of Chicago has, through a ten months' campaign of violence, misrepresentations, false appeals to our membership throughout the country, and intimidation of advertising merchants both in Chicago and on a national scale, placed the jobs of some 2,000 members of our affiliated unions in jeopardy; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago C. I. O. Newspaper Guild continues to send appeals to our local unions and Central Labor Unions for funds to carry on their fight against the newspaper in Chicago wherein our membership is employed, making the false claim in all such appeals that organized labor in Chicago and throughout the country is backing the fight of the Guild on the Chicago newspapers; and

WHEREAS, The campaign of terror carried on by the Guild in picketing places of business ordinarily using the columns of the Chicago papers for advertising purposes has resulted in causing many business houses to take their advertising out of the paper, thus reducing the demand for the labor of our members; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Trades and the Illinois Federation of Labor have long been active in their support of our membership employed on the Chicago paper by opposing the activities of the C. I. O. Guild; and

WHEREAS, The C. I. O. Guild, with the aid of the Communists throughout the country, have carried the fight against the paper into every state in the Union, making it a national boycott against the paper on which our 2,000 members are employed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled empower the Executive Council to take whatever action may be necessary to preserve the jobs of our members employed on the Chicago newspaper, and that all State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and local unions be requested to counteract the false and erroneous information being supplied the members of our organizations, the public and national advertisers, and; be it further

RESOLVED, That the misuse of the American Federation of Labor's name by the C. I.

O. Guild and its agents be prohibited by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Recommend approval.

Proposing Amendment to Constitutional Provisions Governing Quota Representation of Local Unions in Central Bodies

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate F. A. Ackerman, Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Article 11, Section 11, provides that:

"The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; one additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or major fraction thereof.

AND WHEREAS, Organizations of members up to 50 are entitled to 2 delegates, and up to 100 to 3 delegates, that the said figures represent a great injustice to larger local unions, as for example: a local union of 13,000 members is entitled to only 30 delegates to the Central Labor Union while 10 small local organizations of 100 members each, totaling 1,000 members in all, are allowed the same representation, namely 30 delegates; or 15 small local organizations of 50 members each, totaling 750 members are allowed the same representation of 30 delegates; or 15 small local organizations of 10 members each, totaling 150 members in all, would be allowed the same representation of 30 delegates as the one organization of 13,000 members; therefore the 10 local organizations of 100 members each with a total of 1,000 members have thirteen (13) times the rate of representation as the one local organization of 13,000 members; and

WHEREAS, 15 local organizations of 50 members each, with a total of 750 members, have seventeen and one-third (17 $\frac{1}{3}$) times the rate of representation as the one local organization of 13,000 members; and 15 locals of 10 members each, with a total of 150 members have eighty-six and two-thirds (86 $\frac{2}{3}$) times the rate of representation as the one local of 13,000 members; and

WHEREAS, A comparison of the per capita tax paid show that 10 local unions of 100 members each, totaling 1,000 members in all, pay \$20.00 per month for per capita tax or \$240.00 per year, that they have the same representation in the Central Labor Union as the one local with 13,000 members that pay \$260.00 per month of \$3,120.00 per year per capita tax; and

WHEREAS, In practical operation the said

Section 11 has worked to the detriment for the effective affiliation of organizations in the Central Labor Union, and it can readily be seen that this is a clear case of taxation without proper representation, and the amendment will return us to the basic principles of the American Federation of Labor as it existed prior to this change in the Constitution; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the said Section 11 be amended to provide that all local unions whose membership consists of 100 or less shall be entitled to 2 delegates to the Central Labor Unions and one additional delegate for each additional 100 members or major fraction thereof.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Chicago Printing Trades Unions vs. R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Chicago Printing Trades Unions have, for years, been compelled to compete with the unfair and notorious non-union R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, the Reuben H. Donnelley Company and the Lakeside Press, which are among the largest producers of non-union printing in America, and

WHEREAS, The following publications are among the products of these unfair concerns: Time, Life, Rising Tide, Science Digest, Book Digest, Farm Journal, Hunting and Fishing, Youth, Encyclopedia Britannica, Funk and Wagnalls Encyclopedia, The National Provisioner, Chicago Mail Order Catalog, Butler Brothers' catalog, Sears Roebuck catalog, Montgomery Ward catalog, and many children's Sunday School publications, besides telephone directories, etc., and

WHEREAS, The Organization Committee of the Chicago Printing Trades Unions are now making a concerted organization drive on the said concerns, and is asking the co-operation of all organized labor to give publicity to said unfair concerns, publications and their products, and

WHEREAS, The Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor at Springfield, Illinois, September 13, 1933, endorsed this campaign and directed that the matter be brought before the Convention of the American Federation of Labor for similar action; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the campaign of the Chicago Printing Trades Unions against the non-union policy of the R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, the Reuben H. Donnelley Company and the Lakeside Press.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Favoring Import Tax to Protect Workers in Fishing Industry

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Walter W. Cenerazzo, Gloucester, Mass. Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Many thousands of employes in the fishing industry have been deprived of employment due to the reciprocal trade pact signed by the Department of State; and

WHEREAS, Certain foreign governmental agencies have offered and paid high subsidies to American fishery concerns to operate plants in foreign countries; and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of these employes have been organized into the American Federation of Labor during the past several years; and

WHEREAS, The only relief these members of organized labor can obtain is through the intercession of the American Federation of Labor through action of the United States Senate and Congress; and therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use its influence to secure the imposition of a customs tax, which tax on imports of all fisheries, will equalize the difference in wages paid so as to protect the job opportunities of our American workers employed in the Fishery Industry.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Enactment of H. R. 4496 to Restrict Commuting of Aliens from Foreign Contiguous Countries

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate Central Labor Union, El Paso, Texas.

WHEREAS, H. R. 4496 was presented in the House of Representatives at the first session of the 76th Congress on February 24, 1939, by Mr. Lesinski, and was referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization; and

WHEREAS, This Bill was taken from a resolution presented to the Texas Federation of Labor by the International Association of Machinists, Local 392, El Paso, Texas, and the Central Labor Union of El Paso, Texas, and presented by the Texas Federation of Labor to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The 76th Congress has adjourned and Bill 4496 has died in said committee, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Texas Federation of Labor be again requested to present this bill to the American Federation of Labor and to lend its utmost efforts to secure the passage of this legislation, the contents of which are as follows:

A BILL to restrict habitual commuting of aliens from foreign contiguous territory to engage in skilled or unskilled la-

bor or employment in continental United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that no alien or aliens, foreigner or foreigners, or citizens of any foreign country, nation, or colony, or a citizen of a possession of any foreign nation or country, the boundaries of which touch the boundaries of the United States of America or are contiguous thereto, shall be permitted to habitually cross said international boundary line for the purpose of seeking employment, or engaging in any employment, vocation, or trade, either as skilled or unskilled labor employment, in the United States of America, to and from his or their residence or residences which are outside of the borders of the said continental United States.

SECTION 2. The words "alien," "foreigner," and "citizen of any foreign country, nation or colony" shall be construed to mean any person who has his residence in said foreign country, nation, or possession or colony of a foreign country.

SECTION 3. Aliens within the purview of Sections 1 and 2 of this Act shall be held to be immigrants and shall be excluded from the United States or shall be deported from the United States under the provisions of the immigration laws now in effect, unless they are in possession of an unexpired immigration visa at each separate application for admission or in possession of an unexpired reentry permit for each separate application to return from foreign contiguous territory.

SECTION 4. The provisions of this Act are in addition to the provisions of the immigration laws now in force, and shall be enforced as a part of such laws, and all of the penal or other provisions of such laws now applicable shall apply to and be enforced in connection with the provisions of this Act.

SECTION 5. The provisions of this Act shall not be applicable to any person who is a bona-fide employe of any common carrier operating between the United States and any foreign contiguous territory.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Requesting Change in Classification of Workers in Floral Industries Under Social Security

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The federal ruling classifying workers in the floral industries as agricultural workers deprives them of the benefits of the Social Security Act and the Wagner Labor Act; and

WHEREAS, The work performed by these men is not (or should not) be classed as

agricultural work because of the artificial condition under which it is performed, namely, the light is admitted through glass which eliminates part of the sun's rays, thereby necessitating special care, as all plants grown indoors either in hollow trenches or ports require water applied artificially and mechanical ventilation and, in fact, all operations contrary to natural environments; and

WHEREAS, Because of the aforesaid conditions, these men should come under the same act as the men working in factories; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, direct its officers to request the proper federal officials to have this classification changed accordingly.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

(Introduced in accord with action taken on Resolution No. 4, Illinois State Federation of Labor Convention, September 18-23, 1939, Springfield, Illinois.)

Eighth Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 11, 1939.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bel, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordges, A. S.; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, R. J.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Hansen, H. I.; Heymann, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly Tom; Kelly, John P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Claude S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

A Prayer to Christ The Worker Right Rev. Msgr. Robert J. Sherry

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

O Almighty and Eternal Father, look with favor upon the prayer we offer Thee in the name of Thy Divine Son, that Thou wouldst send Thy Holy Spirit to guide and direct the deliberations of this assembly to the end that they may be pleasing to Thee and helpful to our fellow-men.

O Jesus, Savior of the World, by Your labors in the carpenter shop of Nazareth, by the honest sweat that dropped from Your sacred brow, by the hardened hands that held the hammer, by the weariness You felt from Your daily toil, You have shown us that You were truly man even as we, Your fellow-workers.

By the miracles You wrought with those same calloused hands, by Your unquestioned holiness, by Your all-surpassing knowledge, by Your power over life and Your victory over death, You proved that You were indeed the Son of God.

O Christ, the Worker, You have said, "Come to Me all you who labor and are heavily burdened and I will refresh you." We come to You this morning, humbly and hopefully. You are the Way, the Truth and the Life. In You alone we find strength and courage, peace and progress.

Give us the grace, O Christ, the Worker, to know our dignity as human beings. Give us the grace to recognize our duties as members of one human family. Teach us to do an honest day's work for an honest day's pay. Help us to do battle against injustice,

but never to yield to the impulse of violence or revenge.

O Christ, the Worker, look down with mercy and kindness, upon the unemployed. Grant them the grace of patience, courage and perseverance in their dark day of trial. Relieve the world of inhuman conditions that deprive men of the right to work.

O Christ, the Worker, open the hearts and enlighten the minds of those who hire their fellow-men for pay. Grant that they may see the justice of a living wage, decent working hours, and human conditions for those who toil. Make them aware that one day they, too, must come face to face with Christ the Carpenter.

O Christ, the Worker, let the beauty and strength of your teachings be reflected in our lives so that we may be found worthy to represent Your fellow-workers in the American Federation of Labor. May the Spirit of God so direct and govern us that the results of our deliberations may hasten the reign of social justice in the hearts of all men.

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

President Green: I ask that the committee appointed yesterday to escort His Grace, the Archbishop of Cincinnati, Archbishop McNicholas, meet him and escort him to the hall. He will be here about 11:15 o'clock.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

Kohler Company. Kohler, Wis.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The strike against the Kohler Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, is now in its sixth year and is being prosecuted by Federal Labor Union No. 18545 as determinedly as when Kohler engineered a fatal attack on a group of defenseless men and women, who peaceably protested the corporation's paternalistic enslavement of thousands of workers and opened its arsenal in the Kohler plant to now down nearly a half a hundred persons, killing two and wounding forty-three, all in answer to the American Federation of Labor local's insistence upon the right to organize and their peaceable effort to establish a bargaining relationship; and

WHEREAS, At the 1938 convention of the American Federation of Labor, the del-

agate from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, because of overtures by men prominent in the American Federation of Labor, sincerely desirous of bringing about an adjustment of the controversy, refrained from introducing a contemplated resolution providing for an even more vigorous prosecution of the strike against Kohler domination and defiance; and

WHEREAS, The Kohler Company has apparently mistaken our desire for peace as an indication of lagging interest, and has, through its representatives, falsely broadcast the end of the strike even while the courageous pickets of Federal Labor Union No. 18545 were treading the walks before the Kohler plant which five years previously were drenched with the blood of numbers of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Kohler of Kohler, manufacturers of bath tubs, sinks, pottery ware, plumbing fixtures, lavatories, heating plants, radiators, electric light plants, brass plumbing fittings, etc., in order to make their product saleable, have, at great expense, by letters to our unions and to prospective patrons, through invitations for pilgrimages to feasts in the Kohler clubhouse, and various other schemes, endeavored to impress large numbers of people that the Kohler Company, and not our slain brothers, are the martyrs; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the officers give such continued and further support to Federal Labor Union No. 18545 as in their judgment the situation merits, and to continue its efforts to bring about a reversal of this corporation's hostile attitude.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., coupled with instructions to do all within their power to bring about the unionization of the employees of the Kohler Company.

Delegate Seidel: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—I am appearing here this morning in place of Henry Ohls, the President of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, who is in committee meeting. We are in favor of the committee's report and would merely like to call your attention to the fact that this strike is going on in its sixth year. There is picketing going on at the Kohler plant continually, and we intend to support those pickets in Wisconsin until this matter is satisfactorily adjusted. If it takes five years or ten years you will still find our people on the picket line unless this matter is satisfactorily adjusted. On Labor Day we had a parade and the picketing went on. On the anniversary of the day when two strikers were killed and 23 were wounded

we picketed the plant, and also the Kohler supply and display rooms of the Kohler Company in the State of Wisconsin.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Investigation of Construction Industry

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Temporary National Economic Committee and the Department of Justice are simultaneously investigating the construction industry to determine if alleged charges of restraint of trade existed therein; and

WHEREAS, The general character of this investigation in the interests of just conclusions does necessitate a comprehensive analysis of such items of competitive influences as the cost of land, the cost of financing, the cost of insurance, the cost of bonding, the price of materials, brokers' commissions, and the cost of promotion, including legal fees, etc., as well as the wages of labor; and

WHEREAS, History reveals that for purely political reasons investigations of the past have resulted in a summarizing of the effects of labor costs and a complete disregard for and total elimination of concrete description of costs other than wages paid for labor when the herein referred to other costs, as isolated factors, constitute immensely greater deterrents—on a percentage basis—in the negative processes of building and improvement retardation; and

WHEREAS, Such building and improvement retardation is prominently maintained in direct proportion to community peculiarities resulting from location, control of finance, political domination of civic spirit, etc.; and

WHEREAS, In the final analysis it is clearly shown that an increase in the cost of wages for construction labor of 20 per cent will affect the total cost of the project less than 2 per cent; and

WHEREAS, Because of the incompleteness of facts furnished the public in such previous investigations, great damage and irreparable loss has been visited upon construction labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is opposed to any investigation incomplete in its conclusions by reason of the absence of a determination of the costs herein referred to—other than the cost resulting from wages of labor—and; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instructs its Executive and Administrative officers to diligently apply effort in behalf of successful opposition to any sensational investigations, locally or nationally, the purpose of which are to confuse the public as to the real evils constituting factors in building retardation, as well as to require

labor to shoulder the blame for even partial stultification of the building industry when labor is so completely without voice or responsibility in the obstructing practices; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention express to the public its genuine eagerness for any and all investigations resulting in the public being told the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, regarding the ever present check upon progress in the building industry, which is so correctly recognized as the barometer of national prosperity.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Calling for Restoration of Prevailing Wage on WPA Projects

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The last session of Congress passed certain legislation affecting the hours of W. P. A., thereby lowering the wages of same; and

WHEREAS, This has caused strikes and hardships on our Building Trades Mechanics, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does petition the President and Congress of the United States of America to restore the prevailing wage rates on all W. P. A. projects.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor's Non-Partisan League

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Burt Curigan, California State Federation of Labor. Presented by California State Federation of Labor as a result of action taken at the 1939 convention held at Oakland, California, during the week of September 25, 1939.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled and through its Executive Council has repeatedly denounced Labor's Non-Partisan League as being antagonistic to the American Federation of Labor, its purposes and policies, and has declared it as being a part and accessory to the C. I. O.; and

WHEREAS, The President of the American Federation of Labor acting under instructions of the Executive Council meeting of

February, 1939, held at Miami, Florida, sent a letter dated March 1, 1939, addressed to all state federations of labor, city central bodies, and directly affiliated labor unions in which it was ordered that all organizations affiliated with Labor's Non-Partisan League immediately divorce themselves from affiliation with Labor's Non-Partisan League and are not to affiliate with same league in the future; and

WHEREAS, This order has been construed by many as applying to individuals who are members of American Federation of Labor unions and at the same time are members of Labor's Non-Partisan League; and

WHEREAS, At the 40th Annual Convention of the California State Federation of Labor held in the City of Oakland, California, during the week beginning September 25, 1939, individuals presented credentials as delegates elect who admittedly were officers or members of Labor's Non-Partisan League; and

WHEREAS, There existed some doubt in the minds of the delegates to the said California State Federation of Labor Convention as to whether the March 1, 1939, order on membership in Labor's Non-Partisan League applied to individual members as well as organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in order to clarify this situation and for the purpose of making the position and orders of the American Federation of Labor effective hereby reaffirms its position and policy toward Labor's Non-Partisan League, declaring that it is an accessory to the C. I. O. and antagonistic to the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to notify and order all state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions to unseat from membership, and/or to refuse to admit into membership, and/or to refuse to retain in membership any person known to be a member of the so-called Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Your committee finds itself in accord with the whereases and the first resolved of the resolution, and recommends their adoption.

Your committee further recommends that the second resolved be referred to the Executive Council for their consideration and such action as occasion may justify and as the Council deems proper.

With this amendment we recommend the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Buzzell, Los Angeles Central Trades and Labor Council; Mr. Chairman and delegates—it seems to me that, in spite of

the fact that the committee makes a favorable report upon the resolution, there should be some further explanation than is contained in the resolution, and that we should explain the reasons that prompted the California State Federation of Labor to send the resolution here to this convention.

We are engaged in our work on the Coast in a local way and we can only know what takes place in other parts of the country by what we hear, but we do know what is going on in California.

Labor's Non-Partisan League in the State of California is an organization, it is not a political party in the sense we understand political parties to be. It is a definite organization that has for its purpose to capture the trade union movement and take it out of the hands of the American Federation of Labor and use it for their own purposes, to turn it over to the C. I. O. and the Communist Party. We have two divisions of the Labor's Non-Partisan League in California, one in the northern part of the State, and one in the southern part. In the southern part of the State it is headed by a Communist; in the northern part of the State the movement is headed by a man named Shelly and a man named Kidwell.

This organization has been carrying on its work and it has brought into its midst a few of local unions of national and international organization. In addition, its members and its leaders carry on their work under direction of forces outside the labor organizations. The organization has built itself until what was the Democratic Party in the State of California is greatly influenced by it, and it has undertaken, not only to advise, but to control the labor movement in that State. Our convention just ended a week before we came here, and we had there the spectacle of the Governor of the State of California—who yesterday was introduced by Harry Bridges in the C. I. O. convention in San Francisco—come to our meeting with 1,300 delegates present, and deliberately and plainly tell the American Federation of Labor unions of California that the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, both in California and out of it, were misleaders of labor and labor should follow the lead of statesmen who headed the Non-Partisan League. He advised the delegates to elect

one of them secretary of the California State Federation of Labor.

All of this comes because of the fact that there is an organization that uses labor's name, but is guided by some one else for the purpose of capturing the labor movement. The Governor of the State of California, in the course of his remarks, deliberately stated that it was up to the labor movement—and he expected the labor movement to do it—to deliver unto him assemblymen and senators from all parts of the State who would take his program rather than take the program of the labor movement itself. In the course of his remarks he criticized the American Federation of Labor because it had done backbiting, as he called it, and called bad names to those who did not agree with us. He congratulated some of our unions on the Pacific Coast that had been conciliatory to the C. I. O. and one that had contributed money to the C. I. O.

All of this may not seem to you to be relevant, but to us who are meeting it every day, and finding the Governor of a State taking such a position, it is so plain to us it is like getting hit in the face, and you can not miss it. It seems to me, and it seems to the California State Federation of Labor, as is evidenced by that resolution, that this convention would see to it that subordinate bodies, State Federations and Central Councils should be forbidden to at least have officers in executive positions who are members of Labor's Non-Partisan League and take orders from it that are contrary to the position taken by the labor movement itself.

The President of the San Francisco Council is a member of Labor's Non-Partisan League. He admits that he goes to the meetings and follows the program adopted by the Non-Partisan League, which is often opposed to the program of the labor movement. He is a member of the State Senate and he takes the Non-Partisan program all the way through.

The C. I. O. on the Pacific Coast would never have gone far were it not for this Labor's Non-Partisan League. This is especially true in the fish canneries and the lumber industry in the northern part of the State, where we find them sticking their noses, and then when they come back to their own local unions they say they have a right to exercise their political franchise as they see fit.

I hope when the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor goes after that part of the resolution referred to it they will find a way, without jeopardizing the democratic rights of any member of organized labor, to see that members of an organization that is antagonistic to and dual to the American Federation of Labor shall go and live with that organizations and leave the American Federation of Labor alone.

Commercial Treaty With Japan

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Burt B. Curigan, from the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States of America has in the interests of the people thereof recently given notice to the Imperial Japanese Government of the abrogation of the treaty of 1911 which will be effective as an abrogation six months from the date of said notice; and

WHEREAS, The importation of Japanese merchandise is a direct threat by cheap Japanese labor to the people of the United States and their industries; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as being opposed to the renewal of any treaty which would permit the importation of Japanese merchandise, particularly fish and and fish products, under a "most favored nation" clause, or in any that would enable cheap Japanese labor to compete with the people of the United States and to reduce the standard of living of American labor.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Calling for Dismissal of Communists From Administrative Posts in National And State Governments and to Instruct Affiliated National and International Unions to Deny Membership to Communists

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, It is the openly avowed and clearly stated purpose of the Communist Party to obtain control of labor unions in order, first, to use them as recruiting grounds for more members and followers; secondly, to use them in order to spread inflammatory propaganda and so influence the great mass of the workers; and thirdly, to use them to create strikes and make impractical demands in order to disrupt industry and then to seize it for the social revolution; and

WHEREAS, Communism, in theory and practice, is violently opposed to democracy in all its forms, is militantly atheistic in principle, and is in every way opposed to American institutions and the American way of life; and

WHEREAS, Communist agitators, working under definite instructions from the organized Communist Party, are constantly endeavoring to "bore from within" in every union, to the end that they may obtain positions of influence and control and so lead the workers along the road to Communism; and

WHEREAS, In every instance where Communist-led groups have obtained any measure of such control in labor unions they have led the workers into strikes and industrial conflict, not for the legitimate purpose of bettering conditions, improving wages or hours, or defending the workers from attack, but for the radical purpose of developing class conflict, and for the purpose of creating situations which they could use for the spread of Communist propaganda, and

WHEREAS, These Communist leaders in their efforts to promote class warfare, and ignoring the legitimate purpose of labor unions and the legitimate interests of the workers, have disrupted unions, divided the workers into warring camps, crippled industrial production, and caused loss of jobs and wages to the mass of the workers; and

WHEREAS, There is a rapidly accumulating mass of evidence showing that avowed Communists, actual members of the Communist Party, and active Communist sympathizers, have worked their way into important administrative posts in National and State Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in general convention assembled that we call for the immediate dismissal of such Communists and Communist sympathizers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct the various affiliated national and international unions to refrain from taking into membership any known member of the Communist Party, or active sympathizer.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Calling Upon National and State Governments to Appoint Persons of Practical Experience and Personal Knowledge of Labor Problems on Administrative Boards and Commissions Created Under Labor Laws

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates John J.

Mara, George W. Lawson, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The National Government and the various State Governments have placed upon the statute books many laws designed to protect labor, and, under these laws have created various Boards, Bureaus and Commissions, and

WHEREAS, These laws, with the various Boards, Bureaus and Commissions created by their provisions, have been called into existence through the persistent activity of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions as part of their work to protect labor and to advance the proper interests of labor; and

WHEREAS, The National Government and the various State Governments, in staffing these various Boards, Bureaus and Commissions, have shown an increasing tendency during recent years to appoint bookish theorists and intellectuals who have no direct personal knowledge of industrial conditions, and no direct personal, practical experience in dealing with the problems of labor and the immediate aims and needs of the industrial workers; and

WHEREAS, There is a vital necessity for practical-minded men and women in these positions, men and women with direct experience and knowledge of the industrial worker and his problems, if the laws are to be administered in the spirit intended by their sponsors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in general convention assembled, that we call upon the National Government and the various State Governments, to pay close and serious attention to appointees, and they adopt the strict principle of making appointments on the basis of practical knowledge and experience, to the end that the various labor laws may be administered in the spirit of practical helpfulness to labor intended by their sponsors; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor, and the Governors, Senators and Representatives of the various States and Commonwealths.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring a Five-Man Board to Administer the National Labor Relations Act

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, During the past six years the Government of the United States has placed upon the statute books laws designed to correct long prevailing injustices directed against labor, and has endeavored to place

labor in a position more nearly approaching equality in bargaining power with the powerful employers and their organizations, and

WHEREAS, One of the most important of these laws has been and is now the Wagner Labor Relations Act; and

WHEREAS, While the good intentions of these laws in general, and of the Wagner Labor Relations Act in particular are not questioned, nevertheless in the administration of these laws many injustices have developed; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the Wagner Labor Relations Act in particular, the controlling personnel has shown partiality and bias, and has gone so far as to invalidate contracts properly and legally entered into; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in general convention assembled, that we call upon the properly constituted authorities to set up a five-man board in place of the present board, a board of five men who will administer the law in the manner and spirit intended by its sponsors; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and Senators and Representatives from the various States.

As the subject is already covered by previous action of the convention, no further action is necessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring A. F. of L. Investigation Into Chain Store System For Purpose of Drafting Corrective Legislation

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, With the ever increasing multiple unit of chain store distribution of the necessities of life, including shoes, and the lesser number yearly of neighborhood independent merchandise distributors, the producers of the products manufactured under fair union conditions, wherein the workers are permitted to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, are being increasingly deprived of a fair opportunity of reaching the purchasing public; and

WHEREAS, The concentration of wealth and this concentration of power wherein a privileged few, through their tremendous buying and distributing power, can and do virtually dictate the price at which the manufacturers must sell their products for, thus preventing, in many cases, the actual employers of labor paying to their workers decent American wages; and

WHEREAS, The owners of these multiple or chain store groups have no interest in the communities wherein their stores are

located other than to exploit the residents thereof as they exploit the workers through depriving them of an opportunity of securing fair wages by forcing the manufacturers who try to pay decent wages to sell the product of the work at prices which leave but little to pay the workers; and

WHEREAS, Apparently, the only effective way to correct this intolerable and un-American condition is through the adoption of legislation whereby each State, as well as the Federal Government, as has already been done in several States, shall be prevailed upon to levy and collect a tax, increasing in amount with the number of such multiple unit or chain stores in each group wherein such group owns more than three stores, such tax to be substantial and to make up to the State, as well as the Federal Government, for the taxes which have been lost through the driving of business of the many thousands of neighborhood stores which formerly existed throughout our land; and

WHEREAS, The Bata Shoe Company of Czechoslovakia is even now building a plant in the United States which they intend to operate in the same manner as their factories in Zlin, which will add to their already large chain of retail stores in the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to make an exhaustive study of this situation, and if they find conditions as above portrayed they shall be authorized to seek or support legislation which will effectively curb the dictatorial powers now possessed by these chain store owners; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall be authorized, after such study has resulted in finding that the continuation of chain stores are detrimental to the best interests of the workers, and have concluded that the imposition of adequate taxes on chain stores are necessary, to prevail upon the American Federation of Labor, State Federations and Central Labor Unions to support the imposition of such taxes upon all chain store or multiple unit owners.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: We are now reporting on the resolutions which were introduced by unanimous consent yesterday.

Protest of Sleeping Car Conductors Against Refusal of Pullman Company to Obey Award of National Railroad Adjustment Board

Resolution No. 87.—By Delegate J. J. Glenn, Order of Sleeping Car Conductors.

WHEREAS, the Order of Sleeping Car

Conductors has an agreement with The Pullman Company which has been interpreted by the National Railroad Adjustment Board in its Award No. 779, issued December 12, 1938, to mean that wherever it is established that conductors' work exists, they have the right to perform it; and

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company has refused to obey that award and continues to operate portions of the run without conductors; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-ninth Annual Convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, 1939, condemns this violation of National Railroad Adjustment Board Award No. 779, interpreting the agreement between The Pullman Company and its conductors.

Your committee recommends approval of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 88

Secretary Frey: The subject matter of this resolution will be covered in the report of the committee on that section of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "Conflict Between European Nations."

Favoring Recall of Judges

Resolution No. 89.—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Some members of the judiciary are not representing all of the people in dispensing judgment in cases involving capital and labor; and

WHEREAS, They seem to be representing industrial groups only, giving cause to believe that they are owned body and soul by these groups, whose exploitations, if not checked, would ruin our nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this body use the recall and all other legal means, to stamp out this type of judge; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this action be recommended to the A. F. of L.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Discrimination Against Union Fire Fighters in Promotions

Resolution No. 90.—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Officers and members of the Fire Department who are militant in the

affairs of the Fire Fighters Union are being passed up in promotion and otherwise discriminated against in some cities because their union activities bring them into controversies with the officials over wages or working conditions, etc.; and

WHEREAS, This policy tends to promote men to the position of officers in the Fire Department who are not in sympathy with Trade Union principles, and at the same time discourages many of our able members from taking an active part in the organization for fear of being discriminated against when they seek advancement; and

WHEREAS, This is usually done under some subterfuge within the law (such as grading a man down for lack of cooperation), because this man was not a yesman when they wanted to reduce wages, or the firemen wanted an increase in wages, or reduction in hours, or other just considerations; and

WHEREAS, The Fire Fighters Association and its affiliated locals, the Ohio State Federation of Labor and its affiliated Central Labor Councils and locals, as organizations and taxpayers, are interested in seeing that men best fitted for officers in the Fire Department should be promoted to these positions, regardless of their affiliations, and that there should be no discrimination, either through subterfuge or otherwise, against a man because of his union activities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Ohio State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, request all Central Labor Bodies to actively interest themselves when promotional examinations are announced and when promotions are made, and see that justice is done to all; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all Central Labor Bodies have on file at their office or headquarters a complete roster of the Fire Department and, whenever possible, a list of delinquent or non-union members of such department; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate of the Ohio State Federation of Labor to the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to convey to that convention the contents and purport of this resolution.

Your committee recommends approval of the intent and purpose of the resolution, though it is not addressed to this convention

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Assistance of Affiliated Organizations to Secure Advertisers for WCFL Radio Station

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate F. A. Ackerman, Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, WCFL, the "Voice of Labor," in the City of Chicago, has devoted its facilities

ties to the furtherance of the policies of the American Federation of Labor and is the recognized "Voice of Labor" throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, WCFL donates large amounts of time without cost to affiliates of the American Federation of Labor, which in other cities would find it impossible to get on the air, or would obtain their broadcasting only at extremely high cost; and

WHEREAS, WCFL is a medium of reaching the public which will become more effective as time goes by, especially in view of the fact that many broadcast stations will not carry labor broadcasts on the pretense that they are "controversial" and therefore such labor broadcasts, in their judgment, are unsuited to the air; and

WHEREAS, The use of WCFL has proven an effective weapon against the lies and false propaganda against labor by its enemies; and

WHEREAS, This station faces the possibility of being obliged to increase its power in order to meet the competition of other Chicago broadcasters and to comply with Federal Communications Commission rules; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the officers of all International Unions and Federal Labor Unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, work with the officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor and WCFL for the purpose of conferring with national advertisers in the interest of Station WCFL.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting That A. F. of L. Recommend Adequate Protection for Sugar Refinery Workers in Sugar Legislation

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, Fred B. Gerrard, International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, The refining of raw cane sugar in Continental U. S. gives employment to thousands of workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The jobs and payrolls of the sugar refinery workers have been reduced since 1925 by the flood of refined sugar which has been imported into this country from Cuba, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and other tropical islands; and

WHEREAS, A further loss in jobs and payrolls will occur after 1940 unless these workers receive an adequate protection in the Sugar Act to be written in that year, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, the 59th

of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as recommending that an adequate protection (through tariffs, quotas or otherwise) be provided for the sugar refinery workers in any sugar legislation which may be developed by Congress in 1940, and under no circumstances should there be any further expansion in the importation of refined sugar made in the tropical islands for our market, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does endorse and advocate protective legislation for these workers.

Your committee recommends approval of the purpose of this resolution and would refer it to the Executive Council for study and action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Calling for Presidential Proclamation to Restore Prevailing Wage on WPA Work

Resolution No. 94.—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Woodrum Bill was enacted by the 76th Congress, this bill destroying the prevailing wage of all union labor and lowering the present standards of all labor; and

WHEREAS, The Woodrum Bill calls for the layoff of 650,000 men and women who are dependent on W. P. A. for the sustenance of their lives, adding greater suffering and increasing the 12,000,000 already unemployed; and

WHEREAS, Private enterprise refuses to shorten the hours of labor to create more employment and also refuses to invest its surplus capital to start the wheels of private industry moving; and

WHEREAS, The same reactionary forces in the House and Senate which were responsible for the passage of the Woodrum Bill were responsible for the defeat of the Lending Bill, which, if passed by Congress, would have undone part of the harm the Woodrum Bill has done to the working people; and

WHEREAS, Congress has already been called into special session to consider neutrality legislation, and it is not likely that it will be possible to get this matter before this special session; and

WHEREAS, We believe the President has the authority to issue a proclamation for restoration of the prevailing wage on W. P. A. work and that an effort should be made to prevail upon him to take such action; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, direct its officers to take the matter of restoration of the prevailing wage up with President Roosevelt.

(Introduced in accord with action taken

on Resolution No. 1, Illinois State Federation of Labor Convention, September 18-23, 1939, Springfield, Illinois).

As the subject matter of the resolution has already been acted upon by this convention, no further action is necessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Protect Trade Union Representation and Collective Bargaining Rights in Draft of Official Industrial Mobilization Plan

Resolution No. 95.—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is in existence a so-called "Mobilization Plan" which, being the joint work of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, lays down plans for the stringent regimentation of all labor in the event of war or a national emergency; and

WHEREAS, The proposals as stated in Appendix III of that plan call for an Administration of War Labor and an Advisory Board of ten (10) members, all appointed by the President, the duties of the Board as stated being:

"1. Measures to prevent grievances of employers and employees, whether actual or imaginary, from interfering with war production.

"2. The effect of organizations of employers into trade associations and of labor into trade unions and the effect of the maintenance of the right of collective bargaining between such organizations or industry's ability to meet the material requirements of the armed forces.

"3. Standards of wages, hours of work, and working conditions.

"4. Equality of work for identical pay.

"5. The necessity for the modification of the statutory work-day with due regard for the national necessity and the welfare of labor

"6. Maintenance of maximum production in all war work and the suspension for the period of the actual emergency and a reasonable adjustment thereafter of restrictive regulations not having the force of law, which unreasonably limit production."

The implication of which is, this appointed board will take over and determine those activities, which hitherto have been the province of Trade Unions, and as a consequence our organizations will be stripped of their function and so destroyed; and

WHEREAS, Other recommendations of the plan brazenly calls for the suspension of those

laws which have from time to time been enacted in the various States, restricting the hours and conditions of employment of women and children, and would bring back the intolerable exploitation which labor has combated and ameliorated in fifty (50) years of struggle; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take steps to inaugurate a movement that will protect Organized Labor from the menace of such "War Dictatorship" as is contained in the "Industrial Mobilization Plan," to which end we make the following suggestions: That legislation be immediately drafted to include the following points, (1) That on all War Boards, Labor shall be adequately represented by men appointed from the trades unions themselves; (2) That the rights of collective bargaining by trade unions be maintained, and (3) That present labor laws shall not be abrogated or nullified on the flimsy pretext of National Emergency.

(Introduced in accord with action taken on Resolution No. 99, Illinois State Federation of Labor Convention, September 18-23, 1939, Springfield, Illinois.)

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Vice-President Well: It may seem strange for the chairman of the committee, upon a favorable report, to address himself to a resolution involved. Yet, this resolution is of such import and deals with a subject of such great importance that I do want to take a few minutes of your time to advise you of what it involves, both in the resolution and in the purpose to be served.

First of all, I want to compliment the Illinois State Federation of Labor for calling the attention of this convention to the industrial mobilization plan which has been under preparation for a number of years and about which little is known, and the more it is known the better it will be for labor and for everybody concerned. This industrial mobilization plan is, of course, the outgrowth of the results and the developments had during the last World War. And so the Army and Navy Departments have been charged ever since with the duty and responsibility of devising plans, ways and means, should our nation again become involved, that steps might immediately be taken—aye, even when the imminence of war may present itself—in order to meet that situation.

The resolution calls attention to the fact

that in the plan so far submitted and designed, labor has been given but scant recognition on the Advisory Council, but that all effective power is delegated to the Army and Navy officials and not to the civilian peoples of our nation. It likewise calls attention to the fact that if the plans proposed are put into effect it will mean the immediate regimentation of labor, should such an emergency arise.

I hold in my hand the industrial mobilization plan to which it refers. I wish time might permit that I might present to you an analysis of this industrial plan, so that labor might understand and know just where it fits, should we again become involved in war. There is to be a great deal of apprehension expressed, should this plan become effective. I shall only call your attention briefly to some of the salient features.

On page 12, dealing with the question of the application of control measures:

"The assurance to industry of an adequate labor supply, both in numbers and by occupational qualifications, will require the organization of a labor administration with an Administration of Labor appointed by and directly responsible to the President. Among the more important problems to be considered are the minimizing, by an equitable distribution of war orders, of excessive migrations of labor; the prevention of unethical competition for labor by war industries."

Interpret this as you might, and you realize how the control will be had over labor. And then:

"The avoidance and settlement of labor problems; and the coordination of employment services."

When we turn to page 15 of this report, under the caption of "War Labor Administration" we find the following:

"The mission of the War Labor Administration primarily is to insure that war industries and industries catering to essential civilian requirements are able to secure and maintain adequate forces of labor, skilled and unskilled, to accomplish their missions."

On page 16, we have a provision dealing with price control, which also provides for the stabilization of fair wages.

When we turn to page 17 we find: "The War Resources Administration is the pivot

about which the war-time industrial control turns. It is the most powerful arm of the President for converting the industries into war uses. It is the meeting point of the war machine and industry. It is the first national super-agency established and can operate to a limited degree under the war-time powers of the government and existing legislative authority until additional legislation is secured to cover the full control powers herein set forth."

Then when we turn to pages 35 and 36 we find therein the control of labor. For instance: "In time of war the man power of the nation has two distinct missions: To provide men for the armed forces and to provide men for the maintenance of those armed forces. To meet the needs of the former, a selected portion of the male population within such ages as the Congress may direct will be called to the colors. The war effort of the remaining major portion of the population must be so directed that it will meet the necessary demands of the armed forces in addition to the normal maintenance requirements of the civilian population."

We find under Section 3 the functions which are, among others, to "determine labor requirements; to fill those requirements by bringing together the job and the worker; to keep together, so far as conditions will permit, the job and the worker."

That may be safely interpreted as an act to prevent difficulties of any kind during the period of war.

Might I say to you that in this report, without going further into its provisions, there is designed a provision that in the event of war or the imminence of war, all legislation having to do with the standards of work may be set aside, yes, even including minimum rates under which children might be employed. Likewise it is contemplated that our educational and training centers may be placed under the department of the war-making agencies.

It is well, therefore, that our attention is called to that industrial mobilization plan in order that we might know before we become involved in war—and pray that we may be spared that great trial and privation—so that at least we may know beforehand and seek to provide adequate representation of labor upon all agencies having to do with labor and

labor relationships, and so that the standards and the conditions we have set for ourselves may not be destroyed, so that we may maintain our freedom as trade unionists and as wage earners, that we may not only maintain our standards but seek continually thereafter to improve upon them.

Again I wish to congratulate the Illinois State Federation of Labor for calling the attention of this convention to this most vital, to this most important, to this most urgent subject.

Delegate Frey: There is one phase of the subject so ably presented by the chairman of the committee which should be called to your notice at this time. The industrial mobilization plan which was referred to is not law. It is proposed legislation.

There is law upon the federal statute books, however, which has received little consideration and which is practically unknown by Americans as a whole. There is legislation which confers authority upon the Chief Executive of our country far beyond that which is given to the executive of any other parliamentary country in the world.

The Act of 1916, which was for the purpose of giving the President of the United States certain authority in the event of a national emergency, was succeeded by the legislation of 1921, which created the National Defense Act. Under these two Acts the chief executive of our country is authorized to make certain declarations the result of his own conclusions, and after making those public declarations he is given power to act.

We have had quite recently an evidence of the functioning of these two bills. Two weeks before the special session of Congress was called the President of the United States notified the country that a condition of limited emergency existed and that in view of that fact there were certain steps which he was taking. In the message to the special session of Congress the condition of limited emergency had vanished and it had become a condition of national emergency. And so we entered a new status so far as our usual activities as citizens are concerned.

Now the laws that I refer to convey upon the President the authority to declare that in his opinion there is an imminence of war.

Those are the words used in the Act, "imminence of war." Whenever the President of our country declares that in his opinion there is an imminence of war the law then authorizes him to immediately place contracts for national defense which could not be placed under other circumstances.

More important and of vital interest to us is the fact that, after declaring an imminence of war to exist, the Chief Executive is authorized to appoint those civilian agencies which would have the direction of our activities as wage earners, as well as the activities of business men during the period of imminence. That means that we would immediately be placed under federal regulations, such federal regulations as the Chief Executive decided were essential, in view of the imminence of war.

It follows quite logically, if the President of the United States declares that there exists imminence of war and that he appoints civilian agencies to make rules and regulations and announce plans, that if the imminence of war was followed by a declaration of war these same agencies in all likelihood would be appointed for the period of the war. In view of the fact that the President believed there was a limited emergency a civilian board was created, the War Resources Board. You have read much of that board, of its personnel, of those powerful interests in our country that members of that board were expected to represent. No labor representation was upon that board.

Although this board having to do with industrial mobilization was created and functioned for a while without representation of labor, no other national board was created to consider labor itself in connection with a limited emergency. And so labor was excluded on a voice. Labor, in larger numbers than anyone else, would be affected; labor if war came, would lay down more lives than any other group of Americans, and so it is necessary that labor should understand that there does exist labor legislation which makes it possible for civilian authorities to be set up that would regulate our activities and limit our activities.

In view of that, it seems to me that this convention should place itself emphatically and insistently on record that as American wage earners we are going to be heard in

the councils of the nation. If we are not heard we are going to find out the reason why before we mildly submit to be herded and regimented to meet with anybody's ideas of what is good for the national welfare.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: The committee has changed its regular order of presenting subjects, so that following the action of the convention in adopting the resolution introduced by the delegates from the Illinois State Federation of Labor, you may have before you the committee's report on the subject of the conflict between European nations.

The action of the convention on this section of the committee's report will dispose of Resolution No. 88, which was referred to a moment ago.

Conflict Between European Nations (Executive Council's Report, Page 225)

In its report on the Conflict Between European Nations, the Executive Council predicated its consideration of all that is involved in so far as the United States is concerned, in these words:

"We are unalterably opposed to our own nation becoming involved in European conflict. We favor the exercise of neighborly and mediatorial influence by our government in all efforts to promote peace and to compose differences between nations. But, in doing this, we insist that our government shall pursue a judicious policy, exercising care and caution and a firm determination to avoid involvement in European conflicts or in European wars."

It was with this far-sighted and cogent statement by the Executive Council in mind, that your committee prepared its report.

Unquestionably the continuation and expansion of parliamentary government in Europe is involved in the present war. The right of men to enjoy liberty, free political institutions, freedom of association, and freedom of expression, is equally involved.

No such war as the present one can be brought to a conclusion without affecting our national welfare and national opportunities as a citizenship accustomed to the exercise of liberty and free institutions un-

der a government created and controlled by the people. Because this is so, we cannot avoid personal interests and sympathies. But we cannot, and we must not, permit these to color or influence our judgments, or lead us to again become involved in an European conflict with the unavoidable participation afterwards in Europe's internal problems.

There remains fresh in our memories the reasons which led our country to participate in the World War. We were convinced that our participation would make the world safe for democracy. Since that war we have been painfully disillusioned, for the European world, at least, was seemingly made safe for dictatorships. It was these totalitarian states arising from conditions following the signing of the Versailles Treaty which gave to dictators, with their ruthless destruction of democratic institutions, their opportunity.

We are opposed to participation in the present war for many valid reasons; one, which we must not overlook, being the fact that we would be but one of several nations contending against the totalitarian powers.

We would not have the deciding voice in the method of conducting the war.

We would not have the deciding voice in determining the terms of peace.

We would not have the deciding voice in apportioning the costs in human lives and in wealth.

We would be called upon to approve a war program which would take an incalculable toll of American lives on foreign soil and which would leave hundreds of thousands of our young men horribly mutilated.

We would be forced to surrender many of the liberties and perhaps many of our rights for the time being—liberties and rights which are so essential to the protection of our welfare—for a democracy at war would impose regulations and conditions which would not, and could not, be tolerated during normal times.

Labor would be regimented and perhaps deprived of an adequate voice in the nation's councils. After the war labor in our country would struggle under heavier burdens than ever before and find itself the victim of crushing taxation.

In such legislation as has come to our notice which has been prepared for enactment

by Congress should a national war emergency arise, we are not aware of any provisions assuring labor of adequate representation.

We note with regret that in the administrative appointment of the War Resources Board no representative of the American trade union movement was included. Perchance that board was not created to consider and report upon facts and policies which directly included labor.

In all national emergencies the people as a whole are involved, and it should be mandatory that where a people are involved the principle of adequate representation should be observed. Labor because it is the most numerous; labor because it is one of the essential factors of defense; labor, which always must bear the greater burden, should be represented upon every national board, committee, commission or other federal body created having to deal with any phase of labor conditions during a period of national emergency. Failure to give labor such representation would be sufficient reason to cause the gravest doubts in labor's minds.

The experience of recent years has emphasized the wisdom of the advice given to our country by our first and great President—George Washington—in his farewell address.

Since the World War we have become acquainted with the war-time propaganda applied in this country during that conflict to influence what course our nation should pursue.

At the present time propaganda agencies are again active in seeking to create an appeal to our fears, sympathies, our emotions, or our prejudices, which would lead our nation to take steps which would meet the desires of those who direct the propaganda. Some of those endeavoring to influence us at this time are friendly nations, some are totalitarian states who aim to destroy our form of government and the free institutions which exist under it.

We must retain calmness of mind and of balanced judgment if we are to prevent ourselves from being drawn into the vortex of a European conflict for which we are in no way responsible.

Already policies are being advocated which, on the surface, seem to be neutral and fully justified, but which, if approved, would lead our nation to take those first steps which,

when taken, would of necessity lead to others which in turn would so commit our national policy as to irresistibly and irretrievably force us into the war.

Should we enter the European conflict, or should our country by any action indicate its official support of some of the warring countries, we could not help but become allied with them, an alliance which we would not then be free to sever during the period of the war or afterwards.

The only way by which we can avoid being drawn into the present European war is to definitely determine that we will not, that under no circumstances will we enter into any national policy which would include the use of armed force, except should our shores be attacked. That we will not under any circumstances become involved in war except to repel invaders.

Although not involved in the war, it is evident that our national economic life has already been influenced, rising prices of commodities having already affected the wage earners' cost of living.

In addition, prices of raw and semi-finished materials have already increased prices to American industries, due to the increase in exports, one of these which has attracted public notice being the enormous shipments of scrap iron and other basic materials to Japan.

Additional problems are certain to develop if the war is continued, and additional nations become embroiled.

For these reasons your committee recommends that the entire subject of export and increasing prices and the question of adequate labor representation, be referred to the Executive Council for immediate study, and such recommendations and actions as seem most practical and appropriate under the circumstances.

There may come a time when the warring countries would welcome some great neutral nation taking the lead in mediatorial efforts. To tender such an offer prematurely might not only involve us in an embarrassing situation, but in addition might well prove without successful results.

With these expressions of opinion your committee recommends the adoption of the Council's report.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report. The motion was seconded.

Delegate Grossman, American Federation of Teachers: President Green and delegates—I quote from the Executive Council's report: "We as American people have responsibility for peace. We have the capacity for self-government, and at the same time we should ask ourselves, Who wants war? A few days ago the New York Times, in its official page, published a flurry about the "peace scare." Working men and women do not need war. I don't think the average American man or woman is worried by a "peace scare." Working men and women do not want war. I cannot add to what was in the Executive Council's report, nor can I add to President Green's summary.

You have just endorsed a resolution by the State Federation of Illinois which calls our attention to what will happen in the regimentation of labor if war should come. There are forces that, through an emotional appeal, will attempt to get us into the war. I was a child in the last war, but I was conscious of the force of propaganda all about us, yet that propaganda was crude compared to the subtle propaganda we hear today. Mayor LaGuardia says of the war in Europe that there is no hope for the working people of these countries, no matter how it ends.

Father John E. Kuhn said at the special mass for delegates last Sunday, "Working people give only their blood and get no gain. From developments thus far we can see no reason that will justify on moral grounds our participation on one side or the other of the European conflict. But we must take every precaution lest on an emotional wave we be swept into the conflict as we were in 1917, by the force of propaganda. The time to raise your voices is now, and not after war has been declared."

Day before yesterday Senator Edwin Johnson of Colorado made an excellent proposal—to adjourn Congress for three days to give President Roosevelt an opportunity to mediate. The Executive Council has recommended in its report that our country be ready to act as mediator. Johnson wanted to set aside the question of an embargo or no embargo for an effort to achieve peace.

Commander Kelley, of the American Legion, said: "No idealistic means of pre-

venting war. We stand united in our efforts to keep this nation from embroilment in any foreign war, no matter what the pretext and no matter what the pressure."

We have been promised jobs, the frenzy of war industry that will put our unemployed back to work. The danger is that under promise of jobs labor may be pushed into war; that under guise of "war emergency," labor unions may be suppressed. It is wise to take definite action to turn our country from the false lure of war prosperity.

I should like to read to you a portion of a letter sent by the teachers to President Roosevelt:

"We have definitely no sympathy in the struggle except for the American people and their children whom we teach. To that end we urge to keep America out of war.

"First, by providing a positive program of jobs to counteract the mirage of war prosperity by enacting such bills as the Wagner-Steagall Housing Bill, the Thomas Federal Aid to Education Bill, the Wagner Health Bill, as well as bills to extend WPA and PWA. All legislation which will at the same time provide work and extend the security and well being of the American people will have a positive effect in stemming the movement toward war.

"Second, by immediately curbing the rise in the standard of living, rigidly restricting profiteering on food and other necessities of life.

"Third, by protecting labor's rights to organize and defend its wages and working conditions. This means a defense of existing labor legislation.

"Fourth, by protecting civil liberties in order to preserve and extend democracy; under guise of war emergency the common rights of teachers as citizens have in some instances already been assailed."

And here we as teachers come in. We are public employes, and already in various cities of the United States, under guise of war emergency, teachers are being warned not to speak in public at any place and to be very wary of anything they say.

The first mild attempt is being made to suppress us, and what will happen to us may happen to other citizens. We feel that no embargo can prevent war. We have pro-

posed this program because it would be a positive thing. Take the housing program. If I were to ask any of you who are in the building trades whether you prefer to build homes for American families or to pour cement for a Maginot line, I know every one of you will choose the building of homes. If we were to take our American doctors and nurses and put them in clinics to take care of our own people, it would be a better program than fixing up the maimed and crippled in war. The employment of thousands of unemployed teachers where they may teach the young citizens of America practical democracy is a much more real defense of civilization than going into war.

So this is the road to democracy and civilization and to jobs. But in all of this we must be, as President Green has said self-controlled and self-disciplined and not again become involved in what I cannot believe to be anything but an unprincipled war. Remember that tolerance is the cornerstone of our American democracy, and we must not at any time fall into a state of mind that will make us intolerant. We have nothing to gain; we have everything to lose—our living standards, our liberties, our trade unions, our very lives and those of our children. Let us keep sober and let those who contend for power in Europe today fight their own battles.

I recall that in the Easter uprising in Ireland in 1916, as a child I collected money for the victims of the Black and Tans. Twenty years later, I collected for the victims of Hitler's cruelty. I cannot be easily deluded into thinking that the conflict in Europe is a great crusade, since all of the countries at war have oppressed colonies.

I hope you will adopt the report of the Executive Council and that you will carry back from this convention the real needs of working men and working women of America; that you will watch every attempt to pull us into this war, that you will defeat every piece of propaganda; that you will be self-controlled and self-disciplined; that you will support at the proper time the mediation of the United States to bring peace to the world, and that you will remember we have nothing to gain from this war. I say this as a woman and as a teacher, who feels the necessity of convincing our people of what may befall them.

Delegate Fedderman: At this time I want to say that I do not agree fully with the committee's report. At the present time we are at war in Canada, and there is no doubt that every trade unionist is standing behind the government in Canada to support this war. Of course, I don't expect the American Federation of Labor to go on record in favor of war, but just analyzing the present conditions, what the war is for, I will say this: England is fighting against Hitlerism. We know what Hitlerism means. We know what dictatorship means in Europe today. We know what it means if Hitler and Stalin should win the war. Dictatorship will be in control the world over.

Do you realize that if England and France are not going to win this war the trade union movement, even in the United States, will be in danger of being wiped out? We know from history that Germany is the country where they had the strongest trade union movement in the world. When Hitler came into power the movement was wiped out. In Austria and Czechoslovakia the same thing happened. We are told we cannot under any circumstances enter the war in the European countries. Suppose another year will see that France and England are in danger of losing the war and they appeal to the United States. Hitlerism is dangerous to every democratic institution in the United States. No matter what is going to happen in Europe, we should not enter the war. Therefore I say before we adopt this report we should refer it back to the Executive Council to re-write the report.

I feel that the English and French and Canadian working classes do not want war, but they are forced to go to war. We are compelled to fight Hitlerism, we are compelled to fight Stalinism and dictatorship in general. Therefore I say we don't know what will happen to the working class in a year or two.

As I said previously, the workers in England and France and Canada do not want war. We all hate war, but we know we are compelled to fight Hitler and Stalin together at the present time. We are fighting today against dictatorships. We are defending democracy today. We do not say, like some agents of Stalin's party, that this is not a fight against Hitlerism. They say this is an imperialistic war. We do say this is not

an imperialistic war of Germany and France today. This is a war to defend democracy and the organizations of democracy.

Let us look at the true facts today in the United States. Who are the forces today which have been fighting against President Roosevelt's new proposal to change the Neutrality Act? The forces are the German Bund and Earl Browder, representing the Stalin government. They are the ones fighting against any change of the Neutrality Act, because they know if this Act is changed, then there is a chance that the United States might help England and France in the World War, and they know also that if the United States will help England and France there is a big chance to win the war and defeat Hitlerism and Stalinism.

I am not saying to this convention that we should go on record in favor of war, but to change a certain paragraph which says that the United States should not enter the war, no matter what may happen or no matter what circumstances, because I believe we can't tell what may happen in the very near future.

I hope, Mr. President and delegates, that this report will be referred to the Executive Council and studied, and I believe this change should be made on the question of the United States not entering the war, no matter what the circumstances and no matter what happens.

President Green: This is the hour at which we are to hear the address of the Archbishop of Cincinnati. His Grace the Archbishop is here, and the committee named yesterday will escort him to the platform immediately.

The committee, composed of Vice President Duffy, President Morrin of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, President Duffy, of the Operative Potters, escorted Archbishop McNicholas to the platform.

President Green: Officers and delegates in attendance at the 59th convention of the American Federation of Labor—I am happy indeed to have the pleasure of presenting to you His Grace, John T. McNicholas of Cincinnati, for an address this morning. I know we all very deeply appreciate the presence of the Archbishop here this morning. He has graciously consented to lay aside his ministerial duties and come to this convention and honor us by his presence and address us

in his characteristic style. I present to you His Grace, John T. McNicholas, Archbishop of Cincinnati.

Address By Archbishop McNicholas

The American Federation of Labor has had many intimate contacts with Cincinnati. I trust that the warm hospitality of the South, which we like to think characterizes the city that is its gateway, has made you feel at home. I come to you with the assurance that the Catholic Church of this Diocese has prayed earnestly that God might direct your deliberations. I like to think that the delegates of this convention have put in the place of honor a vacant chair for an unseen Host, for Christ the Worker. If He be in your councils and in your deliberations, if His principles are yours, you may be sure that this convention will produce salutary results.

There can be no question among informed men guided by an unchangeable moral code that labor and trade groups have a right to form unions or to set up a federation that will serve their best interests, and to select those who shall represent them in bargaining not only for a just wage but for a share in profits and for copartnership. While we must give to every man liberty of action in entering a union or federation, I venture to express the hope that, through the validity of arguments presented, through moral suasion, and through the influence of public opinion practically every eligible worker of this nation may be convinced that he should become a member of some union or federation or corporation whose purpose it is to work for social justice.

It affords me great happiness to address you today, but I wish conditions were so far advanced that I might go from this assembly room to another, where I might address a union of employers whose leaders would confer daily with you, who would know you by personal contact, who would be able to see your problems from your point of view, who would profit by your experience, who would realize the dignity of human nature and of human personality, and also the nobility of human labor, who would tell you immediately and directly that they wanted nothing more than a fair return on their investment, who would invite you through your representatives to share their responsibilities, and who would insist with you that justice and charity should bind you in bonds of friendship. If Christ the Worker dominated both employer and employee there would be no enmity, no injustice, no exploiting of labor. There would be, instead, a constant effort to give to every man what is due him. The methods employed by both groups would be founded on justice and morality. A conference of employers and employees, governed by Christian principles, would help to terminate the abuses of capitalism; it would recognize and condemn the danger to society of the anonymous and irresponsible character of many capitalistic corporations; it should work out a plan by which labor would not only share in profits but would be admitted to copartnership. Christian labor and

Christian capital, collaborating harmoniously, would strive to put an end to every injustice in the domain of labor and thereby remove the temptation of workers to submit to the degrading yoke of Communism. I wish the unjust capitalists and industrialists could realize fully the extent of their responsibility in driving the poor and laboring man into the ranks of Communism.

We cannot expect a complete change of heart in the industrialist and capitalist overnight. Many, thank God, are beginning to recognize their stewardship, although they do not know from personal contact the suffering and privations of the poor and the conditions of the home life of laborers and tradesmen. Other capitalists seem to think that some kind of industrial slavery for the masses is inseparable from human nature. I would like to leave with you the assurance that the Catholic Church, from the Pope down to the simplest priest of every village throughout the world, raises her voice against the injustice of employers and pleads for justice for labor. Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI were champions of all who suffered injustice in the industrial world. Pope Pius XII, gentle and patient as he is, will prove strong and immovable in defending the justice of your cause.

In this age of mechanical devices and material progress there should be no thought of restraining inventive genius. There is, however, a serious question presented by machines for mass production, which can and do disturb the reasonable balance of supply and demand. If capital, for the sole motive of profit, can encourage and introduce such machines, labor, which is vitally interested in them for the very means of sustaining life, should have something to say about them. While capital owns the machines, labor should have a voice, at least by contract, about their operation, since, in an industrial country and age, the masses depend upon them for a livelihood. The State has the right to impose heavy taxes on machines of mass production, so that the motive of profit among capitalists will be held in reasonable control.

There is another consideration presented by machines of mass production. The justice of a five-day week for labor is becoming more and more recognized. We can, however, visualize the multiplication of machines of mass production to such an extent that five or ten hours of labor in a week will be all that can be reasonably be required of a man. These few hours under such conditions must insure the employee a living wage. Machines reduce hours of labor. They should never be permitted to degrade men by depriving them of their right to earn by their labor sufficient means to provide for themselves and their families in health, in sickness, and in old age, according to the dignity of human nature.

I trust that the delegates of this convention are set against war. Europe cannot settle her own affairs, and certainly we cannot settle them for her. We should not attempt, even, to seek a balance of power, which would, for a time, take the advantage from one side and give it to the other. The objectives of this war, even though it ends before it be-

comes a world upheaval, will not be attained. If for temporary advantages we enter the war, we shall forfeit permanent gains. It is the laborer and the tradesman who will be called upon to make the greatest sacrifice. Even in war we attempt to defend some rights of property, but we treat human beings as though they had no rights regarding the preservation of their very lives. In one act of conscription governments tell men they must give up their lives, if necessary, in war, even if they are convinced that it is not justified morally. And for what? For the insanity of nations or the madness of dictators, for the achievement of something that lying propagandists would have us think attainable. I realize that men who love their country as they love their very lives differ as to the measures best calculated to preserve the peace of the United States. I trust that labor, with one voice, will demand peace of those who represent it in government. If war comes, a regimentation will follow in this country such as we have never known. Labor unions and federations, such as yours, may be allowed a nominal existence, but nothing more. What did labor get out of the first World War? Its lot will be still worse if another world cataclysm comes.

We cannot deny that social legislation can be of great benefit to labor. But you must be on your guard against the loss of that liberty which belongs to you as individuals, as fathers of families, and as groups united to know and to defend your rights. The tendency of all governments today is towards totalitarianism. We cannot expect our country to be an exception. The democracies of the world are facing a great crisis. But it is precisely such groups as yours that should give mandates to those who represent them in government—mandates founded on the moral order, mandates that make for justice and that promote love among your fellow men, mandates that will keep America a true land of liberty.

I realize fully that many difficulties must be faced in the practical world of labor. We, whose minds and hearts are sympathetic to labor, can only grieve over the disputes that exist in its ranks. It is our hope and prayer that these will be terminated, as well as the jurisdictional disputes that divide the solidarity of a union or federation of labor and array public opinion against it. I venture to hope that your Federation will gain more support through the sustaining power of public opinion everywhere, and that your decisions, reached from year to year in your conventions, will commend themselves to all right-thinking men and women.

I hope it is possible for a Federation such as yours to give opportunities to young men of moral stamina to become your strong and informed leaders in the trying years through which labor must pass. I venture to think that these promising young men should come from homes that have known poverty and from industrial conditions that justice could not approve. Such young men must acquire extraordinary factual knowledge. In mind and in heart they must be sympathetic to the

poor. They must appreciate the nobility of labor. They must consider their vocation to defend your rights a chosen one. They must be given solid, fundamental training in Christian social justice and in Christian philosophy. They must have love in their hearts for all men and, consequently, no aversion for any racial groups. They must not be exposed to the pseudo-wisdom of certain types of radical professors in our universities and colleges who are doing such a dis-service to America, and especially to the youth of our land, at the present moment.

May God bless your Federation! May His blessing bring notable success to you in training gifted leaders of the future, whose sterling Christian character will make them respected and fearless champions of labor!

President Green: We sincerely thank His Grace the Archbishop for his visit here this morning and for his inspiring address. We know him in our American Federation of Labor movement as a great leader in religion who is sympathetic toward the aims and purposes of our great movement. This morning he has enhanced the impression that has lived with us, for in every word he uttered he breathed the sympathy of a great soul for humanity and the cause of labor. I thank him in your behalf.

We will now resume consideration of the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

(The subject matter under discussion before the address of the Archbishop was the report of the committee on that section of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "Conflict Between European Nations.")

Delegate Willis, Newspaper Workers' Union No. 21877: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I believe we are overstepping the breach of neutrality when we even discuss peace. Our school teacher delegate told us this morning that, being a teacher, she is very much interested in children. The delegates to this convention, being teachers of families, are very much interested in them, too. I recall from her address that she brought to the minds of the delegates the facts of the Black and Tans in Ireland of the British Government. I, too, am familiar with those things, and I have been very appreciative of the fact that Ireland and England, after all these years of oppression and antagonism

toward one another, have worked out an agreement by which Ireland is now a republic.

Those countries are capable of taking care of themselves. If not, it will be their own misfortune. England and France have elected to go into this war to defeat the purposes of the Nazi government. We were told that our teacher friend solicited funds to fight the Black and Tans in Ireland. Then she hooked up the Black and Tans with the Roman Catholic Church, stating she solicited funds to defeat Nazism.

I recognize there is something in that. I can read between speeches and between the lines of written articles, and I say that I am just as solicitous of getting funds to defeat Communism and Stalinism as I am to defeat Nazism.

This great American Federation of Labor must recognize that Russia, with all of its so-called humanitarianism, has started to defeat the purpose for which England entered the war, simply because of the invasion of Poland, and now that they have gone into that country and are going to divide the spoils between the two arch-enemies of labor, we are advised now to consider and talk of peace.

Mr. Chairman and delegates, the war of England and France against the Nazis and those who participate with them is because of the dangers right on the doorstep of England and France. England fights now, France fights now, or later on they won't be able to fight.

As far as I understand, they have been able, with all their fights with England, to keep Communism out of Ireland, and if this war is brought to a successful conclusion they will keep Nazism out of Ireland, too and I don't think this convention should go too far into the discussions of peace, because after all it is looked upon as our fight.

They used to say over on the other side, when two fellows got to scrapping, "Who's down now?" And they would say, "Our John," and then they would say, "Pick him up." And then they say, "Who's down now?" And the answer comes, "A stranger." And then they say, "Boot him; boot him."

So there you are with this fight.

Our Federation of Labor recognizes what the British Labor movement has been con-

fronted with through various invasions of Communism into the trade union movement of that country, and had it been successful the lot of the English labor movement would be that of the German labor movement.

It has been truly enough said that the labor movement of this country would be in danger if invaded by dictatorship. The first objective of the dictator is to remove all elements of trade unionism and close its doors.

I am agreeable with the committee's report, Mr. Chairman. As far as bringing in Ireland and the Black and Tans, a thing that the Irish and the English, the English especially, would love to forget—some people are merely subjects of England and had nothing to do with oppression of Ireland. Some people have been removed from the shores of England because they declared for home rule for Ireland, and that comes pretty close to myself.

But so far as the war between England and France and the Nazis and the "Com-mies" is concerned, I believe it is a matter that can be left up to them, and it looks to me like they are going to give them a damned good licking.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Entry of U. S. in European War

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Imperial Valley Central Labor Union, El Centro, Calif.

WHEREAS, This United States of America is a democratic nation; and

WHEREAS, The action taken by its representatives reflects the attitude of the citizens of this country, and

WHEREAS, War in all its ramifications is destructive of all that is best in the world, not only of treasured buildings and works of art, the products of many years of effort, but also, and which is much more important, war wrecks and destroys life itself.

The coming war will destroy not only the young men, the fighters, but also women and children, the fathers and mothers, the boys and girls, who have been left by the fire-side at home. All these will become targets for bombs of opposing forces.

Inasmuch as war brings only sadness, misery and destruction, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Imperial Valley Central Labor Council go on record as opposing the entry of the United States into the impending world conflict. And, further, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the California State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor to take similar action.

No action required, as the convention has already acted upon the subject matter.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Formation of National Council of Warehouse Employees

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate O. O. Moore, Virginia State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Virginia State Federation of Labor, at its convention held, adopted the following resolution as submitted by Federal Labor Union No. 20558, as follows:

WHEREAS, There are 50,000 warehouse employees now organized in Federal Labor Unions throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, Approximately 18,000 of these warehousemen have indicated that they desire to form into an International within the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These local unions have petitioned the American Federation of Labor for the formation of either a National Council of Warehousemen or an International Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the Virginia State Federation of Labor go on record as recommending that it grant to the warehouse employees now organized into Federal Labor Unions, a National Council of Warehouse Employees, or an International Union covering these types of workers.

THEREFORE NOW, the Virginia State Federation of Labor, in accordance with the action taken by its convention, in adopting the resolution submitted by Federal Labor Union No. 20558, as set forth above, **DOES**

Petition and recommend to this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that it, the American Federation of Labor, grant unto the Warehouse Employees, who are now organized into Federal Labor Unions, a National Council of Warehouse Employees, or an International Union covering these types of workers.

Your committee recommends reference of the resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Support of A. F. of L. Newspaper Writers Union in Chicago

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The C. I. O. Newspaper Guild of Chicago has, through a ten months' campaign of violence, misrepresentations, false appeals to our membership throughout the

country, and intimidation of advertising merchants both in Chicago and on a national scale, placed the jobs of some 2000 members of our affiliated unions in jeopardy; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago C. I. O. Newspaper Guild continues to send appeals to our local unions and Central Labor Unions for funds to carry on their fight against the newspaper in Chicago wherein our membership is employed, making the false claim in all such appeals that organized labor in Chicago and throughout the country is backing the fight of the Guild on the Chicago newspaper; and

WHEREAS, The campaign of terror carried on by the Guild in picketing places of business ordinarily using the columns of the Chicago paper for advertising purposes has resulted in causing many business houses to take their advertising out of the paper, thus reducing the demand for the labor of our members; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Trades and the Illinois Federation of Labor have long been active in their support of our membership employed on the Chicago paper by opposing the activities of the C. I. O. Guild; and

WHEREAS, the C. I. O. Guild, with the aid of the Communists throughout the country, have carried the fight against the paper into every State in the Union, making it a national boycott against the paper on which our 2000 members are employed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, empower the Executive Council to take whatever action may be necessary to preserve the jobs of our members employed on the Chicago newspaper, and that all State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and local unions be requested to counteract the false and erroneous information being supplied the members of our organizations, the public and national advertisers. Be it further

RESOLVED, That the misuse of the American Federation of Labor's name by the C. I. O. Guild and its agents be prohibited by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: The committee will now report upon sections of the Executive Council's Report referred to the committee.

INTRODUCTION (Executive Council's Report, Page 32)

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report contained in the introduction, your committee recommends approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**LABOR STANDARDS UNDER
GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS
(Executive Council's Report,
Page 173)**

This report is a presentation of all which has taken place since the operation of the Walsh-Healy Act.

The Council calls attention to the fact that experience of the past year has emphasized the necessity for a more expeditious and more aggressive enforcement policy if the standards of the Public Contract Act are to become fully effective.

With this expression of opinion your committee is in full accord.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**THE PREVAILING WAGE
PROBLEM
(Executive Council's Report,
Page 172)**

Under the caption "The Prevailing Wage Problem," the Executive Council reports upon the provisions of General Order No. 1, approved by Commissioner Harrington, W. P. A. on August 15th, 1939.

This order relates largely to wage rates to be paid those employed on W. P. A. work.

Your committee heartily concurs in the Executive Council's statement that no data relative to the cost of living can justify the absurdities and inconsistencies of the wage rates provided for in General Order No. 1.

Your committee likewise concurs with the Executive Council's statement that the security wage contained in such a schedule must have a destructive effect upon the structure of prevailing wages in all communities.

Your committee therefore recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**WORK RELIEF
(Executive Council's Report,
Page 169)**

This portion of the Executive Council's

report is a compilation of factual material relative to work relief.

It also calls attention to the enormous extent of unemployment and the relief problem which remains unsolved.

We concur in the Executive Council's belief that it is essential that Public Works, the construction of public buildings, bridges, airports, highways, etc., should be included in a permanent works program.

With this comment your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
(Executive Council's Report,
Page 144)**

Under that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Department of Labor," your committee notes the efforts being made under reorganization to transfer agencies established within the Department of Labor to other Departments of the Federal Government.

The Department of Labor came into existence as a result of the energetic activities of the American Federation of Labor, and its success in convincing the Congress of the United States that a Department of Labor was fully as essential as a Department of Agriculture, or a Department of Commerce. This dismembering of the Department of Labor can only result in minimizing its effectiveness and weakening its value to labor.

The committee in expressing approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to use every effort to prevent any dismembering of a department created for the specific purpose of labor's welfare.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**PUBLICITY AND THE LABOR
PRESS
(Executive Council's Report,
Page 215)**

In this portion of the Executive Council's report, reference is made to the Publicity

Bureau established by the American Federation of Labor two years ago, and the resulting educational campaign which has been conducted through the medium of daily newspapers, magazines and the radio.

Largely as a result of this publicity campaign, polls conducted by the Institute of Public Opinion show that the vast majority of American people approve of the American Federation of Labor, and support the policies of the A. F. of L. over those of the C. I. O.

Reference is made to the services rendered by the labor press in supporting the philosophy and policies of the American Federation of Labor and attention is also directed to the fact that the labor press refused to be hoodwinked when the C. I. O. undertook, through one of its organizations—the American Newspaper Guild—to capture and control the labor press by offering to cooperate with them.

Unquestionably the influential part in propagandizing for the C. I. O. played by the American Newspaper Guild during the early years of its existence, has largely vanished.

The labor press which has supported the American Federation of Labor has performed a most valuable service in keeping labor and the public acquainted with the purpose and the policies of the American Federation of Labor, and in overcoming the influence of hostile propaganda circulated by those opposed to us.

With these observances your committee recommends the adoption of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

JOBS FOR ALL IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY (Executive Council's Report, Page 204)

In the introductory portion of this session of the Executive Council's report, your attention is called to the fact that there still remain some ten million wage earners who are unable to secure employment in private industry.

The Council points out that industrial conditions in our country have undergone a great change, that there is no longer the same op-

portunity as in the past for highly profitable investment in great expansion in the nation's producing plant and equipment. It points out that profits today must depend largely upon increasing the nation's capacity to consume.

In connection with this the Executive Council points out that Federal spending and "pump priming" cannot permanently restore business to healthy activity, unless it is coordinated with other action to assist private industry in resuming normal expansion. That the present problem is one of management on a national scale.

After reference to the problem facing industrial management, the Executive Council expresses the opinion that our national problems will yield to more cooperative action if this represents the several factors in the nation's economic life.

We cannot believe that American engineering skill, American labor, and the genius of American management which have developed, our unequalled industrial mechanism, will fail to solve the problem of national coordination if given encouragement to undertake it.

The Executive Council, however, emphasizes the fact that in any national groups who undertake such a responsibility, labor, farmers, and consumers must be adequately represented so that their interests will not be neglected.

The Executive Council recommends that Congress create a National Advisory Council of this nature during the coming session. The suggestions of such an advisory group to be submitted to Congress for action and made available to the general public. Such an advisory council would give the people as a whole the necessary representation to guide Congress wisely instead of having Congress besieged by special interests with their own programs, prepared for their own self-advancement.

With these expressions of opinion your committee recommends adoption of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONSUMER COOPERATIVES (Executive Council's Report, Page 202)

Under the caption "Consumer Cooperatives"

the Executive Council presents factual information relative to the development of consumer cooperatives in a number of cities. It also refers to the development of credit unions under the Federal Credit Union Section.

In connection with cooperatives, the Executive Council advocates the trade union organization of all employes in all cooperative stores.

Your committee calls attention to the Committee on Credit Unions created by the American Federation of Labor, which as yet has not submitted its final report.

Because of conditions connected with credit unions which do not exist in connection with cooperative stores, your committee believes it unwise to make any recommendations in so far as credit unions are concerned, until the Committee on Credit Unions of the A. F. of L. has submitted its report.

Your committee therefore refers that portion of the report relative to credit unions to the Executive Council, to be considered in connection with the report to be submitted by the Committee on Credit Unions.

Your committee recommends wholehearted approval of that portion of the report relative to consumer cooperatives, and moves the adoption of the committee's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

GERMAN BOYCOTT **(Executive Council's Report,** **Page 225)**

When the Executive Council prepared its report relative to the German boycott, the amazing treaties between certain nations had not yet been entered into. It is obvious that under recent treaties of non-aggression, and apparently of military alliance, this convention cannot consider the question of a boycott against German goods without including a declaration of boycott against Russia, or any other country which may ally itself with Germany in its present military activities.

Your committee therefore recommends that the convention reaffirm the previous declaration of conventions in favor of a boycott against German goods and German services, until Hitler and his totalitarian government ceases persecution of the Jewish people because of racial hatred and because of their

minority position, and of the Catholics and Protestants who seek to exercise freedom of worship in accordance with the dictates of their conscience, and until such time as the right of minority groups living in Germany are fully and free recognized by a German government, and until the right of free trade unions to exist and function has been fully recognized.

Your committee further recommends, and for the same reasons, that the boycott be equally applied to all Russian manufactured goods and services, and that it be further applied to all other countries joining with Russia and Germany in the present conflict between the totalitarian governments and the great parliamentary nations of Europe.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Green: In connection with the making of this report, I want to present to the convention for just one moment some literary quotations. It will only take a second. Here is one that is a gem:

"It is simply an impossibility for a coalition of cripples to storm a powerful State determined, if need be, to risk the last drop of blood for its existence. As a folkish man, who estimates the value of humanity on racial basis, I may not, simply because of my knowledge of their racial inferiority, link my own nation's fate with that of these so-called 'oppressed nations'.

"But today we must adopt exactly the same attitude with respect to Russia. The former Russia, divested of its German upper stratum, is, entirely aside from its new rulers, private plans, no ally for a struggle of the German nation for freedom. Considered purely militarily, in the event of a Germano-Russian war against Western Europe, which would probably, however, mean against the entire rest of the world, the relations would be simply catastrophic. The struggle would proceed not on Russian but on German soil, without Germany being able to get from Russia even the slightest effective support. The present German Reich's instruments of power are so miserable and so impossible for an external fight that not even a border guard could be maintained against Western Europe, including England, and precisely the German industrial district would lie defenselessly abandoned to our opponents' concentrated weapons of attack. In addition, there lies between Germany and Russia the Polish State, reposing entirely in French hands. In the event of a Germano-Russian war against Western Europe, Russia would have to subdue Poland before it could bring its first soldier to a German front. It is, however, not nearly so much a question of soldiers as it is of technical armament. In this respect the World War situation would

repent itself, only much more horribly. Just as German industry was then drained for our famous allies and Germany had to fight the technical war almost entirely by itself, so would Russia completely drop out of this war as a technical factor in this struggle."

Again he says: "Thus the fact of the conclusions of a treaty with Russia embodies the declaration of the next war. Its outcome would be the end of Germany."

"In addition there is the following:

"1. The present rulers of Russia do not at all think of entering an alliance sincerely or of keeping one.

"We must never forget that the regents of present-day Russia are common bloodstained criminals; that here is the scum of humanity, which, favored by conditions in a tragic hour, overran a great State, butchered and routed out millions of its leading intellects with savage bloodthirstiness, and for nearly ten years has exercised the most frightful regime of tyranny of all time. Nor must we forget that these rulers belong to a nation which combines a rare mixture of bestial horror with an inconceivable gift of lying, and today more than ever before believes itself called upon to impose its bloody oppression on the world. We must not forget that the international Jew, who today rules Russia absolutely, sees in Germany, not an ally, but a State marked for the same destiny. But one does not conclude a treaty with some one whose sole interest is the destruction of his partner. Above all, one does not make them with parties to whom no treaty would be sacred, since they inhabit this world, not as the advocates of honor and truthfulness, but as the advocates of lying, deceit, theft, rapine and plundering. If anybody thinks of going into treaty ties with parasites, this resembles a tree's efforts to conclude to its own advantage an agreement with a mistletoe."

I have quoted these literary gems from "Mein Kampf," by Adolph Hitler. Behold the change which has taken place. How can the world have the least confidence in a man who makes this statement about another nation and then, within an unreasonably short length of time, enter into an agreement with that nation for the purpose of plundering helpless people, such as they have both done with Poland?

So the committee in its report very wisely referred to this partnership. We have expressed our opposition to the Nazi form of government, to dictatorship long before there was any war, and we expressed that opposition because we saw in it oppression, intolerance, racial hatred and persecutions. Our position has been fully vindicated.

There were those who pointed out that there never could be any alliance between Russia and Germany, but we have lived to

see the day when an offensive and defensive alliance has been formed and framed for the purpose of carrying out the philosophy of Nazism and Communism in Europe. And so today I believe that this convention of the American Federation of Labor can wholeheartedly and enthusiastically adopt this report of the committee because it expresses the opposition of the American Federation of Labor to the policies pursued by Russia equally with the policies pursued by Hitler.

Shall the persecution continue? Shall the Jewish people in Germany and in Russia be wiped out? Shall religion and the exercise of all the rights the people hold dear be destroyed? Well, I do not know how others may interpret this alliance, but I interpret it as an alliance formed for the accomplishment of that very objective.

And so I am happy indeed to note here in this convention a sentiment favorable to a declaration against the philosophy of both Communism and Nazism, and our determination to apply the boycott to Russia just the same as we would apply it to Germany.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote of the convention.

JAPANESE WAR ON CHINA (Executive Council's Report, Page 224)

The fact that Japan has not declared war against China in no way alters the warfare being carried on by Japan in an effort to completely destroy any form of government in China which is not under Japanese control. In its methods Japan has been utterly ruthless, wholly disregarding any civilized standards for the protection of civilians, women and children during a war period.

We fully concur with the Executive Council's declaration that Japan is the aggressor nation.

The Council recommends that we reiterate our position in favor of applying a boycott against Japanese manufactured goods and services.

Your committee joins with the Executive Council in urging this convention to declare itself in favor of the continuation of the boycott against Japanese manufactured goods and services, so long as Japan persists in the prosecution of a war against China and the Chinese people.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WAGE AND HOUR ADMINISTRATION

(Executive Council's Report,
Page 175)

Under the general caption "Wage and Hour Administration," and the sub-caption "Minimum Wages, Maximum Hours, Exemptions and Enforcement," the Executive Council relates the experiences encountered during the year.

Under the caption "The Future of Wage and Hour Regulation," the Executive Council calls attention to the powerful special interests in certain industries who are leading a bitter fight to exempt some two million of the lowest paid wage earners on the pretext that their industrial operations are supposedly agricultural.

There is reason to believe that these interests will continue to press for the outright repeal of the law as the minimum wage standards are bettered. The Executive Council points out that the responsibility for opposing this attack will fall upon organized labor and that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations must renew their active participation for the protection, enforcement and administration of the Act, and in this connection calls attention to the present small staff of newly recruited inspectors, and the almost complete absence in their personnel of seasoned men with trade union experience.

With all of this portion of the Executive Council's report, your committee recommends approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Well: Mr. Chairman, the committee has but two more subjects to report to the convention, one dealing with that portion of the Executive Council's report on Social Security and the other a resolution which it will present toward the end of the convention. We shall now ask to be relieved until the beginning of this afternoon's session, when we will report upon the subject of Social Security.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Quinn, Acting Chairman of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Delegate Quinn, on behalf of the committee, submitted the following report:

Your committee had no resolutions referred to it. We wish to submit the following:

Recommendation of the Committee

Your committee also submits the following: We are mindful of the work carried on during the year by local central bodies for the benefit of the affiliated unions. We have received information that there are many local unions that make up the National and International Unions, also Federal Labor Local Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor, who are not in affiliation with their local Central Body and State Federation of Labor in their locality.

Your committee urges the representatives of the National and International Unions to request their local unions, also the officers of Federal Local Unions to affiliate themselves with their local Central Body; also in reference to Federal Labor Unions, the Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor can be helpful in securing legislation on behalf of those Federal Labor Unions, and the international representatives who visit the localities, who seek the cooperation of the central bodies on behalf of their international organizations.

This section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

Attitude Toward Unaffiliated Unions

Your committee also wishes to call attention to communications that are received from various organizations not in affiliation with the Central Body or the American Federation of Labor, and also those that are dual to the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that no recognition be given to requests made to the central bodies unless they are received from bona

side recognized trade unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

This section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Quinn: Mr. Chairman, this concludes the report of your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

(Signed)

JAMES C. QUINN, Acting Chairman
 FELIX H. KNIGHT
 GEORGE E. BROWNE
 C. C. COULTER
 JOSEPH M. MARSHALL
 A. ADAMSKI
 R. E. WOODMANSEE
 JOE A. WILSON
 WILLIAM J. MORAN
 FRANK B. POWERS
 ALFRED ROTA
 LAWRENE FOLEY
 RAYMOND E. RODGERS
 JACOB GOLDSTONE
 NAT MESSING
 GEORGE RENB
 P. J. CULLEN
 MATTHEW DUSHANE
 THOMAS C. CASHEN

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.
 Delegate Quinn moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies as a whole

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Brother Kasten, of the Committee on Credentials, for a supplementary report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Kasten, on behalf of the committee, presented the following report.

In accordance with communication received from President Roy Horn of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, we recommend the substitution of John Pelkofer in place of Delegate Harry Bayes, who found it necessary to return home.

We have also examined credentials and recommend the seating of the following: Junk Yard Workers' Union No. 21607, East St. Louis, Illinois—William B. Nichols, 1 vote.

Delegate George Kiebler, representing the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, was forced to leave Cincinnati, and Ivan Cary, Vice President of the organization, has been selected to act as his alternate. We therefore recommend the seating of Ivan Cary in place of George Kiebler to represent the International Union United Automobile Workers of America.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that our old friend, Senator McCarran, of Nevada, arrived in the city this morning and will meet with us and address the convention at 3:00 o'clock this afternoon. I ask that you all come in and hear our very dear friend, a real friend of labor, Senator McCarran.

At 12:30 o'clock, p. m. the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

Eighth Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, p.m., by President Green.

Absentees

Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordges, A. S.; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, R. J.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Hansen, H. I.; Heymanns, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly Tom; Kelly, John P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Claude S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Morrison for communications.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Sixth Region District Council

Headquarters: 4401 S. Saginaw Street

FLINT, MICHIGAN

Gilbert Clark, Pres. Harold Hubbard, Sec.

October 9, 1939

At a regular monthly meeting of the Sixth Region District Council, U. A. W.-A. F. of L., held in Port Huron, Michigan, on October 8, 1939, the following resolution was adopted unanimously and authorized the secretary to send copies of same to President Homer Martin, of the United Automobile Workers of America, and to President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution

WHEREAS, The auto workers were organized by the American Federation of Labor during the year of 1933 and 1936, and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. granted the auto workers an international charter giving our organization jurisdiction of all auto workers prior to the creation of the C. I. O., and

WHEREAS, The auto worker became a part of the C. I. O. in the belief that the A. F. of L. was opposed to industrial forms of union, and

WHEREAS, After three years of irresponsible leadership forced upon us by the national officers of the C. I. O., which gave

us nothing but confusion, loss of work opportunity by unnecessary stoppages, and

WHEREAS, We feel that there is no room or need for two labor movements in one country, be it

RESOLVED, By the members of Local No. 156, U. A. W.-A. F. of L., Flint, Michigan, in a regular meeting assembled that we go on record thanking the A. F. of L. for its support in helping us to establish unions of auto workers on a sound intelligent basis, commensurate with the desires of the auto workers who are opposed to dual unionism, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we are happy to have this opportunity to be part once again of the A. F. of L., and we do hereby pledge our loyal support to its principles and stand always ready to defend same.

Submitted by Delegates from Local No. 156.

(Signed) GILBERT CLARK, President
(Signed) HAROLD HUBBARD, Secretary

WESTERN UNION

Washington, D. C.
October 10, 1939.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Cincinnati:

Greetings to the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled. Your historic record in advancing and improving the condition of all those who toil and who constitute the foundation of American industrial progress and prosperity has the sympathetic support of all genuine Americans. I send you my hearty congratulations.

JAMES E. MURRAY,
U. S. Senator.

Invitations to hold the 1940 convention in Indianapolis, Indiana, were received from Louis E. Decker, President, Local 130, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, and from Hazel Baker, Secretary, Local 127, United Garment Workers of America; also invitations from Jack Taylor, Chairman, Board of King County Commissioners, Seattle, Washington; J. Longino Butler, President, Seattle Junior Chamber of Commerce, and Joint Council of Department Store Employees, Seattle.

President Green: Our guest speaker and our very dear friend has arrived. You will recall that I announced this morning we were

to have the pleasure and privilege of meeting Senator McCarran, of Nevada, and of listening to an address this afternoon. I invited Senator McCarran to come to this convention as our guest. He responded with alacrity and wholeheartedly. He left the busy work in Washington at a very critical period in Congressional legislation to come to Cincinnati for the purpose of bringing to this convention his message. We deeply appreciate that.

Furthermore, he comes as a friend of the laboring people of our country and a friend of the American Federation of Labor. I know of his willingness to serve us, of his sympathetic attitude toward all of us and toward our legislative program, because we are in close touch with him in Washington. He has espoused continually the cause of the government workers. Then in our hour of distress, when the principle of the prevailing wage rate was attacked, when it was eliminated from legislation provided for the WPA and PWA relief, we called upon our staunch friend to help us and he did without any hesitancy. He sponsored the amendment to the WPA measure, introduced in the Senate, and through his efforts and his unanswerable argument, the Senate adopted it and incorporated it in the bill.

We owe him a debt of gratitude for the fine service he rendered the American Federation of Labor. He is not the kind of a Senator that is looking for some favorable opportunity to serve labor, but he is the kind of a Senator that responds whenever we need him. He is a great American, an outstanding member of the Senate of the United States, our friend and the friend of labor, Senator McCarran.

HON. PATRICK A. McCARRAN **United States Senator from Nevada**

Mr. President, my friends, workers of America: It is an honor for any member of the National Congress to come before this great representative body. Especially do I consider it an honor because I have never had the privilege of being affiliated with one of your great branches nor with your great organization. I am only one who looks on from an individual, independent standpoint; I am only one in whose blood there flows the everlasting spirit of Americanism, the determination to keep my country uppermost, so that when the time may come that

a torn world will require an arbiter of their disputes, my country, your country may serve in that great capacity.

Mr. President, I am reminded as I address your group here today of a little incident that occurred in the City of New York not so long ago. I was present when they sought to organize a new society in a given community in that great city, and they invited to this particular gathering everyone whom they thought would be at all susceptible, at all encouraged to join. So after dinner they called on those who were there, many of them, and in the course of the call an elderly Irishman was questioned as to whether or not he would consider favorably becoming a member of this new organization.

Standing in his place, the Irishman said, "Well, Mr. Chairman, I have never been very much of a joiner, I have never joined much of anything. I joined St. Patrick's Parish for the good of me soul, I joined the New York Athletic Club for the good of me body, and then I joined Tammany Hall just to keep body and soul together."

Mr. President, I use this story, this incident which I think is apropos from a nationwide standpoint, because I feel that in the great body of labor today we are keeping body and soul of nationalism and Americanism together.

My friends, may I impose upon your time for only a few minutes that I may recite to you something perhaps that you know, but having known it, you might have overlooked it for the time being; namely, that today as we face the future America, with all of her traditions built into the past, with all of her glory promised for the future, we must listen to the voice of humanity. There is no group in all this country today, there is no power in governmental lines that can transcend the voice of the people, and that voice is today represented in your labor organizations as they assemble here by their duly constituted representatives.

Let us go back and look at the past within your own lives. There is scarcely a man or woman among you who do me the honor to listen to me today who has not passed through the last twenty-five years, and during that time you have seen what conditions were as regard the awfulness of war. You have seen what it has meant to the toilers of this country and the toilers abroad. Today we are confronted with the expression, coming broadcast over the land by way of propaganda, that if we lend ourselves to foreign troubles and to foreign turmoil we may thereby augment employment in this country; we may thereby bring better wages to the toilers of this country; we may

thereby build profits in this country. I will deal with those items one by one.

Let me go into the history of your own organization. Mr. President, when we entered the World War your membership was far greater than it was when we closed the World War. When the Armistice was signed your membership was looking to a much less number than it enjoyed in 1917, when this country entered the World War. More than that, from the time we entered the World War until the present day shop unionism grew by leaps and bounds. I am grateful—and when I say that I am grateful it is because I believe in your individual organizations—I am grateful for the fact that you are overcoming that fallacy that has taken so much from the strength of your organization throughout the length and breadth of the land. Better a thousand times that you have your craft unions extending over the Americas, if you please, than that any organization should be controlled by one particular group or by one particular crowd that controls the lives and the labors and the hearts of those who serve in that particular plant. Because labor is world-wide, individual human liberty is world-wide, and labor represents individual human liberty, and whenever labor loses sight of individual human liberty, then labor will have lost its greatest ally in the battle we must make in the centuries yet to come. Yes, they say that during the World War there was an augmentation of the earnings of the toilers. Yes, between 1914 and 1917, before we entered the World War, wages increased in this country 24 per cent; but the cost of living in this country, the cost for the wage workers, if you please, the cost at his table-side, the cost at his hearthside, the cost of maintaining his wife and children, went up to 42 per cent. Further, when we closed the World War, we found ourselves with a great increase in the number of toilers, but the earning power of each was immediately cut down, thus his scale of living was gradually forced downward until the present day. And so war has never lent anything to labor except a false idea that a monetary increase in the earning power of the individual might bridge over an unhappy hour.

Mr. President, I am sorry to say that it has been suggested that our country participate—when I say participate I do not mean that we send our boys abroad—it has been suggested that we participate by way of letting down the embargo, and that this participation would lend to decrease the number of the unemployed, would lend to the building of homes. Yes, it may build homes, Mr. President, but history has taught us that into those homes may come the

dying, the maimed, and the insane. This is the effect of a blind participation in war.

Would it not be better a thousand times that your great organization could carry on in the battle of decreasing hours of labor and increasing wage earnings, to encourage individualism in industry? Would it not be better a thousand times that the homes created in America should be the hearthside of young men fitted to become better Americans in body and soul than that those homes should be filled with returned soldiers, young men with sick minds and wrecked bodies dying by inches?

I am only rectifying to you thoughts that you may take home with you as you go back to your places; that you may give the message to those who will listen to you, because what I express in my homely way here today are thoughts running through the minds of the 95 men with whom I sit from day to day. I draw no lines. I don't believe there is a man of the 95, even though he may differ from me as to the course to pursue, there isn't a man in the United States Senate today who isn't resolved that this country, born under God, this democracy where mothers live in homely homes and rejoice in growing sons—that in this country we shall resolve to keep young manhood at home and at peace. And when I say "democracy" I mean the democracy that grew out of the inspiration of the patriots that assembled in Philadelphia and wrote the Constitution under which you and I live, the democracy that has been coveted and imitated the world over, the democracy that has made other countries say that they are democratic, and I refer to our good friends the British and the French. Democracy in the western hemisphere, where labor is permitted to assemble as it does assemble here and as it does not dare assemble abroad, where labor is permitted to go back to individual home assemblies and meet there with their brothers—that democracy living in the lowly homes of the toilers of this country shall be a beacon light to the torn and bleeding countries of the world.

Oh, a thousand times better would it be if those who speak of profits coming out of war, if those who speak of profits coming out of the letting down of the embargo, if those who say that if we let down this embargo and sell munitions of war we will set our factories to work, oh, better a thousand times would it be if those would say instead, "We will keep our homes happy, we will make it possible for American boys to look into the future where their bodies will be as God ordained they should be, physically fit. We shall look forward to the hour and the time when the great mass of the red-

blooded of the toilers of this country, looking to the toilers across the sea, will say to them, 'Take precept and example from what we did in 1939; take precept and example from what we will do in 1940.'"

We are going to keep our country from taking the first step that might lead us into war; we are going to keep this country neutral—and when I say neutral I mean neutral. We have no enemies to punish abroad, no friends to favor so far as our national existence goes. You may have your individual likes and dislikes. I may despise the totalitarian form of government, as I do, because in my heart of hearts I am a democrat. Democracy is the biggest thing in all the world to me, and so I despise any form of totalitarian government that would use the rank and file as mere puppets in their desire to carry on a balance of power.

You may have your individual views, but remember that it is individual. As a nation we stand neutral today, and as a nation we propose by our neutrality to carry on so that labor, the toiler in the ditch and in the field, in the forest, and in your plants, if you please, may realize the value of the freedom that makes this assembly possible, the value of the right that each individual may stand shoulder to shoulder with his fellow in his particular walk of life. That is the greatest thing that the individual American can have—the consort, the comfort and the joy of joining with his individual fellow, his colleague, so that they together, as they walk down the avenue of life, may know—realizing each other's troubles, realizing each other's burdens, realizing each other's toils—that they share together those burdens and they understand their respective sympathies.

And why do I deal with this subject at the outset? What have I behind me of glory in the way of history? At the hazard of repetition, because you have all read it and you have all heard it, may I bring to your attention the words of a great leader in a great democracy. It seems almost prophetic as we read his words today, almost one hundred and fifty years from the hour in which they were uttered; it seems as though he saw the very scenes that present themselves to you as American citizens and as American citizenry today. May I read the words of a great democrat, a great American, a great leader of civilization, a great guide to the sons of mankind. He said:

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.

"But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other."

May I pause to talk to those who talk to the millions as they walk and as they toil. May I pause to bring back to your attention the propaganda that led us into a conflict where and out of which we left behind white crosses row on row in foreign fields. May I pause there to dwell upon propaganda that led us into a conflict. You would realize the insidiousness of the propaganda of which I speak if you were to come with me into the hospitals of America today, if you were to go out to Fort Whipple, which is closer to my home, and see there the boys suffering the tortures of a living death. They look out onto the western hills without a single hope, save that they look to heaven high and fear lest the next hour may close life for them. They stood on the firing line in France and they are dying today. And here we are today, before they die, thinking of entering into another such conflict. Oh, was not Washington wise when he counseled us not to allow ourselves to become partial to one and hateful to another. Did he not mean that by giving ourselves to "entangling alliances" we destroy the very thing that is fundamental to our great Americanism, whereby and out of which we propose to lead the civilized world when there is no leadership save ours?

Let us go on:

"Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious."

May I develop that thought: "Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected." We lent ourselves to the intrigues of the favorite, and today we resist the intrigues of any favorite. We resist it with everything within our power—not but that we may have our individual favoritism, that is for us as individuals, but as a nation we resist the intrigues of the favorite because we are liable to be suspected. Because we are liable to be suspected of what? Of lending ourselves to that phase of the cause, "while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests."

"The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is to have as little political connection as possible."

Listen to the prophetic lines that I will now read, and apply them to the hour. One would think that he who uttered these lines had already passed in spirit through the age in which we live. I wonder if he did? Sometimes I think it might be possible:

"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the cause of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships and enmities."

Mr. President, in reciting these lines today I do not say that I may not have my individual views, that every man and woman here today may not have their respective individual views. I recite them to prove that there was but one uppermost thought in the mind of the great Washington when he made that Farewell Address with his people, and it was that as a nation we need surrender none of our individual views, but as a nation we must keep aloof from foreign entanglements.

Mr. President, if I were to hold this convention longer, which I would not deign to do, I might go at length into these things. I only use that great impartial, non-political voice because he was non-political. He was retiring then from the greatest position in all the world.

But they tell us that if Washington were to live today, because of our proximity with Europe, he would change his mind. They recite to us that we are only a few seconds remote from Europe because of aerial facilities. They say we are only a few moments remote from Europe because of wire facilities; that we are only five days remote from Europe because of our water facilities.

But may I bring to the attention of labor that when Washington uttered those lines the flag of France was flying where you and I now sit. The flag of Great Britain was flying and her guns were pointed across the line that we afterwards established as our northern boundary. The flag of Spain was flying where I was born in the great State of Nevada. And I want to tell you something that you may not know. Your President knows it. I was born in Reno, Nevada. You have heard many things about my native State. Everyone has heard many things about it, but there is one thing, I take it, that you have never heard. Perhaps you have not studied your geography quite closely enough. Reno is the only inland city in the world—I hope the press gets this—

where the "tieds" come in and the "untieds" go out.

To return, Mr. President, when Washington uttered these expressions, the great Golden State of California, the great States of Nevada, Idaho, Utah, Montana, Arizona and New Mexico were flying the Spanish flag and the Mexican flag. When Washington uttered these expressions every country in South America, save Brazil which was then under the Portuguese government, was under the Spanish government. European interests were closer to Washington than they are today. But with that courageous Americanism he felt that we should remain aloof then, and I feel that we must remain aloof today. Why? Because I know what is in the offing if we take the first step to go into this war. Federal regimentation is in the offing. It has been written. It has been printed. It is today in the hands of some of your members—a Federal regimentation that will take from labor everything that labor has won in the last half century. They will subject you to the domination of a military power in which the Army and the Navy have already collaborated in writing the lines, and if anyone doubts it, I have the 1933, the 1936 and the 1939 federal regimentation, known as the "M plan" in my possession, and you are welcome to it. It will take from you everything that you have won by the blood of your brothers. You talk about Fascism. Why, Fascism will blush if this plan goes into effect.

And so, tollers of America, workers, representatives of the red blood of this country, let us resolve upon the course that we shall pursue. Although my ideas may not be the same as yours, I do not propose to let down on the embargo; but I will vote to keep American citizens off of belligerent ships; I will vote to keep American ships out of combat zones; I will vote to let the world at large have our commodities for the essentials of life, provided we receive cash and they take possession here. I will not vote to allow the accumulation of debt ever to be the asserted agent, whether true or not, of leading us into a foreign conflict.

Men and women of America, your sons and daughters are the ones who will be called. They will be the first in and the last out. Some of them will not come out. Oh, I have heard it repeated time after time. "We will not vote to send our boys into war."

I could have recited lines that came out over twenty years ago to the same effect, but when the hour comes, when the flame of individual national integrity is aroused, then sometimes we forget our resolution. We forgot it in 1917.

Let us never get to the point where we might, perchance, forget it again because, labor of America, it is you who will pay the penalty. In time of war you give the most and gain the least. It is your sons who fight the war and it is you who pay for it. It is your sons and daughters who will go into the firing line, and then when the conflict is over, we will see only the depths of financial chaos. Let me give you this thought in the words of your wonderful President, recited in my presence before the Appropriations Committee of the United States Senate: "Every dollar that is paid in taxes comes from the sweat of the brow of labor." And that is as true as gospel. Whenever labor ceases there is no source to tax.

And so, laborers of America, you who are bearing the burden of the last war, into which you should not have entered, for God's sake let the cry go up by way of a demand, not a resolution, that we will not by selling instrumentalities of death and destruction take the first step toward a course that will mean for our boys the ghastliness of war, the ghastliness of bodies found hanging over barbed wire entanglements while vultures tear their flesh apart. Let us make a demand now, America, that while we sympathize with those who are in conflict; while we are downcast that there is being spilled the blood of the German people, the blood of the French people, and the blood of the English people, if those people could but express themselves today there wouldn't be any war. Even though they may be living in the hollow of peasant Germany, even though they may be living on the hillsides of the "Heelands" of Scotland, even though they may be living in the lowlands and the highlands of the far away places of Canada, Australia or New Zealand, even though they may be in the heart of old historic France, they are breathing up a prayer today that this war may end. And God grant that it may end.

Otherwise, I am in favor of keeping the Congress of the United States in session. I am in favor of sitting every day with my ninety-five colleagues in the Senate, all ninety-five of them splendid American citizens resolved to keep this country out of war. I am of the mind that we should remain where we belong, in Washington, and aid by our influence and by our word to the end that this country shall not become a participant in this world struggle.

To that end may we have the voice of the toilers of this country. May we have the encouragement of the homes of this country, represented here by this splendid group.

Mr. President, I have gone a little farther in my thought than I should have. I hope nothing I have said transgresses the rules of this great non-political organization. I hope that your great organization representing the rank and file of America, will always remain non-political. Your greatest power is when you remain aloof from party lines. When you, independently speaking for the toilers of this country, say, "We belong to no party, we speak only for the red blood of the toilers and we advise you

as a representative of the people to look to the virtue in our argument," as long as you remain in that position, then you will have the greatest power in your hands. Then men will listen to you and respect you and then you will hold aloft on high the torch that labor must assume, that labor must carry so that when the bleeding and torn peoples of the world are looking for a leadership, surrounded by darkness, let the light of labor lead, let the glory of the toilers come forward to hold that torch.

Then civilization will send down through the avenue of the ages a resolution of gratitude for the fact that in this great American organization of labor there was a resolve, there was an independence of spirit, there was a studious foresight, if you please, that said "America, with all your past, with all your future, with all your present, America on whose shoulders rests the civilization of the world, we will be the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes, but we will never send a boy in uniform to die in a foreign land."

Committee to Escort Senator Schwellenbach

President Green: I wish to announce that another distinguished Senator will address this convention, perhaps tomorrow—Senator Schwellenbach of the State of Washington. He will come from the city of Washington to Cincinnati for the purpose of addressing the convention. I wish to appoint as a reception committee to meet the Senator and escort him to the hall when he arrives Delegate George Berry, of the Printing Pressmen, Brother James A. Taylor, of the Washington State Federation of Labor, and Brother Frank Brewster, of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs International Union. I am not sure of the hour when the Senator will arrive, but we will let you know later.

Message from Senator Wagner

President Green: I have a message that was addressed to me personally, and I wish to read it to the convention at this time. It comes from one of our very dear friends, a great United States Senator:

Washington, D. C.
October 11, 1939

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati.

Dear Bill:

I would deeply appreciate your conveying my kindest personal greetings to the

officers of the American Federation of Labor and delegates assembled in Cincinnati in this great convention of working men and women.

As the American people view the destructive horrors of war and the general retreat of civilization in the Old World, nothing could be more heartening to their spirits than the news you bring of great increases in the ranks of organized labor in America. For such increases, under the encouragement of protection of the law of the land, spell progress for labor, progress for human freedom, and progress for the democracy we cherish and must defend at any cost. In recent years, through legislation which it was my great privilege to sponsor, broad advances have been made by Government in guaranteeing the right to work, in promoting unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, in protecting the right to organize and bargain collectively, and in providing decent housing for the underprivileged. Your strength and earnest cooperation made possible these necessary and fundamental steps. They are the irreducible minimum upon which to base our future gains.

The present session of Congress is earnestly engaged in preserving our democracy against destruction by war. The next session must strengthen our democracy by bringing the full blessings of our economic resources and our free institutions to all the American people. I pledge my best efforts to continue the fight for expansion of the splendid work of the United States Housing Authority, and for enactment of a national health program with particular emphasis on the needs of working men and their families.

In these times, the challenge to American democracy is clear and imperative. I am confident your deliberations will disclose to all the world that American labor is prepared to take up that challenge, and meet it by peaceful, cooperative and constructive efforts for the common good.

ROBERT F. WAGNER.

Th message from Senator Wagner was applauded by the delegates.

President Green: Now the Chair presents to you Vice-President Gainer, Chairman of the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Report of the Committee on Shorter Work Day

Vice President Gainer: The Secretary of the Committee, Delegate John M. Fewkes, will present the report for the committee.

Delegate Fewkes, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

In submitting this report, your Committee desires, with all the earnestness possible, to stress the high importance of the shorter work day and the shorter work week, not only on its own account, but as a continuing issue of commanding moment before the American people. Dating back many years, the American Federation of Labor, in its succeeding convention declarations, and in its official pronouncements, has insisted with unvarying consistency that the principle of balance must be observed in our economic relations and that shorter hours and higher wages should keep even step with expanding productive efficiency as a condition precedent to the maintenance of National prosperity and as a protective barrier against the menace of broad scale unemployment.

The 1922 Cincinnati Convention of the American Federation of Labor in addressing itself to the shorter work week declared: "That only by universal establishment of the scientifically calculated work day, can we build a continuing and enduring condition of National prosperity." The 1925 Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor, declared in substance, that the only answer to the mechanization of industry was that the workers should participate equitably in their increasing productivity. Some seven years ago, the American Federation of Labor, in its 52nd Annual Convention, held in this very hall, when confronted with the problem of some twelve million idle workers, reaffirmed its moving philosophy and in doing so, urged the early adoption of the six hour, five day work week without any reduction of wages, as its chief objective. It also, with clarion voice, called on the American people to join in the accomplishment of this high objective.

The story of the long fight for shorter labor hours, without any reduction in wages, is an inspiring one. Time was when the shorter work day was primarily the concern of labor alone. This is no longer so. Thinking men in steadily growing numbers and in

all walks of life, see in it the corner-stone of any wise policy to stay the ravages of millions sentenced to involuntary idleness. "Ever since 1926" the Executive Council states in its current annual report, page 130, "the American Federation of Labor has swung the entire force of the labor movement behind a drive to shorten work hours in order to reduce unemployment. We struggled first for the five day, forty hour week, then for the thirty hour week, and we have insisted that the work week be shortened without reducing the weekly income and living standard of American wage earners. This great drive (the report continues), together with the help of Federal legislation has resulted in outstanding achievement, equaled in no other country of the world."

The American Federation of Labor, in pressing its unrelenting fight for a shorter work day and a shorter work week, has rendered a notable public service. It has pointed the way that progress must take. While it has not solved the problem of unemployment, it has softened its ravages beyond measure. The record on that score is plain. "Had it not been, however, for the drastic reduction in work hours, shortening the average work week in all industries from 50 hours in 1929, to 40 hours in 1937 (including part time work)," as the report of the Executive Council, page 132, sets forth, "technological unemployment would certainly have affected several millions, and our total jobless army would have been very much larger than it is." Mindful that each succeeding convention held during the six years since succeeding has, in stirring terms, renewed its advocacy of the five day week and six hour day, we should now stoutly reaffirm our declaration in support thereof and supplement the same with specific recommendations for continued progress in the light of conditions as they present themselves.

The past ten years, dating from the 1929 all time high National Income level of 81 billion dollars on down through the acute depression period and including 1937 (the year of revived prosperity) to the present time, presents a wealth of experience showing the operation of the shorter work week, and its reaction on public and social welfare. This experience with which we can now take counsel in planning for the future,

includes the relation of the shorter work week to the unemployment problem, to the wider diffusion of jobs, to the maintenance and advancement of wage rates, to the stimulation of national productivity and to many other related factors of high importance in the maintenance of a healthy economic balance. In the report of the Executive Council, pages 128 to 138 inclusive, a comprehensive survey of this entire subject is presented for the consideration of this convention. That portion of the Executive Council's report, which includes an analysis of the several related factors having to do with the operation of the shorter work week, under the captions of "Wages and Hours," "The Shorter Work Week," "Employment Changes, 1929 to 1937," "Analysis of Figures," and "Summary" has been referred to your committee on the shorter work day for consideration and for the presentation of a report thereon. In response thereto, your committee submits the following:

After careful study and review of the progress made during the past difficult ten year period, and with due regard to the workers' employment and living standards, it is the judgment of your Committee that the report of the Executive Council presents a factual and thoughtful survey of this subject that is of the highest importance. Moreover this survey is reinforced by timely recommendations intended not only to hold all of the ground hitherto won, but to steadily press forward along right lines in striving to soften the struggle for existence and provide job opportunities for the vast army of unemployed.

The report of the Executive Council points out in discussing "Wages and Hours" that while a drastic reduction in work hours was necessary during the past decade to prevent widespread unemployment, that this had to be achieved without any reduction in wages to prevent a defeat of its moving purpose through a reduction of living standards to a poverty level. The stern and unrelenting fight put up by the American Federation of Labor, in support of a shorter work week, on the one hand, and against any reduction in wage rates on the other, cannot be too highly commended. "The last two years of the decade gave a striking example of trade union success in maintaining wages," the Report of the Executive Council states. "We came

through this recession with relatively few wage cuts, and these have in large part been restored."

During the past ten years, dating from the economic collapse of 1929, the total of unemployed workers has reached an average surpassing by far anything that had gone before. The depressing ramifications of this army of jobless, which according to the American Federation of Labor estimates, reached a high average of thirteen millions of unemployed in 1933, and a low of more than seven millions in 1937, runs through and colors every major item in this ten year survey. Therefore, special attention is directed to the following illuminating summary on "Wages and Hours" in the Executive Council's report covering the past decade as compared with the preceding ten year period.

"If now we compare progress in the decade just ending with progress in the ten previous years, 1919 to 1929, we find a strong contrast between the previous decade of expanding productive activity and the present ten years of industrial stagnation. From 1919 to 1929, the average per capita living standard in the United States rose 23 per cent and hours of work were reduced by 2 per week (from 51 in 1919 to 49 in 1929). From 1929 to 1937, the average per capita living standard declined 7.5 per cent and work hours were reduced by 10 per week.

The only tangible gain to workers in the present decade has been an increase in leisure while adjustments in wage rates paved the way for higher living standards when industry expands. In the last decade the increase in leisure was very much smaller, but the 23 per cent rise in per capita "real" income raised workers living standards to the highest level of any country in the world. This contrasts with a net loss in the present decade, due to industrial stagnation."

Your committee in considering that portion of the Executive Council's report which shows the sharp decline in productive activity from the 1929 level in varying degree down to the current year of 1939, which according to the Executive Council's report is likely to show an 18 per cent decrease below our 1929 production, desires to fully record its agreement with the statement that "the failure of industry to expand during the last decade has meant an immeasurable loss to our people." We also realize how far reaching are the hard effects of this loss in national income to the workers in key industries as shown in that portion of the Execu-

tive Council's report, giving an analysis of the figures and also showing the employment loss in numbers of jobs. To the one million, five hundred thousand who have lost their jobs an increase of four million, five hundred thousand in the working population has been added to the total of unemployed during the period of 1929 to 1937. Your Committee therefore directs special attention to the following quoted excerpt from the Executive Council's report, showing the tragic effect of this sharp reduction in National income.

"Thus the failure of American industry to expand at pre-depression rates has meant starvation incomes for a large portion of our families and idleness for millions of our wage earners. A great nation, with productive capacity above any other in the world, with industrial equipment and man power, capable of producing a comfort level of living for every family, has kept its industries running at part capacity, has ceased to expand industrially. This we consider the tragedy of the 1930s. To restore our industries to normal productive activity, and normal expansion, to get our idle men and women back to productive activity in our industries, is the first task before us, the first step in solving the unemployment problem."

Unemployment still continues our most grievous problem. Industry and farm production in 1937, while running close to the 1929 level, we find operating with one million less factory workers and one-half million fewer farm workers. Thus the reduction in work hours, due to the progress of the shorter work week program during this period, did but little more than take up the unemployment slack, caused by technological advances and improved production methods. In no year of the past ten has unemployment averaged less than eight million. Now with employment returns, according to September 1939, trade union reports, showing a decided upward trend closely approaching the 1939 levels, not only should any efforts to expand labor hours to meet so-called emergency requirements be promptly challenged but the drive for a shorter work week should likewise go steadily on. Any other course would simply do violence to common sense in the face of the ten million still unemployed. Moreover, when workers are laid off in large numbers, because of a business recession, and unemployment increases, it becomes harder to cut unemployment down to its previous level, because:

1. The working population is increasing

steadily; about 45,000 young persons come of working age each month. Today there are 1,000,000 more persons in our working population than there were two years ago (September, 1937), and we need 1,000,000 more jobs than we had then.

2. Productivity increases steadily, it takes fewer men to produce the same amount. Production per man hour in American factories increased 5.2 per cent from September, 1937, to July, 1939, according to estimates by the National Industrial Conference Board. Since there were 8,864,000 wage earners at work in our factories in September, 1937, it is safe to estimate that the same amount of work could be done today with 8,332,000 working the same hours; that is, with 532,000 fewer workers. Thus with one million more workers seeking work we can produce our September, 1937, product with 500,000 fewer workers than we employed two years ago. Therefore, we need jobs for one million, five hundred thousand (1,500,000) more in order to bring our unemployment down to September, 1937 levels.

On September 16, 1939, a wealth of facts and figures were submitted to President Roosevelt in a report by the National Resources Committee, entitled "The Structure of American Economy." This report contains a survey of the basic industries and their relation to each other with special reference to the problem of widespread unemployment. This report shows that unemployment of men and machines in this country since 1929, has cost the nation the staggering sum of more than two hundred billion dollars. A table covering each succeeding year from 1919 to 1927 inclusive, and which is expressed in terms of the current dollar value, reveals that the national income produced totaled \$67,500,000,000 in 1919, \$81,800,000,000 in 1929, \$40,000,000,000 in 1932, and \$69,800,000,000 in 1937. "When the national income is \$60,000,000,000 instead of \$90,000,000,000," this report states, "the worker suffers a lower income through unemployment or partial employment, or through wage rates lower than resources make possible; the farmer receives a lower income because of a reduced home market; the return on capital is reduced as a result of the partial use of equipment and the resulting increase in unit costs. For each group this

waste means a lower standard of living than would clearly be possible."

In now addressing ourselves to that portion of the Executive Council's report where, under the caption, "Summary" a recapitulation of the major items of this subject with special reference to progress made and in prospect, your committee again warmly commends this survey as well as the high purpose that prompted it. It deals with a question of such vital moment to all workers and indeed to all the people, that its importance can not be over-stated. "Experience in the eight-year period from 1929 to 1937," the report states, "gives striking proof that shortening the work-week effectively compensated for technological unemployment. Had hours remained the same, the 25% increase in production per hour would have eliminated some 1,700,000 jobs, whereas, actually nearly 200,000 jobs were added." "We re-emphasize (the report of the Executive Council declares) the need of continual striving toward the shorter work-week on the part of all unions, keeping in view our thirty-hour week." "While continuing to shorten hours (the report further states) we feel that the major national effort should be to lift industry out of its stagnation and restore it to a rate of expansion which will progressively raise living standards and put the unemployed to work, creating the goods and services needed by all."

With these declarations, your committee is in hearty accord. To achieve and hold national prosperity, production and consumption should be maintained on a high and healthy basis, and measurably match one another. This means, too, that the problem of unemployment should be of common concern to all citizens, as none are immune from its ravages. To admit that this problem cannot be solved in an orderly manner would be an indictment on American common sense. Your committee has no illusions as to its complexity or the disconcerting involvements that may attend its solution. We are heartened with the thought, however, that we have traveled far toward a better understanding of this problem during the past ten years and that literally millions of our fellow-workers and fellow-citizens are devoting so much serious thought to finding the right way to master the machine and make it serve the public welfare that nothing but good can come from

it. Your committee insists that the heart and center of this unprecedented economic problem, which actually is a problem of plenty, lies in the long continued expansion of productive efficiency creating social interdependence on the one hand and a problem of surplus and the distribution of that surplus on the other.

If we still reaped with a sickle, transported by ox carts, and performed other tasks accordingly, we would obviously not now have this problem before us. Through modern means and methods, volume production, standardized operations, and the elimination of competitive wastes, we have more than solved the problem of production. The problems of markets that will provide an outlet for our national productive capacity so as to keep it in a progressively higher key, and our wealth production and consumption on a balanced basis, still await a satisfying answer. That this problem will also be solved in good time, your committee has no doubt.

Your committee, in concluding this report of widespread and persistent unemployment, depressed consuming power, and reduced national income, which so vitally affect each individual and every avenue of our national life, desire to strongly register our concurrence in the recommendation of the Executive Council that the American Federation of Labor devote its best efforts to lift industry out of its stagnation so as to put the unemployed at work and progressively raise living standards. In this same spirit, your committee further recommends that this convention strongly reaffirm its endorsement of the six-hour day, five-day work-week, without reduction in pay and that the Executive Council be instructed to resolutely continue their efforts to forward the widest possible adoption of this shorter work-week program.

And we further recommend that the Executive Council be directed to initiate a campaign of publicity intended to exalt and to feature the high importance of the shorter work-week from a standpoint of public welfare, through its affiliated international and national unions and through State and Local Central Bodies.

Delegate Fewkes: I move the adoption of the report.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: Are there any remarks?

The Chair recognizes Delegate Donnelly, Secretary-Treasurer of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, an old veteran and of great service in the cause of labor in the Buckeye State.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: Mr. President and delegates to this convention—I was perhaps one of the delegates who paid particular attention to the report which has just been submitted to the convention by the Committee on Shorter Work Day. I rise at this time to express my admiration for the very comprehensive report that has been submitted here today. I think this report is one of the most important reports and the subjects dealt with in it the most important subjects that could come before a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

I have paid particular attention to the figures on unemployment, to the effect of labor-saving machinery and to the agricultural question and all of those things that tie into and make our present economic conditions, and I was thinking while the report was being read that President Roosevelt, when he took office for his first term and attempted to handle the problem of unemployment by Federal subsidies and various schemes, said that he did not and could not contemplate that in America there would always be this great army of unemployed. And yet some ten years after the beginning of this great depression, we find that approximately the same number of persons are unemployed.

And then we find the opponents of the New Deal saying that the whole scheme of the New Deal has failed because we have 11,000,000 people still unemployed. This report sets forth very clearly that during these periods of years the labor forces of this country have been augmented tremendously. Statistics are furnished us from time to time, that each year there is added to the labor forces of this country 500,000 new workers. These are the young people of this country. These are the people that we teach in our schools, in our colleges, to salute the flag and to sing, "My Country 'Tis of Thee," and then we throw them out upon the cold world seeking employment and finding every road to that employment blocked with a barricade. These are the men, these are the women upon which the future of America rests, in my judgment. I have said over and over again in the past

few years that I thank God that I am not a young man.: I have lived in the period when there was employment for all. In the ten years that have gone by we have added, if these figures that are given us are correct, 5,000,000 more workers, and in the years that are to come perhaps that number will be augmented considerably because of increasing population.

It is a problem, it seems to me, that this great American labor movement has tried to meet and offer at least some solution for it. But I am convinced in my own mind that the organized labor movement of this country by itself cannot solve the great problem of unemployment for many reasons. There are such armies of people without our ranks. They are in industries and localities which it is hard to reach because of the opposition of the men at the head of industry and business in this country to the shortening of the hours of labor and to the increasing of the pay.

The National Congress was compelled to pass the wage and hour law and stipulate not to exceed 44 hours a week with a 25 cents per hour wage minimum for American workers, making the weekly wage \$11.00, and I say to you, fellow workers, Mr. President and officers of this convention, that seems to me to be a black spot on America, when it is necessary to have legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States to give \$11.00 a week to American citizens to subsist upon and support their families.

I am going to take just a moment more. I want to point this out to you. Just recently—and I am not going to discuss the war question—the Republic of Poland was overcome, a nation of 35,000,000 people, and I doubt if there are more people in England proper than 35,000,000 or 39,000,000 people. Italy, with 40,000,000 people, various countries throughout the world with populations, some larger, some smaller, and in the census of the United States we find that the average family in this country consists of three and a half persons. We have 11,000,000 out of work in America who won't become European consumers, but American consumers, trying to live to the standards in America, and if the census is right, if the average is three and a half persons to every family in the United States, then we have a consuming power in

this country that is not being used of approximately the population of Poland, and we have a consuming power possible in this country, if we wiped out unemployment, that will rise beyond anything that we can expect to get in foreign trade or foreign countries.

And so I say it is of the very greatest importance in my opinion, that this convention give some consideration to this very able report. In my own judgment I think we should conduct a great campaign of education among the industrialists and business men of this country, to join hands with us in working out an economic scheme that would put people to work.

Delegate Madsen, Painters and Decorators. Mr. President and fellow delegates—First of all, I want to compliment the committee on its splendid report, and then I should like to impress upon all of us to take this proposition seriously, not only while we are assembled here in convention in Cincinnati, but when we go to our homes. When the American Federation of Labor first came out for the six-hour day the Painters' organization in Chicago took the proposition seriously, and we entered into a contract with our employers in Chicago for the six-hour day and the five-day week. We find it difficult to maintain our position because the building contractors cannot understand why the painters should have the six-hour day when the other building trades do not enjoy it.

When the Painters' organization in Chicago established the six-hour day we had a twofold purpose in doing so. First and foremost, we wanted to decrease unemployment, and then we looked upon it as a health measure. We found from statistics that accidents in the painting trade usually took place in the last half hour of each half day. When members are tired of the pace they are obliged to take to keep up in our modern industry, and when we are poisoned by the poisonous fumes we are obliged to breathe, accidents occur. District Council No. 14 in Chicago has found that the six-hour day has taken a lot of our members off the streets and it has improved the health of those who are employed.

We all know that in spite of the fact that many things have been done to solve the unemployment problem, in spite of the efforts of the national Government and in spite of the campaign carried on by the American Fed-

eration of Labor, we still have 11,000,000 of our people out of work. The only people that have generally been busy during the past ten years have been those who were inventing more modern machinery to put more people out of work.

I am very pleased to see the splendid campaign carried on by Electrical Workers' Local Union No. 3. I hope in the future the Painters will not stand alone in the fight, but that other building trades mechanics will be with us. We have obstacles to overcome. We have the opposition to the six-hour day on the part of the employers, just as in the past they opposed the eight-hour day. I hope that after this convention of the American Federation of Labor has adjourned we will all join hands to carry out the splendid program that has been enunciated here today by the committee. Let us all join hands to carry out the program of the American Federation of Labor. Let us try to get employment for the men and women out of jobs so that they may add their strength to the glory of the labor movement.

President Green: I doubt very much that the officers and delegates, as well as the visitors in attendance at this convention, really appreciated the magnitude and the high educational value of this most excellent report submitted by the Committee on the Shorter Work Day. I refer to the submission of the report. This committee has been dealing with America's No. 1 problem, the problem of unemployment. The committee dealt with it in a factual and most convincing way. It is such a report as this coming from one of our convention committees that enables this convention to give a course of economics second to none in the United States of America.

More than a decade ago the American Federation of Labor took an advanced position, away up in front of all other organizations, in favor of a shorter work day and a shorter work week. We maintain without modification that it offers the real remedy for unemployment. During the last ten years, while the depression has been in effect—the greatest we have ever known in our experience—various means and methods and plans have been tried in order to relieve unemployment. Much good has been done, great service has been rendered, but the unemployment problem is

still with us, and today the American Federation of Labor is stronger in its conviction than ever that the real remedy for unemployment is the six-hour day and the five-day week.

How can we absorb the unemployed unless we create work opportunities for them? As the committee has well pointed out, we are battling with inventions, and every increase in the use of power and of machinery, on the one hand, and an increasing population on the other. Now, unless we distribute the amount of work available in a broader and more comprehensive way, we will not take up the slack of unemployment.

I wish to quote from a report made by the Resources Committee, not a labor committee. This committee presents some startling facts and figures. Here it is:

"If 10,000,000 men are able and willing to work, but are forced to be idle for a year by lack of jobs, the community has wasted the valuable resources of manpower. And because of idleness, the individuals are likely to suffer a loss of skill and a breakdown of morale. The nation is poorer both by the goods that have not been produced and by the frustration and loss of morale of the unemployed individual.

"While no calculation can give a precise figure for the depression loss in income due to idleness of men and machines, the figures do suggest that this loss through non-production was in the magnitude of \$200,000,000,000 worth of goods and services. Most of this represents sheer waste, though to some extent it reflects a small depletion of natural resources.

"The significance of this figure of \$200,000,000,000 is hard to grasp, but some idea can be obtained by considering what \$200,000,000,000 would mean in terms of concrete goods. If all idle men and machines could have been employed in making houses, the extra income would have been enough to provide a new \$6,000 house for every family in the country. If instead, the lost income had been used to build railroads, the entire railroad system of the country could have been scrapped and rebuilt at least five times over. Of such is the magnitude of the depression loss in income through failure to use available resources. It meant a lower standard of living for practically every group in the community."

Startling! Impressive! Unanswerable!

And so, responding to the demands for a solution of America's No. 1 problem, we offer the shorter work day and the shorter work week with no reduction in pay, distributing the work among a larger number of people while at the same time maintaining

the purchasing power of the nation at its highest maximum point.

I am happy to note the interest which is manifested among our members everywhere. It is not enough to denounce, criticize and find fault, it is more important that we propose a remedy for the wrong. That is what we are undertaking to do.

In this hall we have had evidence every hour we met here of a determined drive being made by a progressive union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The 15,000 members of the splendid Brotherhood of Electrical Workers' Union in New York is preaching this remedy every day and every hour. They are spending money to advertise. They are the ones who installed these thirty-hour week splendid, impressive series of signs in this hall. And so, more and more, as our old veteran, Delegate Madsen, says, we are taking it up, not merely as a slogan, but more than that, we are pressing it forward as a remedy, a great objective of the American Federation of Labor.

I am happy, indeed, over this report. I hope it will be adopted by a volume of votes that will leave no mistake that the American Federation of Labor has reaffirmed its determination to demand and demand and force upon public opinion the acceptance of the thirty-hour week and the six-hour work day without any reduction in pay.

Are there any further remarks? Those of you who are for it vote loud and those who are against it vote loud. Let us see how we stand.

There were loud "Ayes," no "Nays," and the motion was declared adopted.

Secretary Fewkes: I would like to read the names of the committee. They are as follows:

E. J. GAINOR, Chairman
JOHN M. FEWKES, Secretary
JOS. TREMBLAY
JAMES P. MEEHAN
HARRY STEVENSON
HELEN CAREN
L. E. KELLER
HARRY BAYES
GEORGE SCALISE
JOSEPH HAUSER
LOUIS P. MARCIANTE
SAL B. HOFFMAN
WM. C. RIPBERGER
MILTON P. WEBSTER
W. T. BURNETT
HARRY J. HAGEN
ELMER P. MEINZ

PATRICK E. GORMAN
W. J. KENEFFICK

Committee on Shorter Work Day

Secretary Fewkes: I believe I would be remiss in my duty as secretary if I did not express the appreciation of the Committee on Shorter Work Day for our chairman, Mr. E. J. Gainor. Personally, I have felt it a great privilege in the last week to be closely associated with this grand old man of the labor movement, and to find out that in spite of the fact that he has been so long faced with the problems in the labor movement he still hopes, and he looks forward with courage and foresight to the future and realizes the problems that face us and that the American Federation of Labor will have a large part in their solution.

I move that the report of the committee as a whole be adopted.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Special Order of Business—Election of Officers

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I move that, in pursuance of Section 1, Article V, we set aside the hour of 3:00 o'clock tomorrow for the election of officers of this Federation.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Report of Committee on Education

Vice-President Harrison, Chairman of the Committee: The Committee on Education met, organized and elected Brother Milliman, of the Maintenance of Way Employees' organization, to act as secretary of the committee. Brother Milliman will read the report of the committee.

Secretary Milliman submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates to the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The following subjects in the Executive Council's report were submitted to the Committee on Education:

Education

Federal Grants
Labor and Education
Local Educational Responsibility
Youth

World Congress on Education and Democracy
Workers Education Bureau of America.

This subject matter is found on pages 207 to 218 inclusive.

Your Committee on Education desires to point out that the Executive Council's report for this year is a most notable educational document; it could, with profit, be the subject of extended discussions by labor in union halls throughout the land.

In the pages of this and previous reports of the Executive Council, together with the reports of the Committee on Education, will be found the continuous record of the progressive service of the American Federation of Labor to education.

This section of the report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

EDUCATION

Education is America's biggest business enterprise. In terms of budgets, of capital invested, of personnel employed, and students enrolled it is a vast undertaking. Nearly one in four of our population is in some kind of school. Our total investment in buildings, equipment and endowment for all our educational institutions is over twelve billion dollars. There is an annual budget of nearly \$1,150,000,000 to pay the salaries of 1,126,000 teachers and administrators. By comparison the enterprise of public education is vaster than any industrial corporation in America. There is nothing like our gigantic educational effort anywhere in the world today. No democracy in the world has made so considerable an effort to teach its children to know, to think and to act as has the American democracy. It is in very truth our outstanding national commitment.

To this commitment labor has dedicated itself for more than a century. From the first convention of the American Federation of Labor down to this hour labor has placed the subject of education as one of its central concerns, because education was so central to the future welfare of America. Moreover American labor believes firmly that one of the criteria by which to judge of the level of civilization attained by a people is reflected in the proportion of public funds expended on the education of the citizenship. Educa-

tion is not for democracy, but is in the highest sense democracy, because the full growth and development of individuals can take place only in a society of free men.

In the year that has just closed since the last convention the Permanent Committee on Education has given careful consideration to various educational bills before the Congress of the United States and has given invaluable aid to the formulation of labor's policy toward such legislation.

This committee has addressed itself to such matters as vocational education, the representation of labor upon school boards and boards of trustees of public libraries, federal grants-in-aid, the youth problem, and on the extension of apprenticeship programs.

It is the considered opinion of the Permanent Committee on Education that the time has come for the broadening of the principle of representation by labor on such local education boards in accordance with labor's interest and responsibility for the sound administration of these agencies. The Committee has urged upon every central labor union the task of undertaking such a campaign for adequate representation. It also urges the need for wise planning by labor to bring its maximum contribution to bear in the development of vocational education, juvenile placement and adult education.

Your Committee would associate itself with both the spirit and purpose of this policy and recommends that this Convention add its support to this broad purpose. We further desire to commend the Permanent Committee for their leadership and urge an even more active program for the new year.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Counts, Professor of Education at Columbia University, and President of the American Federation of Teachers. Perhaps you will better know Dr. Counts when I refer to the fact that he is the successor of Professor Jerome Davis, who formerly served as President of the American Federation of Teachers. He is the newly elected President of that splendid body. As I said a while ago, he is serving as Professor of Education in Columbia University, and has also served as instructor in the University of Chicago and in Yale University as well. We welcome him as a delegate in this great convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I

present him to you to discuss the subject of education.

Delegate Counts: President Green, delegates to the convention—this is the first time I have appeared among you, and therefore I set down my ideas in writing. I wanted to make them as brief, as clear and as precise as I could, and I crave your close attention. My remarks are not directed altogether toward the report of this committee. They are directed more to the general situation and to the work and prospects and responsibilities and tasks of the American Federation of Teachers.

I am profoundly moved by the honor attached to membership in this great congress of representatives of the working people of the United States. I am equally moved by the responsibility and the opportunity associated with this membership. In recognition thereof I pledge my energies without stint to the achievement of the purposes for which the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Teachers were founded and for which they have fought valiantly through the years.

As a life-long student of education I desire first of all to pay lofty tribute to the American Federation of Labor for its prolonged, uninterrupted, courageous and enlightened support of public education. For two generations, following in the footsteps of earlier workingmen's organizations, it had defended the cause of free schools with unflagging zeal and unsurpassed wisdom. In this championship of the very foundations of democracy it has had and has no rival. To be counted now among the members of this far-flung and powerful brotherhood is both a challenge and a privilege.

As a teacher and as a representative of teachers I wish to thank you for the magnificent services of the past. Even more earnestly I urge you to keep this record unbroken in the dark and troublous years ahead, knowing, however, before I address you that such urging is scarcely necessary. For you to become indifferent or hostile to the cause of free education would be contrary to your nature. You are as devoted to the public school and the welfare of American children as the members of our profession. It is for this reason that we are bound together in the close fellowship of the American

Federation of Labor. Our interests and purposes are the same.

As a member and president of the American Federation of Teachers I beg your cooperation, your fraternal criticism and counsel, during the current year. Due to many and diverse causes the teachers of America are losing their traditional fear of association with organized labor and are beginning to look with hopeful eyes to our Federation. Already in such representative cities as Atlanta, Georgia, Parkersburg, West Virginia, Cleveland and Springfield, Ohio, Anderson, Indiana, Chicago, Springfield and Bloomington, Illinois, St. Paul, Minnesota and Butte, Montana, the vast majority of the public school teachers are in the Federation. In many sections of the country the time is ripe for a vigorous and carefully organized drive for members; and we are planning to take full advantage of the situation. In this we shall want the active assistance, not only of the national office of the American Federation of Labor, but also of state and local bodies. For our part we promise the dedication of all of our available resources to the common cause.

In this campaign we shall keep uppermost the defense of the economic, civic, and professional rights and interests of teachers, the guarding and improvement of public education, and the conservation and development of our democratic heritage. We shall permit no political faction or partisan body, whatever its authority or connection, to obstruct our work, divert our energies to sectarian quarrels, and make of the Federation a tool for the promotion of its special purposes. In particular we are unalterably and unequivocally opposed to totalitarianism in every form, however pleasing and alluring its guise. We are opposed to any movement or tendency that repudiates the civil liberties, nurtures the idea of violence and dictatorship, and looks with favor on a regime sustained by machine guns, secret police, bureaus of propaganda, concentration camps, and firing squads. We are opposed to any party or order that takes its political directives in the least detail from any foreign government or power. In still greater particular, we are opposed without exception to the current world movements known as Communism, Fascism, and Nazism. We believe that teachers above all others must oppose without ceasing every effort and every movement calculated to limit and crush the

freedom of the human mind. They and their craft, as we understand the processes of education, would be the first casualties of the rise of totalitarianism in our society. Less than any other international union represented in this body can the American Federation of Teachers serve as a front for any totalitarian movement. At the same time we shall steadfastly defend freedom of conscience for the individual, refuse to countenance heresy-hunting in any and every form, cultivate a spirit of tolerance and charity among our members, and welcome to the Federation all teachers in our public schools.

Our deepest loyalty is to a great social faith which, developing through the centuries, seems to have reached its fullest and most abiding expression on the North American continent. As representatives of this faith we believe that in a most profound moral and political sense "all men are created equal"; that the fundamental purpose of society and institutions is the enhancement of the worth, the dignity, and the powers of individual human beings; that every child, regardless of ancestry or family circumstance, is entitled to equal opportunity for growth, position, and responsibility. We also believe that in the last analysis the undistinguished rank and file of mankind are the only dependable judges and guardians of their own welfare; that ordinary men and women, farmers, mechanics, teachers, and housewives, can and should rule themselves; that the great liberties of thought, belief, speech, press, assemblage and organization are the essence of this process of government; that the inquiring, adventurous, and creative mind, trained in the methods and spirit of science and devoted to the general welfare, is the most precious resource of our country; that useful labor justly rewarded is the sacred right and duty of all men and women and the only solid foundation of human society. On the other hand, we reject the doctrine of "classification, caste, and legitimacy," the doctrine that one class of men is fated by God or nature to rule over or grovel before another, that subservience in the presence of arbitrary authority and power is a civic virtue; that common people should distrust their own mental processes and always look to their "social betters" for guidance. Likewise, we reject the idea that the individual is but a pawn in achieving the ends of some divine and mystical state whose nature

surpasses his understanding. In a word we believe in a society of free men and women, in a society, as Abraham Lincoln phrased it, "of the people, by the people, and for the people." This is our social faith. We have come to call it democracy. Without this faith we as a people would be spiritually impoverished and lost; without it our history as a nation would lose its significance.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Laderman.

Delegate Laderman, Ladies' Handbags, Pockethooks, and Novelty Workers: President Green and delegates—I know that it will be impossible for us to discuss and comment on the many items mentioned in the Executive Council's report containing some 200 pages, packed with a year's work. But this one question of education, particularly workers' education, is so important for the future of our movement that I think we ought to give at least a half day's discussion to it.

The Executive Council's report recognizes the importance of this subject when it says on page 2:

"It is of utmost importance to labor that the coming year should be one of activity in organizing workers and in educating them in the principles of trade unionism that they may be able to protect themselves and advance their interest socially, politically and economically."

And again on page 176, speaking under the caption of "education" the report says:

"There is no single field which is more the concern of organized labor than education."

And again on page 180, the Executive Council says:

"Education must continue a paramount issue with our labor movement."

And in concluding the report under the caption of "Conclusion" the Executive Council again reminds us of this important problem by saying:

"Our increase in membership represents increased strength and a wider basis for future work. Increases in unions and union membership brings problems of education and discipline, for the new union recruit has much to learn, and achieve, before he becomes a seasoned trade unionist. This problem of education is one of the main responsibilities of national and international unions, and the American Federation of Labor. Periods of rapid growth make educational work proportionately important."

I have read these quotations in order to emphasize to the delegates here the importance that the Executive Council attaches to this question and it is for us now to realize also the importance of this matter and bring it back to our international unions and locals for serious consideration.

We must find a way to integrate the new millions who are coming into the labor move-

ment and the new millions who will come in, and must come into our movement. We all recognize, I think, that organization and education must go hand in hand, and that right after the first and the initial step of organizing new members must come the second, and just as important, step of educating them and bringing home to them our ideals, our history, our traditions and the sacrifice and the pioneering done for our movement by those who came before us. I know that this is a difficult task, but still we must find again and again through experience the proper approach to this subject. Many unions are lost after great sacrifice and many struggles, because the organization work wasn't followed up with educational work. In many ways it is a bit of a "come-down," because education lacks the dramatic touch and spectacular intensity through which the first stages of organization are accomplished. Many times in this period of organizing a group and forming a local, we are so occupied with the problems resulting from the immediate struggle such as relief for the hungry, court cases, and the collective bargaining in conferences in order to bring about a settlement of the strike, that we forget to stress and emphasize the goals and ideals of our great movement. Only after an agreement has been signed you begin to realize the importance of developing leadership, and tackling the day to day work and day to day problems from the agreement signed.

It is most important that we find a medium through which to imbue our newly organized with a faith and conviction that will enable them to carry on against bitter odds and build from there on.

It is, therefore, a paramount and vital matter for all internationals who are taking in new members, and for the American Federation of Labor in its organization campaign to follow up through workers' education, and bring home through every modern educational method our program to them. I emphasize every modern educational method, because I believe that the printed word alone can no longer reach the masses of our people, particularly since the "word" has been so often "tortured" and "prostituted" by the totalitarian experts in propaganda, that we hardly recognize the "word" after they get through with it; and, of course, we must also take into consideration the fact that modern industry with its "belt system" squeezes out every ounce of energy from the worker, both physically and mentally, and therefore makes him unfit after such a day's work for serious study of printed material. We must, therefore, find other methods that couple education with recreation and leisure.

In this respect the radio is, of course, a powerful and effective medium that can be used to our great advantage. I know that we have one labor radio station in Chicago, WGBL, and they are doing splendid work in that line, but we need more labor stations that will bring labor's message into the home; most important, we need a program and a plan to be put over the radio, and that is a problem for the Workers' Educational Bureau and the American Federation of Labor.

There is another field which we entirely neglect but which is probably the most important field for modern education at present. I have in mind the movie theater. Millions of our people go to the movies every week and see the subtle propaganda that is being handed out, mostly against labor, both in the news films and in the "shorts." Through this medium our enemies are able to mold public opinion and emphasize usually violence, strikes, thereby creating an impression that that is the main activity of the labor movement. At no time do we see the peaceful, constructive activities that are being carried on day by day. At no time is there emphasized the peaceful collective bargaining that is continuously going on and the improved conditions that we continuously bring to the workers of this country and to the community at large. At no time is the public allowed to see labor in the light of this constructive effort, but always the strike and the violence is played up and accentuated. This is, therefore, an important medium for labor, education, and I think we should seriously consider forming a "Workers' Film Group" that will have for its aim the production of shorts and labor news which will tell the true story of our great movement.

There is a great opportunity in this field of telling the graphic story of our heroes who fought for the last 60 to 75 years, making this movement what it is today. Why not a "short" on the life story of Samuel Gompers in a film to be shown throughout the country? Why not make "shorts" of leaders of our movement, leaders of our internationals who have made possible the organization of their industries? Why must we always glorify the military hero, the war hero, but not the hero working for peace and security in our collective life? This is something our educators should give serious consideration and, of course, the same thing can be said of the theater. Many of us saw "Pins and Needles," a labor musical review sponsored by the I. G. W. U. It shows that it can be done, and even raise money for other educational activities.

Two weeks ago I had the opportunity of attending another great convention in Chicago, the American Legion, of which I am a member, in the Union Labor Post of Chicago. I was amazed and inspired with the varied methods used by the Legion to carry their program into every community wherever the 11,000 posts of the Legion are located. Through contests and hundreds of prizes they have offered and the cups that are given by the national organization for the best editorials, essays and other activities and programs of the Legion. I think that we can emulate the Legion in this respect by thinking seriously of this method to bring home the program and ideals of the American Federation of Labor. Why not prizes on the best essays on labor's program? Why not prizes to the sponsor on the best piece of labor legislation passed by any state, municipality or the federal government? Why not prizes for the best labor poem, labor play, labor history, labor biography, best labor paper,

labor college, labor novel, and why not a prize for the best labor chorus that will compete for the final honors, to sing at the national convention yearly and be awarded a cup! Why not develop labor songs that can be such great help in bringing in the proper festivity to our local and international meetings!

All of the above-mentioned suggestions, I believe, are worthy of the consideration of the Workers' Education Bureau and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. We must find a way to the minds and hearts of our workers and integrate them and make them part of our movement, because they will have to carry on and perpetuate it.

We mustn't feel that we are so right that it isn't necessary to continuously tell our story to the workers and the public. We mustn't be too proud to repeat and repeat again the accomplishments of the pioneers of our movement. I agree with Spencer Miller when he said that we do not boast enough of our achievements. It is too true. There are many delegates sitting in this convention, presidents of international unions. Many of them are slowly passing out of our movement, whose story is not known to their own membership and the movement at large, whose struggles and sacrifices are unknown. I think that the new members are entitled to know these stories, and if they would know them, I am sure they would be proud to be part of these international unions and carry the work further.

I believe that this work of education—workers' education—is so important that at least a half-cent of the special one-cent assessment should be given to it; that the bureau should be enlarged and broadened in every respect; that a National Speakers' Bureau should be organized and speakers like Gerhart Seger be sent out to give his message and inspire them to guard their heritage with every ounce of energy and devotion in them.

I commend the Executive Council for its splendid report on this vital matter and hope that it will continue in a much broader and more comprehensive manner the educational program of the American Federation of Labor.

The section of the report of the Committee on Education, under the caption "Education," after the foregoing discussion on it, was adopted by unanimous vote.

Federal Grants-in-Aid for Education (Pages 208-211, Executive Council Report)

American labor's struggle for the establishment and adequate maintenance of a system of public education in America is a struggle which began early in the 19th century. It was largely through the efforts of

workingmen's associations in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, during the 20s and 30s of the last century that the American public school system was finally established. In the nearly 60 years since the American Federation of Labor was founded its leaders have worked consistently for the development of our school system. Labor's deep interest in public education rests upon a recognition of the fact that the practical success of democratic government is predicated upon the interest and participation therein by an informed, enlightened, alert citizenry. In the public schools are among the greatest bulwarks of democratic government. Hence, labor has determined that our public schools shall be adequately supported.

We look upon education as a distinct function of the state. We believe that the public school must interpret the social experience and "hopes" of the community. It must be an integral part of the community if it is effectively to serve the community. Yet we realize that during the last quarter of a century some states and local communities have been unable to raise the necessary funds to maintain schools and schooling at a proper level.

The present economic depression did not produce the inequalities in our educational system. It merely laid bare a condition that had existed for long and had never been adequately repaired. Nor are grants-in-aid a new device to meet such inequalities. Federal grants date back to the middle of the last century, when this nation was engaged in a Civil War to determine whether any nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men were created equal" could long endure. President Lincoln in the nation's crisis realized that one of the surest guarantees of the perpetuation of the American way was to remove inequalities in educational opportunities. The Morrill Act for the creation of the Land-Grant Colleges in the midst of a civil war is a monument to his vision of the need for equalization of educational opportunities. It marks the beginning of grants-in-aid for public education in our land. It filled out in broad outline the American ideal of education for all the citizenship. This Act had the cordial support of labor. But it is well to remember that the inequalities in American education that still exist between

North and South stem out of the exhaustion the South as a result of four years of the Civil War.

The World War marked the second milestone in grants-in-aid with the enactment of the Smith-Huges Act. But the origin of this act was the need of labor for more adequate industrial education. This act itself was for the most part the projection of labor thinking and owes much to labor's championship. It has depended from the first on labor cooperation. The Smith-Lever Act for agricultural extension embodied another acceptance by the nation of grants-in-aid. In the field of public health and now in our social security legislation federal grants are a settled part of public policy.

Grants-in-aid for public education in America thus has a long history in the nation. It is a history which labor helped to shape. It is a policy of which labor is committed. But with it labor is persuaded that local initiative and control of educational policies are indispensable.

Education may be the nations biggest business venture, but in some sections of our land that business is still small. It is small because per capita wealth is small. And the tax burdens are heavy for those who are called upon to bear them. While some of these states with meager resources are making heroic efforts for their schools, they are unable to provide the quality of education needed. So long as a fifth of the nation's children live in states where the amount available per child is less than one-half of the nation's average, we shall continue to have educational inequalities. In concrete terms the average revenue available per pupil in the nation is approximately fifty-two dollars but that average conceals the wide range which extends from twelve dollars and twenty-one cents per pupil in states like Mississippi and Arkansas to over one hundred and forty dollars per pupil in states like Delaware, New York and California.

The long depression which revealed some of the weaknesses in our economic system has revealed the initiation of some of our long established practices in financing public education. Where real estate values decline in a community due either to a depression or in the trends in local business activity the tax base is seriously affected and with it the basis of school taxes. Because of the national

organizations of our business structure there is a disposition to syphon off wealth as it is created locally into the large financial centers. To meet this condition Federal aid is more adaptable to our national economy and more elastic to our modern needs. By support through grants-in-aid we have developed a method of removing some of the more glaring inequalities in education.

To remove such inequalities in our educational system is one of the purposes of labor. To aid in such a purpose, grants-in-aid have received the consistent support of labor over the years. But equality of educational opportunity does not mean identical educational opportunities. Indeed identical opportunities might lead in turn to inequalities. Education must be adapted to the needs of the citizens and be related to the cultural standards of the community. In education, as in other areas of life, uniformity is dullness and may lead to mediocrity. But while diversity is needed it must never be at the expense of preserving the democratic principle of adequate education for all our citizens.

Your committee therefore recommends the endorsement again of the general principles of grants-in-aid as a characteristic American device to aid in the equalization of educational opportunities. We would however point to the great importance of preserving local initiative and control in educational matters even though federal funds are utilized in insuring to all our people their full educational birthright.

Your committee further recommends that any permanent program of federal aid to the states for education should be based on a distribution of such funds among the several states on a basis of the relative need of these states in providing educational opportunity for all within the state.

Your committee further recommends that the funds should be administered in keeping with a state law, with only such federal safeguards as will insure the equitable use of the funds within the state.

Your committee still further recommends that the equal right of Negroes to education be safeguarded and the prevailing rate of wages principle of the Bacon-Davis Act be assured in the use of federal funds for all construction, repair or demolition of school buildings.

Federal Grants and the Proposed Educational Bills

A year ago the Committee on Education undertook to evaluate the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education. During the year the broad recommendations of that report were put into legislative form—S 1805. This bill provides:

Title I. Grants to States for the Improvement of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools.

Part I. Aid to be given to public elementary and secondary schools in annually increasing funds from \$40,000,000 the first year until the sum of \$140,000,000 is appropriated (5 years hence), including classroom work and auxiliary services (school health programs, recreational programs, services for handicapped children), guidance, textbooks, and supplies, transportation; the funds to be apportioned on a basis of relative need of the several States; the States to make annual reports on the expenditures.

Part 2. Aid for teacher preparation.

Part 3. School Building Programs.

Part 4. Aid in Administration of State Departments of Education.

Part 5. State Acceptance Provisions.

1. State must provide adequate system of auditing of funds and of reporting.

2. Must protect labor standards on buildings.

3. States may allow children to be transported to non-public schools on federal funds.

Title II. Grants for Adult Education. The method of allocating funds for adult education is entirely different from the method provided for allocating funds under Title I.

Funds under this section are allocated on a basis of stimulation of this work rather than on a basis of equalization of opportunities for it among the States, hence the allocation is on a basis of population and not on a basis of need. This bill provides that funds shall be given only to publicly supported adult education centers.

Title III. Grants to States for Rural Library Service.

Title IV. Grants for Aid in Research.

Provides that up to 60 per cent of the

funds may be allocated to qualified institutions of research (non-public).

Title V. Aid for Persons living in Federal Areas.

The Permanent Committee on Education analyzed this bill with care and approved it in general. At the hearings on the bill before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor the American Federation of Labor was represented by Matthew Woll, George Gooze and Irvin Kuenzli. The Federation spokesman there also gave general approval to the original bill. An amendment, however, was proposed later, which was not presented for discussion at any public hearing and which was in contradiction of the policy laid down in the statement of policy of the bill. Efforts were made by President Green to correct this part of the bill. Meetings were held with the American Vocational Association. It is the position of the Federation that local control of vocational education was necessary in order adequately to meet local needs. A difference of policy developed which it is important that labor should fully understand. It is unnecessary to review the evolution of vocational education in our country. That is set forth briefly in the Executive Council's Report. It is proper to state that one of the difficulties which has arisen in the development of vocational education is the dual system of control between the Federal Board for Vocational Education and the local educational system. Dual control nationally prevents local integration of educational planning. In addition, national centralization of administration of an educational program is contrary to fundamental principles of democracy and freedom, as well as incompatible with service to local needs. In one field only is federal control necessary—in the formulation and administration of the labor standards to be observed in all vocational education projects. Accordingly the American Federation of Labor drafted its own bill, which was submitted to Congress. In that bill, the Permanent Committee recommended local control of vocational education, so that plans for vocational education should be decided locally.

Your committee therefore endorses the bill prepared by the Permanent Committee on Education. We believe the exclusive control of vocational education should be taken from the Federal Office of Education and returned

to local communities. Such action, however, should be accompanied by the setting up of Federal Advisory Committees on labor standards, with representatives for labor and employers to be selected by their respective organization. When the recommendations of these Advisory Committees are promulgated by the Secretary of Labor they should then become mandatory for the allocation of federal grants by the Commissioner of Education. It is proposed that a National Advisory Committee on Standards of Vocational Education should be likewise set up, with equal representation for employers and employees designated by the organizations which they represent. In this way it is felt by the Committee on Education that the best practices can be supported and an exchange in experience brought about. Under such a system there would be no federal control of educational policy, but rather local initiative and direction would be preserved and aided.

In view of the fact that complete agreement has not yet been reached between the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education and others especially interested in vocational education, we recommend that this matter be referred to the Executive Council for further consideration and action.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee under the caption, "Federal Grants-in-Aid For Education" and "Federal Grants and the Proposed Educational Bills."

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Reid, Michigan State Federation of Labor: I am rather confused. The other day the Committee on Legislation in their report recommended the adoption of Resolution No. 71, introduced by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, asking for the retaining of the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

The report of the Executive Council apparently wishes the Federal Board for Vocational Education be discarded, and the Committee on Education seems to agree with this procedure. I am in favor of the report of the Legislative Committee. I am interested in vocational education in our State, and we find if we do not have a Federal Board with labor representation and we put vocational education in the hands of the local authorities, it

will break down what we have been doing since 1917 to establish vocational education standards.

We had a meeting of the delegates from State Federations of Labor and they reported on vocational education in their States, and the reports were rather bad. The report from one State stated "that a man from agriculture was directing vocational education in trade and industry." This is not in conformity with the Smith-Hughes Law, but we cannot blame this on Federal control, as the State Vocational Board and the labor movement in that State can put a stop to this. Directors of vocational education in trade and industry should be from some craft, not from agriculture.

In our State quite recently the National Metal Trades Association developed an apprentice program. We happen to have a member of the A. F. of L. as State Supervisor of Apprentice Training, and he had to deny the application for this program, but he had to justify his denial, and the only justification we were able to give was that it did not conform to the State plan, and the State plan was approved by the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

If we do away with that board, as the Harrison-Fletcher Bill proposed to do in the last session of Congress and as this report proposes to do, you can submit any type of vocational training program from any State, and it does not have to be approved by anybody. It merely has to be filed in the office of the Department of Education, and they will be able to set up programs in State and local school districts with teachers from non-union groups, with a coordinator from the metal trades. This program was sold to the local superintendent of schools, and we were able to refuse to allow the use of Federal funds, because it did not conform to the State Plan for Vocational Education, approved by the Federal Board.

I notice that the Molders' Union has three resolutions before the convention asking this body to put certain firms on the unfair list in the southern part of the State of Michigan. Several months ago a local school board from this district presented an apprentice training program to the State body, and they had the audacity to ask for fifteen apprentices where they had fourteen molders. We were able also

to deny that program because of the state plan endorsed by the Federal Board for Vocational Education. If it had not been for that we would not have been able to prevent them from using that fund.

As far as labor standards in Michigan for apprentice training programs, we do not have much difficulty; our trouble is with related instruction standards.

We have very few of our people teaching. They put in academic teachers, and we have been endeavoring recently to take tradesmen from our group to teach the particular craft that the apprentices wish to learn. We find that we have great difficulty in getting past the school authorities who have the final say in hiring those teachers. We picked out a machinist the other day, qualified from every angle to give instructions in the machinist's trade. He got past the vocational authorities, he got past the State Board and our coordinator, and when we took him down to the superintendent of schools he had an academic teacher that he wanted put in there that could not tell a milling machine from a drill press, and he turned this man down. That is the condition we are confronted with.

If we maintain and retain the Federal Board for Vocational Education with a representative of labor, with a representative of industry and a representative of agriculture, then we can approve or disapprove State plans of vocational education that do not meet certain minimum requirements, and we wish to retain that board.

That has been referred to the Executive Council, and I hope when the Executive Council takes this problem up they will call in some of the men who are working in the vocational field, members of the American Federation of Labor, and find out the problems that they have to meet before they decide to amend either the Smith-Hughes Act or any other Act dealing with vocational education.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Special Order—Teamsters-Brewery Workers

Delegate Hutcheson: The Committee on Executive Council's Report will be ready to continue its report tomorrow morning, and I move that the portion of the report under the caption, "Teamsters-Brewery Workers," be made a special order of business for eleven o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: Before we adjourn, may I personally request that all of you be here promptly at 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning, so far as it is possible for you to do so. We will have some very important work the first thing in the morning, and I should like for all to be present.

At 5:45 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:45 o'clock, Thursday morning, October 12th.

Ninth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
October 12, 1939.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 by President Green.

ABSENTEES

Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordges, A. S.; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, R. J.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Hansen, H. I.; Heymanns, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jelly, Tom; Kelly, John P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Claude S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

INVOCATION

**Rabbi Louis Feinberg, Avondale
Synagogue, Cincinnati**

Father in Heaven! Thou who art pictured in Holy Writ as a worker and toiler, a builder and creator, send Thy blessing down upon Thy toiling children, who are assembled here from far and near to effect ever happier conditions under which to work and obtain as full a share of the fruits of their toil as is consistent with national interest.

Give them of Thy wisdom to see that man's so-called happy state free from all toil preceded his acquisition of knowledge, and that it was after he had tasted of the fruit of knowledge that labor became an integral part of his life. Labor lends dignity to man, provided the labor is of a nature that does not rob him of dignity.

Banish from the hearts of Thy children, in convention assembled, all pettiness and selfishness. Grant them the vision to see the entire nation as a complete organism, in which the health of every part is essential in order that any part might enjoy well-being. Let them remain uninfluenced by the false philosophies of the day, which envisage society as divided either into hostile economic classes waging everlasting war with one another or into fixed racial groups with naught but contempt in their hearts for each other. May they view mankind rather as a vast brotherhood with Thee as common Father.

Grant them, O merciful Father, the sense of security they seek; but let them realize that security without liberty is the security

of the slave. May they attain a large measure of security without losing their liberties.

O God, strengthen the hands of their leaders and officers to perform their tasks with faithfulness. May their efforts not only yield their toiling millions a fuller share of Thy bounty and blessings, but also unite those millions in loving accord and further the cause of world peace, for the greater glory of Thy name. Amen.

President Green: I am pleased at this time to present to you the President of the United Automobile Workers' organization, the one affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. All of you have heard of President Homer Martin. You have followed his work with deep interest. He has passed through some very trying experiences. I know he can tell you a story that will be of deep interest to all the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention. We admire his spirit and his courage and his ability. He has shown himself to be big enough and courageous enough to come back home to the American Federation of Labor when he found that those with whom he had temporarily become associated were advocating a destructive philosophy, destructive to all our ideals as well as destructive to the American Federation of Labor. I present to you Homer Martin, a delegate to this convention.

President Martin, United Automobile Workers: President Green, delegates to the convention—The International Union, Automobile Workers of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is now a part of the family of labor. I want to express to the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor, to the international unions, State bodies and central bodies the deep appreciation which we feel for the assistance and cooperation which has been given us by the American Federation of Labor. I wanted an opportunity to say to the American Federation of Labor in convention just how much we appreciate the fact that we have been welcomed as an international union back into the family of labor. I wanted to express my deep appreciation to the officers of the American Federation of Labor for the help, the encouragement and the cooperation which we have received during the past months, and at the same time I want, if I might, to give you some facts concerning our history, our relationship to the American Federation of Labor and our relationship to the dual movement.

The International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, was chartered by the American Federation of Labor in August of 1935. Between 1933 and 1935, despite the fact that various automobile companies had instituted reigns of terror against the workers, by the fall of 1936 we had been able to get into our organization most of the independent organizations and to convert the company unions into bona fide organizations.

I think that among many of the affiliated organizations, as far as the C. I. O. is concerned, and among some of the leaders, there is a real sincerity. It took the revelation of the past two years to bring the full story of the purposes and objectives of the leader of the C. I. O. out in the open. There were certain reasons advanced for the formation of that dual organization. I have listed some of them. I am not going to read them because of the time, but I do want, if I may this morning, to bring to you out of an experience of some two years with the C. I. O. what, in my opinion, are the real reasons for the existence of that organization, and deal with some pertinent questions that are being raised at this moment.

At the present moment there is a fiasco going on over in San Francisco, and the fiasco is another convention, so-called convention, of the C. I. O. In my opinion the first and principal reason for the formation and promotion of the dual organization is the consummate ambition of the leader of the C. I. O. to control a labor empire. Every single criticism that the leader of the C. I. O. has made of the American Federation of Labor during our experience, and to our certain knowledge, has not only actually been committed but has been improved upon. Since he could not control the American Federation of Labor, his first objective was to destroy it. In his mad scheme he was joined by the inveterate enemy of the American labor movement, the Communist Party. Like Hitler, he made a deal with the Communist Party in order to further his own plans. He was joined in his dual movement by his former enemies. He then became the mouthpiece of those enemies of the American labor movement, and from his point of vantage utilized every living invective which had been employed by them for years.

There are some liberals in this country, and perhaps some public officials, who still believe that the leader of the C. I. O. will disgorge, get rid of the Communists in the C. I. O. There is no hope that he will ever seriously try to get rid of them. He can no more get rid of the Communists in the C. I. O. than Hitler can get Stalin out of Poland. The witnesses before the Dies Committee have said that at least eleven of the national unions and international unions were completely dominated and controlled by the Communist Party. It is my personal opinion that not eleven, but all but two, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Mine Workers, are completely under the domination of the Communist Party. Long before it was so apparent that the leader of

the C. I. O. had made a deal with the Communists some of us found that not one word of criticism could be employed on the destructive tactics that were being employed by them.

More than 2,000 wildcat strikes, stoppages, and deliberate slow-downs in the automobile industry, many of them promoted by the Communists, over a period of less than two years, were waged by this leader who had been such an enemy of these tactics in his own organization. Contracts with companies in rubber and automobile became things to be scrapped at will. The Communists' destructive activities in the union and character assassinations against sincere leaders were secretly encouraged and aided. Fellow travelers and stooges of the party were elevated to important posts. They became the closest advisers of the leader. Hundreds of Communists were placed on the organizational staff, and whole unions were deliberately turned over to the party by lending aid and comfort to the Communists in those unions.

The party was also given an absolutely free hand in propagandizing the membership of the various unions. In our union, known Communists were the secret confidants of the leader of the C. I. O. They went so far as to announce publicly that they never did anything without first receiving the approval of the head of the C. I. O. The Communist Party had found in their former enemy a leader suited to their purposes. He had all the appearance, all the restlessness, all the ambition and careless abandon necessary to their purposes. Over night this reactionary Hitler of the United States workers became, to the Communists, the Stalin of American labor.

Their former efforts to establish revolutionary unions and to bore from within by the formation of Trade Unity Leagues and other such organizations had failed. They now saw their emancipator and champion as head of a dual movement which had the advantages of respectability, Government connection and money. Furthermore, it had seized upon a popular theme to cloak its real objectives. They saw their opportunity to get their work of destruction and propaganda done before they could be exposed. Make no mistake, in the statements concerning the Communists, the C. I. O. and their associates have been branded by the Communists themselves as "Red" baiters.

I want to give you just one example of how thoroughly the Communists are in charge. In Local 51, the Plymouth local, which had some 6,000 members, the educational director, paid \$40.00 a week and expenses by the local union, was a member of the Communist Party. The regular library of that union carried all the Communist Party's publications. The class room, which was used to educate the workers, was a class room which would have been a good example even in Russia. On the wall in that class room there were what were known as the visual lecture charts. One was 5 by 4 feet. The teacher of that class of working men took this chart. On the one side was a picture, "Housing, Clothing

and Food in the United States." On the other side was pictured, "Housing, Clothing and Food in Russia." Clothing in the United States was pictured in this visual lecture chart by a mother putting an over-sized, ragged coat on a little girl. Over in Russia there was a whole roomful of clothing, with a clerk ready to dress the happy workers in evening clothes. The worker's family in America were assembled about a bare table, but in Russia there was a picture of a banquet table, with the Russian workers sitting around an ample board. Housing in the United States was pictured as a one-room hovel, but in Russia the workers lived in streamlined, modern apartments.

An automobile worker paying his dues into his union was paying an educator \$40.00 a week and expenses to tell the workers that the United States was a hell hole of suffering and deprivation, and the only hope was in the Communist Party, which would bring the Soviet form of government to the United States. We have all that evidence and more in the trial which will come up shortly in the courts of this country.

The Communists had to have the C. I. O. and the C. I. O. had to have the Communists. The Communists saw an opportunity, not only to propagandize the workers and take charge of the unions, but they also saw an opportunity to get their stooges into important governmental positions through the prestige of the C. I. O. The leader of the C. I. O. saw an opportunity to realize his lifelong ambition to build a labor empire where he could reign supreme. I think the Dies Committee will have some pretty interesting revelations in that phase of the situation.

How about labor peace? Make no mistake, the leader of the C. I. O. doesn't want peace. And the Communists don't want peace. There will be no peace if they can prevent it. The head of the C. I. O. still imagines himself the head of a great, growing movement; the Communists keep him thinking so. He had less than one and a half million at his Pittsburgh convention. He has less than that now. He is so blind that he cannot see the decay of his empire, because his Communist advisers are still feeding his overstuffed ego. The Communists know that the C. I. O. is decaying, but they see it as their only hope of utilizing organized labor for their own purposes, and will fight to the last ditch.

Into the C. I. O. movement, sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Mine Workers, millions of dollars have been poured by these two organizations. Since 1937 there has been a progressive loss of membership. Today Mr. Lewis has less than a million dues-paying members in the C. I. O., and he doesn't dare reveal his membership because he knows the facts. But he is not fooling us. We knew in 1938 in the Pittsburgh convention that there was no possibility of getting the real facts of the membership. Even many of the leaders of the C. I. O. are not told what their membership is. They dare not reveal what that membership is.

Why doesn't Mr. Lewis want peace? Will he have peace? The answer is no. Mr. Lewis and some of those closely associated with him will not have peace because to do so would be for Mr. Lewis to take his place in the labor movement just as another member or as another international president, as that might be. He still dreams of a labor empire. Now he has a new five-year plan. This plan is to bring 10,000,000 into the organization, he says, in five years.

In 1937 the organization reached its peak. In 1938 it considerably decreased in membership. In 1939, at San Francisco, he has the shell of an organization, the membership of which he does not dare tell his own members.

During the C. I. O. convention in Pittsburgh, Mr. Sidney Hillman, Mr. Dalrymple, of the Rubber Workers, and I fought for more than three hours with Lewis, Murray, Carey and others, on the question of labor peace. Mr. Hillman stated that "We know that peace must be had, and it can be had. We know that the question of jurisdiction and other questions can be settled satisfactorily within the councils of a united labor movement." Mr. Lewis replied, "We are going to hammer hell out of them." Mr. Hillman stated that on a number of occasions, "We will have to get peace in spite of Lewis."

Those liberals and public officials who desire a united labor movement, instead of sending messages about conferences, with the vain hope that something will come of them, had better find the real root of the trouble and place the blame where it rightfully belongs—with the leader of the C. I. O. and his Communist allies. Until they do they will keep crying, "Peace, peace," where there is no peace.

There are those within some of the C. I. O. unions that sincerely want peace in the American labor movement. There are those, in my opinion, who hope for the day to come when there will be a united labor movement. Back in 1937 and 1938, when conferences were being held with the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the only serious question that did develop at that time was the question of the Radio Workers and some others.

The committee representing the C. I. O. was thoroughly convinced that we were ready for peace and were ready to grant that peace. Philip Murray came out of the conference room and said, "We had better see the boss." They went back to the C. I. O. headquarters with everything written out. John L. Lewis said, with a snap of his fingers, "We'll tear it up," and he did tear it up and throw it in the waste paper basket in front of the committee.

I am interested in seeing peace, and if there were a movement where Mr. Lewis and his chief advisers and his aides were being sincere there could be peace. But there won't be peace as long as Lewis can dream of his labor empire and as long as the Communists can use it to destroy or capture or control

it. I say that advisedly. I say it because I feel that in many instances there have been wrong impressions left.

I was a part of the C. I. O. I was sincere. Those of us who are representing the Automobile Workers of America come back again to say sincerely, "We are sorry, and we are going to do our best to build the American Federation of Labor." We have learned from our own experience that not one word uttered by the leader of the C. I. O., not one single statement he has made that he has not violated himself, that the C. I. O. hasn't contradicted by its actions and by its word. It is an outlaw movement.

The Automobile Workers of America come to the American Federation of Labor as loyal, devoted members, with no conceit concerning our own wisdom or knowledge. We come to a democratic labor movement, with a deep feeling and abiding desire to help build it, to protect it from its enemies and to promote its interests as the bona fide movement of America.

We are not disturbed that the C. I. O. has won an election, because we know what is voted up can be voted down. We are glad that we do not have the responsibility for what is happening in Akron, Toledo, Cleveland, Detroit and other centers. We want no ghost towns to our credit. The C. I. O. will get full credit for it, and God help them when the workers realize what is happening! The building of a staple, responsible labor movement is a task which necessarily takes time, and it challenges all our loyalty, devotion and strength. We are going about that task in the auto industry, and with your continued cooperation we shall succeed.

I appreciate the opportunity to address this convention. I hope it may be somewhat helpful. I say to you this, that despite all the assertions to the contrary, we are now with an international union of more than 100 living, vital, working organizations associated with us, and those organizations covering some 100,000 workers.

We are going forward to build the Automobile Workers into a sound labor movement. Our experience has made us more loyal than we possibly could have been to the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor, and again I express the deep, sincere appreciation of the Automobile Workers for the welcome back home, and we say we shall continue to work with you to build the American labor movement in the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: We appreciate very greatly the information President Martin has given us this morning. I know you will value it very highly. We have some inside information there that I think we all realize is very important.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Volz, for a report of the Committee on Law.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following supplemental report:

Your Committee on Laws wishes to submit the following supplemental report, made necessary by an additional resolution having been referred to it by action of the Executive Council. The resolution in question, being numbered 98, proposes an amendment to constitutional provisions governing quota representation of local unions in Central Bodies and was introduced by Delegate F. A. Ackerman of the Chicago Federation of Labor and reads as follows:

Proposing Amendment to Constitutional Provisions Governing Quota Representation of Local Unions in Central Bodies

Resolution No. 98.—By Delegate F. A. Ackerman, Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Article II, Section 11, provides that

"The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; one additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or major fraction thereof.

AND WHEREAS, Organizations of members up to 50 are entitled to 2 delegates, and up to 100 to 3 delegates, that the said figures represent a great injustice to larger local unions, as for example: a local union of 13,000 members is entitled to only 30 delegates to the Central Labor Union, while 10 small local organizations of 100 members each, totaling 1,000 members in all, are allowed the same representation, namely 30 delegates; or 15 small local organizations of 50 members each, totaling 750 members, are allowed the same representation of 30 delegates; or 15 small local organizations of 10 members each, totaling 150 members in all, would be allowed the same representation of 30 delegates as the one organization of 13,000 members; therefore the 10 local organizations of 100 members each, with a total of 1,000 members, have thirteen (13) times the rate of representation as the one local organization of 13,000 members; and

WHEREAS, 15 local organizations of 50 members each, with a total of 750 members, have seventeen and one-third (17 $\frac{1}{3}$) times the rate of representation as the one local organization of 13,000 members; and 15 local

of 10 members each, with a total of 150 members, have eighty-six and two-thirds (86⅔) times the rate of representation as the one local of 13,000 members; and

WHEREAS, A comparison of the per capita tax paid shows that 10 local unions of 100 members each, totaling 1,000 members in all, pay \$20.00 per month for per capita tax or \$240.00 per year, that they have the same representation in the Central Labor Union as the one local with 13,000 members that pays \$260.00 per month or \$3,120.00 per year per capita tax; and

WHEREAS, In practical operation the said Section 11 has worked to the detriment for the effective affiliation of organizations in the Central Labor Union, and it can readily be seen that this is a clear case of taxation without proper representation, and the amendment will return us to the basic principles of the American Federation of Labor as it existed prior to this change in the Constitution; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the said Section 11 be amended to provide that all local unions whose membership consists of 100 or less shall be entitled to 2 delegates to the Central Labor Unions and one additional delegate for each additional 100 members or major fraction thereof.

The introducer of this resolution, and a number of other representatives of the Chicago Federation of Labor, appeared before your committee in favor of its adoption, while delegates from Columbus, Ohio, and Wisconsin Rapids, Wisconsin, Central Bodies appeared in opposition.

Your committee wishes to call attention to the fact that a somewhat similar resolution was presented by Delegate J. F. Friedrich of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at the 1936 convention, held in Tampa, Florida, which resolution, after lengthy consideration in committee, was rejected and a substitute amendment clarifying the section in question was recommended and adopted by the convention.

While realizing that some further modifications and clarification may in time be necessary, your committee is nevertheless of the opinion that the amendment, as now proposed, would defeat the purpose of the introducers, as explained, and weaken and discourage interest in Central Labor Unions.

Your committee accordingly unanimously disapproves of the resolution.

Delegate Volz moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by

Delegate Volz: This concludes the report of the Committee on Laws.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman,
EDWARD J. VOLZ, Secretary,
JOSEPH N. WEBER,
DENNIS LANE,
WILLIAM QUIRK,
J. J. FARNAN,
JOHN R. STEVENSON,
JOHN O'MALLEY,
JAMES L. KELLEY,
WILLIAM TRACEY,
WILLIAM J. GORMAN,
ALBERT G. HUNT,
J. J. FITZGERALD,
HERBERT RIVERS,
JASPER N. DAVIS,
J. P. MCCURDY,
WILLIAM MCCARTHY,
JOHN J. EGAN,
R. A. OLSON,

Committee on Laws.

Secretary-Treasurer Frank Morrison

President Green: Will the convention please be in order and will the officers, delegates and visitors please be seated. It is with a feeling of sincere regret that I am presenting Secretary-Treasurer Frank Morrison to you for an announcement. I know that with me you will feel deeply touched. I am going to ask him now to make the announcement which he desires to make to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President and delegates to this convention—the announcement I am going to make is one to which I gave considerable thought. Perhaps the making of the announcement may not be of the assistance that I hope it will be, but I feel that this announcement should be made at this time, prior to the election of officers.

I feel that perhaps, all circumstances being considered, it will be helpful to the trade union movement at this time. The announcement is very simple, that I have decided I will not be a candidate for Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

On November 23rd I will be eighty years of age. Some feel that when officers reach that age they should give way to younger men. Of course, my education has been that men should carry on their work as trade unionists, as craftsmen, so long as they are able to perform the work to be done.

I have been honored by the delegates to the convention and by the membership of the Federation for forty-three successive years in December of this year. I owe the labor movement a great deal. I received an education from it, and in payment of that I have given the best service possible. My reward has been the growth of the American Federation of Labor from 256,000 members in 1897 until we passed the 4,000,000 mark this year, something that I was gratified to see.

I see a great future for the American Federation of Labor. It is going to move forward. Nothing can stop it. I was honored to serve with President Gompers, our departed chieftain, for twenty-nine years. I have served with President Green over fifteen years.

I felt keenly the failure of the International Typographical Union to pay its assessment. I see no justification for their taking exception to paying the assessment, and perhaps I may be able to be helpful in the future, as I have in the past, because I have addressed four conventions of the International Typographical Union, with the hope that that matter might be adjusted.

So far as my general health is concerned it is the same now as it has been for many years. I am fortunate in that I inherited from my parents a constitution that stood the stress and storm since I was elected to this office in 1896. I am in good physical shape now. The only thing is a matter of adjustment of glasses to my eyes. I have been taking treatment, and I mention this only because the statement was made that I was incapacitated in that manner. I want to say there is nothing to that. I read the resolutions, I can read eight point in the constitution, but I admit that there is a certain strain when I attempt to read small type in the newspapers.

I called up the doctor two days ago and asked him about my eyes. He said the condition was improving, that it would get better to a certain extent, considering my age, but after all, he said, if the worst comes to the worst you can have an operation which will make it all right.

Of course, that is disturbing, and that is one of the things that entered into my decision to make this announcement. I know some people who have had the operation per-

formed and they were left in darkness. I do not want to be in darkness. I see the beauties of the world through my eyes, but so far as I know the class of work that I have been carrying on can be carried on, notwithstanding the endeavor to adjust my eyesight.

I have given as good services as possible, because I have derived immense satisfaction and pleasure from watching the American Federation of Labor grow from 256,000 to over 4,000,000. I want to make the prophecy here now that we will emerge next year with at least a half a million additional members, notwithstanding the opposition of the C. I. O.

You heard the statement made today, which agrees with my contention, that the membership of the C. I. O. does not reach more than 800,000, while the American Federation of Labor during that same term added 1,566,000 paid members.

And so, my friends, I want to say that as long as I live and have the power to speak and travel I shall devote myself to strengthening our great labor movement, which I have watched grow from a small beginning.

I feel that in a very short time the membership of the International Typographical Union loyal at heart, will be able to untangle themselves from the legislation which is hampering them and will again become part of this American Federation of Labor.

And so in making this announcement I do it with a full heart because I owe much to the movement and to the great conventions of the Federation. You have been kind and good to me. God bless you!

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Woll.

Vice-President Woll: Mr. President and fellow delegates, in reserving to myself the privilege, I hope with your consent, of following up my remarks with the presentation of a resolution for your consideration, may I say that the task assigned to me this morning is one of the most trying I have ever had. There are moments in one's life when words fail properly and adequately to express that which is within one's heart, when one is laboring under difficulty to compose words and utter praises that might fittingly present what he knows is in the heart and mind of each and every one of you.

The announcement that came to us just

now is one which I am sure has shocked all of us. I am confident it has been a notice of astonishment and of keen and profound regret to each and every one within the labor movement. And so I am sure, too, when the announcement goes forth, not only throughout our land, to our neighbors on the north, but throughout the whole of the labor world, they, too, will express deep regret and manifest keen astonishment at the event that has taken place today.

The decision of our Secretary-Treasurer, much as we should like to see him reverse it and continue in the service that he has performed so splendidly for the past forty-three years, being his unalterable decision, it behooves us to have full regard for his own personal desires and well-being. Thus we are left without alternative other than to respond as he would have us do. But in doing so we must and always shall be mindful of the great, loyal and devoted service he has rendered to the labor movement, to all of our national and international unions, to our city central bodies, to our State Federations of Labor, and to our Federal Labor Unions. Throughout his career as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor during the past forty-three years his name has become a household word in the home of practically every wage earner, affiliated or non-affiliated. And truly all of our meeting halls, all of our offices, are adorned with a charter, the certificate of affiliation which bears his signature, thus ever reminding us not only of his association with our great body, but of the great contribution he has rendered to the cause of labor and to the great movement that we represent.

Indeed, the rise of the American Federation of Labor is closely allied with his life and his career as an official of organized labor—as indicated by him, having been associated with our great departed leader, Samuel Gompers, for many years and now associated with our peerless leader, President Green, for the many years cited.

Thus his career from the morning sun to the evening sun is one of close and intimate association with the life and with the activities of the American labor movement. I shall not venture to rehearse with you the many trials and tribulations through which he, with his associates, has passed during all of these

years. I shall not venture to take your time with a recital of the sterling qualities manifested by him on all occasions. You are as familiar with them as I, and whatever the history of the American labor movement may be from this time on, surely the pages of the past as well as of the present will ever honor the name of Frank Morrison as a devoted servant, a loyal compatriot, a true fraternal friend and associate in the cause of labor.

We in the printing trades deeply regret his giving up the hand that has guided the Secretary-Treasurer's office for all these many years, for whether of the Typographical Union, the Pressman's Union, the Stereotypers' Union, the Electrotypers' Union, the Book-binder's Union or the Photoengravers' Union, we have always been proud to have known that the Secretary-Treasurer came from the ranks of the printing trades union.

And so we regret more keenly than all the others his giving up the hand that has guided that work so eloquently, so efficiently, so loyally, during all these years.

May I add that the service rendered by this man, forty-three years, commencing as he has indicated when our movement was represented by only a quarter of a million members, and now having reached its highest point of over four million men and women, organized and associated with our great movement, indicates clearly that he has become more than a Secretary-Treasurer to our movement — he has become an institution within the annals of organized labor, and particularly within the American Federation of Labor.

I shall not take up your time to seek to expound the virtues possessed by him, the great devotion that he has given to our movement, the honesty and integrity with which he has filled that office, re-elected throughout all these years without opposition and by unanimous consent, always above suspicion that the funds and the work entrusted to him have not been cared for as you and I would wish them to be.

I shall not dwell upon his fidelity, upon his friendship, and upon the many courtesies and kindness manifested to all of us by him, even under the most trying of circumstances. May I bring my remarks to a close by asking how we can best express our appreciation for all that he has done, the loyal and de-

voted services he has rendered, and for the remarkable contributions he has made to the cause of labor in general and to the American Federation of Labor in particular.

How shall we reward our servant? Shall we be an exemplar in the capacity of an employer, shall we take an attitude of kindness and thoughtfulness as to the future welfare and well-being of the one who has so well served us? Or shall we be a master who shall be hard and cold, and who, upon either dismissal or resignation, will merely accept that severance of official relationship in terms of coldness? I am confident this convention will want to assume that attitude of mastership that abounds with kindness, with thoughtfulness, with appreciation, with thankfulness, and it is in that spirit that I ask the privilege of this convention to waive the rules governing our procedure, by unanimous consent, and to afford me the opportunity—saddened by the occasion offered, but gladdened at the thought of that which I now propose, in the hope that it may meet your unanimous response.

Again, however, before so doing may I say to you that before I came to the microphone I was reminded by the gentleman on my left, when he heard our Secretary-Treasurer announce that shortly he would reach the age of eighty and that he is now laying down his task of official life and duties within our movement, he said to me, "Another great man, a man of eighty who then and thereafter performed his greatest work, his everlasting work, his ever-to-be-remembered work—Moses himself."

And so I feel, too, that our Secretary-Treasurer, Frank Morrison, in giving up the duties of Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, is not giving up his work in this Federation. (Applause).

True, the difficult task assigned to a Secretary-Treasurer will be assigned to someone else, but in thus giving up that task I am confident he will engage even in a greater task for which his forty-three years of service have so remarkably fitted him, when he may go into the highways and byways and preach the doctrine of trade unionism as it has come to him during his life's work and experience. I am confident that the first duty he has assigned to himself, to go among his own fellow craftsmen within the

Typographical Union, will not be in vain, and that before long he may again bring back to our convention, bring back into our fold, the phalanx of the compositors of the International Typographical Union, he heading that march back into our ranks, as still related to the American Federation of Labor.

So, too, am I confident that he will venture into other fields, with time and opportunity accorded him to bring our doctrine of brotherhood, our ideal of fraternity, our conception of unity and harmony of action, into the homes and into the firesides of the unorganized wage earners, and likewise into the offices of those who yet would dispute the right of labor to its rightful place in industry as well as in society.

And thus, while we regret his passing, I am confident we are not losing his services, but we shall rejoice in the greater field that has been presented to him to carry on the work to which he has so nobly, so gracefully and so remarkably contributed his life.

And now, with your permission I ask that the convention lay aside its rules of order and permit me to introduce the following resolution. May I hope and pray that not only the request for the waiving of the rules of procedure be granted, but that these proposals may receive your unanimous accord and your unanimous response.

RESOLUTION

Introduced by Matthew Woll

It is with profound regret we learn of the unalterable determination of our honored and respected Secretary-Treasurer, Frank Morrison, to retire from active service and no longer to seek continuance in the office and undertake the duties and responsibilities he has so ably and devotedly filled during these many years with credit to himself and honor to the American Federation of Labor.

In view of his long, uninterrupted and invaluable services to our cause and organization, as an expression of our ever-enduring appreciation of the contributions made by him to labor in general and to the American Federation of Labor in particular, and as an indication of our desire to manifest in adequate and appropriate form not only our high regard for his sterling qualities but as an expression of our sincere regard for his future welfare and well being, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized and directed to have prepared and engrossed in suitable manner resolutions setting forth our everlasting apprecia-

tion for long and invaluable services rendered by Secretary-Treasurer Frank Morrison, to be presented to him under circumstances worthy of and in keeping with that spirit of fraternity, friendship and good will that prompts these expressions; and be it likewise

RESOLVED. That we hereby do elect Frank Morrison Secretary Emeritus of the American Federation of Labor, to become effective immediately upon termination of his present period of office, and that as a retirement compensation he shall be entitled to and will receive the sum of \$6,000 annually, payable in such manner as will best suit his convenience and requirements.

Friends and delegates, I offer this for your unanimous adoption, and I ask for the waiving of the rules of the convention.

(The reading of the resolution was enthusiastically applauded.)

President Green: The Chair will entertain a motion to suspend the rules and act taken on this resolution immediately.

Delegate McCurdy, Garment Workers: I move that the rules be suspended and action taken on this resolution immediately.

Delegate Walters, Boilermakers: I second the motion.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote of the convention.

President Green: The resolution now presented by Vice-President Woll is before the convention for action.

Vice-President Woll: I move its adoption by rising vote.

Vice-President Coefield: I second the motion.

The motion was seconded by several other delegates.

President Green: Are there any remarks? If there are no remarks, all those who favor the adoption of this resolution please rise to your feet.

Those opposed will rise to their feet.

The resolution is adopted by the unanimous rising vote of this Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and it is so ordered.

Now we will proceed to the special order of business. You will recall I announced yesterday that Senator Schwellenbach, of the State of Washington, had responded to a cordial invitation extended him in your name and in your behalf to attend and ad-

dress this convention. He is here this morning. He is our visitor and our guest. He brings to this convention an inspiring and most interesting message.

Senator Schwellenbach, like Senator McCarran, has proven himself to be a champion of labor upon the floor of the United States Senate. He has carefully considered public interest as above and superior to all, and because the American Federation of Labor presents sound, constructive proposals, he has invariably supported them. We regard him as our friend and our champion, and for that reason we extend to him a most hearty and cordial welcome this morning.

It affords me the greatest pleasure to present to you as your guest speaker this morning Senator Lewis B. Schwellenbach of the State of Washington.

HON. LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH (United States Senator, State of Washington)

President Green, and delegates to the convention—It was with a feeling of sadness that I heard the announcement made that Frank Morrison was no longer going to serve in his capacity as Secretary-Treasurer of this organization. I did get a little pleasure out of the fact that, without any right or without any authority, I had a chance to stand up and vote as a delegate for the resolution which was just adopted.

Throughout the years in my home city of Seattle, as I have had an interest in the cause of organized labor, representing local unions and our Seattle Central Labor Council on numerous occasions in matters of litigation, I have come to know of the work and to admire and respect the character and the courage of Frank Morrison.

In speaking for a little wider field than the American Federation of Labor, taking upon myself a prerogative as a representative of the Federal Government and thereby as a representative of the people of the United States generally, I want to say that not only you are to suffer a loss by his refusal to serve further; the whole country, every part of this country is going to suffer that loss with you. We only hope that those of you in the American Federation of Labor may have learned the lessons of courage and determination and sound principles of Americanism, which, during the last forty-three years, have been taught to you by Mr. Morrison, and that you will carry on in the light of the example that he has set for you.

I am here today on a rather peculiar mission. I come as a result of a request by the President of our State Federa-

tion of Labor, Mr. Taylor, and by the representatives of the Teamsters' Union on the Pacific Coast, through Mr. Dave Beck, to present a problem which at first blush may seem to be far afield from the ordinary problems of an American Federation of Labor. That problem is the catastrophe which today is confronting the apple industry of the United States. As I say, at first blush it would seem that a detailed discussion of the problem of the apple industry might be far afield from the program of a labor convention. Knowing as I do, however, the degree of recognition by the American Federation of Labor of the close connection between those who might be classed as laborers and those who might be classed as farmers, I did not hesitate to accept the invitation. In our highly developed economic system the prosperity of each group depends upon the prosperity of each other group. Neither the labor union nor its members can hope to flourish during the period of depressed agricultural conditions.

There is another reason why labor is and should be interested in the present disastrous situation confronting the apple industry. The percentage of cost necessarily expended in order to place apples upon the market going to labor is much higher than any other agricultural product.

The average cost of production, according to a three-year study made by the Washington State College of Agriculture on 81 farms in the Wenatchee Valley was \$1.17 per box. This includes all legitimate costs of production and packing the fruit, and of this amount about 70 cents per box was considered a fair estimate of the actual cash expenditure, the balance of the item being made up of overhead charges of interest and depreciation and a cash value figured on the labor of the farmer and his family.

In addition to these costs there are charges for warehousing, shipping-point storage, and selling of the apples before they move east. The combined average charge for these three items in the Wenatchee Valley at the time of this study was 26.7 cents per box. At that time, an additional charge of 75 cents per box was charged for transporting the crop to the eastern market. When the \$1.17 for producing and packing a box of apples is added to the warehousing and transportation charges, we have an item of \$2.18 invested in the average box of apples by the time it reaches the Eastern Seaboard.

It may be seen that the amount received by labor is not limited to the amount upon the farm or the packing or the storing of the apples. It is paid to labor all the way down the line, including those who transport it on trucks and those who transport it by means of railroad transportation.

One can see why the Washington boxed apple commands a relatively high price in the eastern market. One can also appreciate that the portion of this price returned to the Washington farmer is relatively modest.

It should be emphasized that the natural advantage the State of Washington has in a

climate and soil especially well adapted to apple production is at least partially offset by the long haul to the eastern or export markets. For this reason, it has been necessary to concentrate on the production of a quality product, and the result is the high graded and standardized Washington boxed apple.

The extent of the dependence of the western commercial growers upon the export market places them in a very unfavorable situation this year. Last season some 12 million bushels were exported. Exports during the 1939-40 season are expected to be considerably below that figure.

Not only does Europe have a large apple crop, but the war presents a great handicap. Shipping space and the foreign exchange available for fresh fruit are likely to become serious problems. Consumer demand in Europe is expected to shift towards foods that are less perishable and cheaper than fresh apples, although a certain amount of fresh fruit probably will be considered essential to health.

For the next few months it is expected that the United Kingdom will be supplied largely from its own crop plus imports from Canada. A heavy harvest of around 16 million bushels is expected in Canada. Even Canada, however, with a preferred market in the United Kingdom for about 7 million bushels of apples, anticipates greatly reduced exports for 1939-40.

France expects very large apple and pear crops this fall of her own. The new Government Import Control System undoubtedly will cut down the movement of apples into France much below last season.

The unsettled conditions resulting from the war have limited fresh apple exports this season to less than one-third of the amount exported up to this time last year. This curtailment of export outlets, in addition to a bumper apple crop of 103 million bushels and the prospects of the second largest citrus crop on record, has resulted in ruinous prices to the apple grower. Apple prices so far this season are even lower than those existing in the 1937 season. It is estimated that from 95 to 99 million bushels of apples are available for fresh domestic consumption as compared to an average of 81 million bushels during the last ten years.

United States Apple Crops and Prices

Years	Com. Sales	Fresh		Farm
		Exports	Domestic Consum't'n	
			Price	
	1	2	3	4
	million bushels		dols. per bushel	
1929-1938	94	12	81	.86
1935	104	13	92	.72
1937	116	11	105	.67
1938	82	12	70	.84
1939/1	103	4.8	99-95	.63/2

/1 Preliminary estimate.

/2 September prices.

Consumer purchasing power during the apple marketing season will be higher than in 1938, and is expected to be about equivalent to 1937. Competition from other fruits, however, has increased greatly. The prospects are that this year's fruit crop will be the second largest on record, and will be 13 per cent above 1935, 7 per cent below 1937, and 6 per cent above 1938.

Under present conditions, the parity price of apples as calculated by the Bureau of Agriculture Economics is \$1.23 per bushel. The present farm price of apples is \$.63 per bushel or only 51 per cent of parity.

To meet this situation, growers have undertaken a program to divert low grade apples from fresh consumption. The Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation is supplementing this grower program by purchasing a bushel of apples for relief distribution for every bushel diverted. Under this program, the farmers are attempting to secure fair prices for their fruit and at the same time supply consumers with an ample quantity of the best quality apples available at reasonable prices.

Apples have just been put on the surplus list, and it is too early, therefore, to estimate the volume of distribution which can be secured through this outlet. This may mean a great deal to apple growers later on as the Stamp Plan is extended to additional cities.

To those who know nothing of the apple industry, it is always surprising to discover that orchard land in the State of Washington ranges in value from eight to twelve hundred dollars per acre. It has not been uncommon for an orchard of the Delicious variety to sell as high as \$2000 per acre. These values come about through the great length of time necessary to bring an apple orchard into full bearing and the rather considerable costs that must be incurred for irrigation water, land taxes, and investments in buildings, equipment and irrigation system. While apple trees may begin to bear moderately in the seventh or eighth year, they are not considered to be in full production until about the tenth year. During this long period of waiting, there is little or no income, and considerable outlay for maintenance of the growing orchard.

I know there is no need for me to make a sales talk on the dietary value of apples. However, it is of interest to consider, briefly, the findings after a scientific survey made this year by the New York Horticultural Society:

"Apples add non-irritating bulk to the diet because they contain large amounts of pectic, or jelly-forming material. The pectin promotes transit in the intestines without irritating the glands, and in that way improves digestion. Apples in the form of raw apple pulp or powder have been used very successfully in the treatment of diarrhea or dysentery in infants and of intestinal ulcers in adults. Apples supply readily available energy because of the solubility of the

sugars which they contain. Apples contain numerous minerals, including fair amounts of calcium and iron, which are so important for bone, tooth, brain and muscle building.

"Apples provide ample quantities of the essential vitamins A and C, as well as lesser amounts of vitamins B and G. Vitamin A aids in building up of disease resistance in the human body. It is commonly believed that oranges are a good source of vitamin A. Dr. Henry C. Sherman, of Columbia University, well-noted nutrition authority, assigns them a value of only twenty units per ounce, while several varieties of apples, including McIntosh and Golden Delicious, have a value of from 30 to 36 units per ounce. Vitamin C is the anti-scurvy vitamin. Apples contain a large amount of this vitamin, which cannot be stored in the body and which must be replenished daily. Most of this vitamin is stored close to the skin. One apple a day, eaten skin and all, will give one all of this vitamin needed regardless of his other foods.

"Apples furnish an alkaline reaction in our systems, thus counteracting acid-forming foods and checking colds and superacidity."

In the State of Washington last year we had a very difficult campaign upon our hands. I don't know how many of you are familiar with the efforts which were made by an organization known as the Associated Farmers to place upon the statute books of our State, through the medium of an initiative, a law which would have completely and absolutely destroyed every labor union within our State. We were able last year, by very strenuous methods, to defeat that initiative, but by a comparatively small margin. We do not want to be confronted with the problem next year of being compelled to go out and fight that sort of an initiative again, and it is of extreme importance to the labor movement in the State of Washington and to the labor movement on the Pacific Coast that some effort be made by the labor movement to be of assistance to those who might be attracted again by the arguments of this organization known as the Associated Farmers.

That is my primary purpose in coming here, to discuss with this organization the question of assistance to the apple industry, because of not only the general economic assistance which we can render to an industry which needs assistance, but because it is a matter of having the friendship of those people within our State who last year were very much attracted by the false arguments of those who opposed the labor union movement.

I haven't any specific request to make. I know what this organization, with all of its power and strength at the National Capital can do to be of assistance, and aside from the general request it would make of its members throughout the country, that they recognize this problem, we do need assistance in making sure that the Federal Surplus Commodity Corporation go the full limit in rendering whatever assistance it can in the solution of this problem. We do need the as-

sistance of the American Federation of Labor in presenting to the Department of Agriculture and to the Bureau of Public Health, as rapidly as possible, a scientific study of what is the proper amount of spray which may be left upon apples after the time they have been picked and before they are presented to the purchaser and the general public.

One of the most difficult economic problems that the apple producer has arisen out of an entirely false conclusion reached by the Pure Food and Health Service, without any scientific data, compelling the washing of these apples two or three times before they may be sold. Three years ago the Public Health Service was directed to make a study and report upon this question. We have not as yet been able to get that report from the Public Health Service.

A third thing in which the American Federation of Labor may be of help is in reference to a resolution introduced in the Senate by Senator Wheeler of Montana, Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin and myself, along toward the end of the last session, asking that three hundred million dollars be made available to agriculture for the refinancing of their mortgages. There is no part of the agricultural industry which would profit as much by this particular resolution as the apple industry, and I may say that the American Federation of Labor need not hesitate to support that resolution, because when it was tacked on to the Spending-Lending Bill at the last session of Congress it passed by a vote of 85 to 7 in the Senate, and it will have that sort of support again. But we do need the assistance of the American Federation of Labor upon these three propositions, in addition to the general assistance that may be rendered in asking its membership to recognize the seriousness of this problem. We who are interested in the labor movement of the State of Washington need the assistance of the national American Federation of Labor in order that we may assure these people who last year were against us that they can expect, and that they can have, active support and cooperation in the solution of their problems.

Mr. President, I thank you very much for the opportunity to have been here, and I appreciate very much this chance to address this great convention.

President Green: I note that you received the Senator's address with manifest feelings of appreciation. We are glad that he came to Cincinnati from Washington for the purpose of visiting with us just a little while, and for the purpose of submitting his address.

We understand the problem he has presented mighty well, and I can assure him that he can rely upon the support of the American Federation of Labor in promoting the interests of the farmers, the fruit growers and all agriculture, not only in the State of

Washington but throughout the entire country. We fully realize that we cannot establish an approximate prosperous condition in America if the farmers of the country are denied the opportunity to participate in an equitable way in the prosperity of the nation. We are for them and will stand with the Senator in the splendid fight he is making.

I thank you for your visit and for your address.

The Chair is pleased to present to you the Acting Chairman of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, President Hutcheson, of the Carpenters.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Acting Chairman Hutcheson: Mr. Chairman and delegates—The Committee on Executive Council's Report is now ready to complete its report. Yesterday I made a motion from the platform that that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption, "Teamsters-Brewery Workers," be made a special order of business for eleven o'clock this morning. Due to the speakers' program, we have been somewhat delayed.

Prior to presenting that, however, permit me to say that we have two other short subjects that we wish to present before taking that matter up. These, I think, will be non-controversial and will cause no debate. Therefore, I present the Secretary of the Committee and he will first take up these two subjects, and then we will take up the special order.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Lynch, of the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Secretary Lynch reported as follows:

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL Free Federation of the Workmen of Puerto Rico

Your committee notes with satisfaction the splendid work being accomplished by this Free Federation in the interest of the working men and women of Puerto Rico. It was also a source of satisfaction that the policies

and principles of this Free Federation are in conformity with the democratic policies of the American Federation of Labor.

The Free Federation reports specifically the signing of an agreement covering the sugar industry, establishing better wage rates and conditions of employment. Also the agreement contains a preferential clause with regard to the members of the Free Federation.

Your committee notes the death of Rafael Alonzo Torres, General Secretary of the Free Federation. Brother Torres has acted in the political and economic organization of the working people of Puerto Rico. His loss will be severely felt by those in whose interest he gave so fully of his time and ability.

The Free Federation celebrated its 40th anniversary during the past year, under date of July 14, 1939.

The work of the Free Federation, like that of the American Federation of Labor, covered all activity of members, including publication of a newspaper, worker's education and women's auxiliaries.

Your committee notes with special satisfaction that the workers of Puerto Rico, individually and through the Free Federation collectively, are in accord with and loyal to the principles of the American Federation of Labor. Because of this loyalty only one union, and that of minor importance, is organized by the C. I. O. in Puerto Rico. The Free Federation has a splendid record of achievement.

Your committee recommends continued cooperation between the Free Federation and the American Federation of Labor.

In addition to the report of the committee Brother Inglesias, who is active in the work of the Free Federation, desires to have this suggestion incorporated in the report:

Permit me to make the request that the President of the American Federation of Labor be recommended and directed that at the proper time, and when any emergency may not prevent him, to make a visit to the Island of Puerto Rico to give the organized working people over there the benefit of his presence and advice.

Secretary Lynch moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

International Union United Automobile Workers of America (Executive Council's Report, Page 49)

The Council reports that on June 6th, 1939, the charter of this organization was restored. On the same date a formal statement was issued setting forth that the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, would have full and complete autonomy in the administration and control of the organization.

The right of self-government in this organization, which was surrendered to a C. I. O. committee, was thus restored by re-affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

In addition to this the Executive Council directed "that the President be authorized to return the charter to the United Automobile Workers of America with the understanding that whatever difference may exist or come up would be straightened out after it is in the American Federation of Labor."

Your committee is of the opinion that such difference can be adjusted by the Council. Under provisions of the charter granted, the overwhelming number of employees in the automobile plants are eligible for membership in the United Automobile Workers of America. No serious or insurmountable difficulties should arise with regard to proper affiliation of those employees who are eligible to, or already are, members of other International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee is of the opinion that the future success of this International Union depends largely upon the ability of its officers to inculcate the concepts and principles of the American labor movement, as represented by the A. F. of L., into the minds of the workers employed in the automobile industry.

The record clearly shows that when illegal and extra-legal tactics become a part of labor union philosophy in its dealings with employers the same tactics are used in the conduct and operation of the union itself.

No union can reasonably expect that the use of illegal and extra-legal tactics will be

adjourned within the union, especially so, if such tactics are adjudged by its officers as a success in employer-employee relationships.

When the final pages of the C. I. O. history are written it will be shown that it was upon this rock that their efforts were wrecked by internal dissension growing into internecine warfare among its officers and members.

Such was the fate of all previous unions founded and built upon preachments of personal hatreds and "revolutionary ideologies." Such will be the fate of the present Communist-dominated efforts of C. I. O.

Your committee recommends that every effort, consistent with good judgment, should be made to build a strong, efficient and self-governing International Union in the automobile industry. Your committee further recommends that the full cooperation of the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor be extended to the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, to accomplish this objective.

Delegate Lynch moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

TEAMSTERS—BREWERY WORKERS

**(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 54 to 57)**

Under this caption is set forth the recommendation of the Executive Council with regard to the long-standing dispute existing between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers' of America and the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.

The Executive Council of the Federation has used every reasonable effort to bring about a reconciliation and amicable settlement through conferences between these two unions over a period of years.

While this jurisdictional question was before the Council the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America applied to a court of equity in the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia

for an injunction to restrain the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers from attempting to carry out the decision rendered by the Executive Council, date of May 2, 1933, and approved by the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1933.

The Brewery Workers Union also requested from the Court an injunction to restrain the American Federation of Labor from carrying out the provisions of the Executive Council's recommendation which was approved by the convention in 1933.

Your committee is of the opinion that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the convention of the American Federation of Labor was acting well within its rights in recommending the jurisdiction of National and International Unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and in submission of its decision to a convention for final consideration and action.

Your committee deplores the action of the Brewery Workers Union in taking questions which properly should be considered and adjudicated within the family of labor to an outside agency.

The American Federation of Labor has for many years deplored and denounced the use of injunctions in labor disputes between employers and employees. The Federation has used its agency, its finances and its combined influence to curb the power of courts in issuing injunctions in industrial disputes. This has been the position of the Federation with regard to the use of injunctions by employers against the International Unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. This being so, your committee is of the opinion that it is far more reprehensible and deplorable for a union within the family of the Federation of Labor to employ this means in the settlement of its differences with another union within the family of the American Federation of Labor. It is even more deplorable that this injunction was sought in anticipation of, and not because of, a decision on the part of the Council and a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Brewery Workers Union was not seeking relief from any final or binding action

on the part of the Council or of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The order of the Court carries the date, October 6th, 1939. This convention of the American Federation of Labor was not called into session until Monday, October 2nd, and no one could know in advance what the action of this convention would be with regard to any recommendation or decision rendered by the Executive Council.

It is a matter of common knowledge that conventions frequently disagree with recommendations made by the Council; therefore the relief being asked in the court of equity by the Brewery Workers Union was, at best, based upon their own gratuitous and unsupported supposition that the action of the convention would be in accordance with their guess. Therefore their procedure in this matter is doubly ignominious.

FIRST, Because it sought relief by a medium that has been denounced and condemned as an instrument in the adjudication of labor disputes.

SECOND, Because at the time application was made for relief no one could possibly have had definite knowledge as to what would or would not be the action of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in Cincinnati, beginning October 2nd, 1939.

The recommendation of your committee in this matter will, in the judgment of the committee, be far more lenient and considerate than the facts in the case warrant.

The history of the American Federation of Labor proves that its policy in these matters is judicious, patient and considerate in the extreme.

Your committee wishes to make its position clear that it believes it to be within the constitutional right of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to make recommendations with regard to jurisdiction to the conventions of the Federation.

A committee of the convention has no opportunity to weigh and consider all of the merits involved in cases of disputes covering long periods of time.

The International Unions at dispute in this case appeared before the committee and were heard. It was clearly evident to the committee that full and proper consideration

of the merits involved would extend to a period of time which the committee was unable to give under the rules of convention procedure.

In view of the circumstances surrounding this case, and the belief of the committee that every effort should be made to preserve peace within the family of labor, and without thought or intimation that the Council and the convention of the American Federation of Labor is without proper authority to finally decide all matters in dispute in the family of labor, your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a special committee of members of the American Federation of Labor to proceed in an effort to find a basis of accommodation, leading if possible to a satisfactory settlement of the dispute at issue.

Your committee further recommends that this special committee meet and organize to carry out the provisions of this recommendation within a period of thirty days.

Your committee further recommends that this special committee be empowered to establish reasonable methods of procedure; permitting presentation of evidence and reach its conclusion and report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its first meeting held in 1940.

Your committee further recommends that, if an adjustment is not consummated by the special committee, this convention authorize and direct the Executive Council to take such action as in their opinion will conform to the recommendations submitted by the Executive Council to this convention.

President Green: The convention will recall that the committee recommended that this be referred to a special committee to take up the question in controversy and endeavor to adjust it, so the discussion on the report of the committee will be upon that recommendation of the committee to refer.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers: I come here to protest against the last paragraph of the committee's report and the recommendation which carries with it that if no understanding can be reached between the contending organizations between now and the January session of the Executive Council, the committee may make such recommendations as, in their opinion, is war-

ranted, and authorizes the Executive Council to put into effect the expulsion of the Brewery Workers from the American Federation of Labor.

I want to register a protest against the misrepresentation of facts in that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "BREWERS-TEAMSTERS."

It is a masterpiece of evasion and misrepresentation. It has been prepared in a manner best calculated to instill in the minds of the delegates the thought that the Brewery Workers are at the bottom of a plot to restrain the A. F. of L. from exercising its "legal and moral rights to settle jurisdictional controversies."

It misrepresents the true state of affairs from the very first paragraph, when it states that the 1933 convention adopted a decision in the "jurisdictional dispute" which arose between the Teamsters and the Brewery Workers.

There never has been—and there is not now—a "jurisdictional dispute" between the two organizations. There has been, however, an attempt on the part of officials of the Teamsters' Union to raid our membership—in which attempt they were aided and abetted by a complacent Executive Council in May, 1933, when the Executive Council proceeded to order the transfer of the beer drivers to the Teamsters' Union, and unprecedently proceeded to notify the employing brewers, central bodies and State Federations that they had granted jurisdiction over the beer drivers to the Teamsters' Union.

But more vicious than this was the action of President Green when on April 6, 1933 (two weeks before we were even notified to appear before the Council as the Teamsters were laying claim to the beer drivers), he notified President Taylor of the Washington State Federation of Labor that the Teamsters hold jurisdiction, when the undisputed record of the American Federation of Labor shows that the jurisdiction over beer drivers rested with the Brewery Workers. I quote from the 1915 San Francisco Convention proceedings of the American Federation of Labor:

Page 131:

"... Jurisdiction over the drivers of brewery wagons was recognized as belonging to the United Brewery Workers."

The Executive Council, faced with the fact that President Green had delivered the beer drivers on April 6th, prior to our even being notified that there was claim made by the Teamsters, adopted the infamous, face-saving decision to protect this stupid blunder.

Testimony given in the trial by representatives of the Teamsters was a revelation to even the Brewery Workers, in that it proved the lengths they had actually gone to raid our membership many months before our notification to come before the Council.

When, in 1933, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. suddenly decided that brewery drivers "properly" come under the jurisdiction of the Teamsters' Union and promptly—nay frenziedly—notification the entire labor movement to that effect, were they then recognizing "the authority of tribunals set up within the A. F. of L.?"

Or the tribunal set up

In 1913—when the convention concurred in the report of the Executive Council, which declared that "on the facts established we see no justification for the transfer of these men (brewery drivers) from the Brewery Workers' (to the Teamsters' Union) and so decide!"

Or the tribunal set up

In 1914, when the report of the Executive Council, reaffirming the decision of the 1913 convention, was again concurred in by the delegates!

Or the tribunal set up

In 1915, when the officials of both the Brewery Workers' and the Teamsters' Unions met and signed a working agreement in line and in conformity with the 1913 A. F. of L. decision, which, in its first provision, unequivocally states that "drivers, chauffeurs and stablemen employed in the delivery of the products of breweries, agencies and beer bottling establishments shall come under the jurisdiction of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America," and which, incidentally, was signed by Daniel J. Tobin and Thomas L. Hughes for the Teamsters' Union, and later denied by President Tobin before the Executive Council in April, 1933, and on the floor of the convention in 1933; and only when documentary evidence was produced in the court, did Chief Counsel for the Federation and Teamsters declare to the Court that Mr. Tobin had "unconcernedly" said this, but now admits that he did sign the International Working Agreement.

Or the tribunal set up

In 1915, at the A. F. of L. Convention, when the decision of the 1913 convention was again reaffirmed and again concurred in?

I want to direct the delegates' attention to the fact that by reason of this working agreement there was not a protest from the Teamsters delegates to the 1915 A. F. of L. Convention when the Council made its report and was concurred in unanimously by the convention declaring that:—

"... jurisdiction over the drivers of brewery wagons was recognized as belonging to the United Brewery Workers."
Or the tribunal set up

In 1934, when, at the insistence of the Executive Council and President Green, a referendum was held amongst the membership of the Brewery Workers' Union, to decide "once and for all" whether the demands of the Executive Council and the Teamsters' Union should be complied with? This resulted in the Brewery Workers, by a majority vote of 99.7 per cent, voting AGAINST submitting to dismemberment.

Here are five tribunals—and we could cite others—the officers of the A. F. of L. certainly did NOT recognize when they rendered their May, 1933, decision against the Brewery Workers' Union, or when they continued to press the Brewery Workers for compliance.

We are being criticized and condemned, and now threatened with suspension, because we have resorted to the only avenue left open to us, the American courts of our land, to protect our members from coercion, intimidation, assaults and mob blocades thrown about plants in which our members were at work. All brought about by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Teamsters failing to respect these tribunals.

Our members demanded this protection. Who dare say that these men are not entitled to protection against the method of the jungle applied in an attempt to drive them into another organization?

In this matter the A. F. of L. stands alone against the American people by their condemnation of citizens of America applying to the tribunals set up by people for the protection of the humblest of our citizens.

What has the American Federation of Labor to fear from the courts if their cause is just?

Only those who have no defense against their actions fear the courts.

The spirit of fair play and square dealing is the essence of democracy, upon which all free institutions are based.

The public policy of this country, being a democracy, has established a well-grounded

principle of law to the effect that no one can be penalized for attempting to have his rights adjudicated in a court of law. It is the American way.

The Council carefully avoids all references to the actual issues raised in the court case—they do not tell the delegates that a favorable decision received by the Brewery Workers will in no way impede the progress of the labor movement—will in no way endanger or weaken the principles upon which the A. F. of L. was founded—will hamper no international or national union affiliated with the A. F. of L., or any member of such affiliate, in the free exercise of all rightful privileges.

I pause a moment to advise the delegates that in my judgment and in the judgment of the Brewery Workers' International Union, this decision will go down in history as having preserved for the national and international unions their rightful trade autonomy against an attempt by the Executive Council to take away and arrogate to themselves power never given to them in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. Not alone will it restore to the trade union movement and the national and international unions their rightful autonomy, but it will set at rest the continuous statement by the American Federation of Labor that it is the parent organization and that the national and international unions are subordinate to it. Quite to the contrary, the American Federation of Labor was brought into existence by the national and international unions and given such powers as were enumerated in the constitution, and all those not enumerated were reserved to the national and international unions that brought it into existence.

The report does not inform the delegates that we went into court only as a last resort, with great reluctance, and only in order to obtain the justice denied us at the hands of the Executive Council. It does not say that the Brewery Workers took the matter into court solely for the purpose of protecting the autonomy ordained and guaranteed us in the Certificate of Affiliation issued by the A. F. of L. on March 4, 1887, 52 years ago.

The authority for this contract is none other than the Majority Report of the Resolutions Committee on page 522 of the Proceedings of the 1935 Convention and reiterated in the Report of the Executive Council

to the Tampa Convention in 1936, which may be found on page 66 of the Convention Proceedings. I quote:

"It was principally these great International Unions which had brought the American Federation of Labor into existence. When the American Federation of Labor was organized, and these unions accepted charters, and when National or International Unions have been organized since 1881, a contract was entered into between the American Federation of Labor and the National and International Unions.

"This contract called for loyalty to the purposes and policies of the American Federation of Labor. In return the National and International Unions were guaranteed two specific things: first, jurisdiction over all workmen doing the work of the specific craft or occupation covered by the organization; secondly guaranteeing to the National or International Unions complete autonomy over all of its internal affairs.

"The American Federation of Labor could not have been organized upon any other basis of relationship between the National and International Unions and the Federation. It is recognized that where a contract is entered into between parties, it cannot be set aside or altered by one party without the consent and approval of the other."

The court in this case has done nothing more than sustain the validity of that contract, as well as the contract that was entered into in February, 1915, between the Teamsters and Brewery Workers' Union.

As late as March, 1939, in connection with the A. F. of L.-O. I. O. peace conferences then in progress, the Executive Council, through President Green, in the Official News Letter of the American Federation of Labor, stated that it "has not the authority to barter away the jurisdiction of any affiliate. Only the union affected can relinquish any of its territory."

Let me also quote from the speech made a few days ago by President Green:

"The autonomous authority of National and International Unions must be respected and observed by the American Federation of Labor. All of that is a part of the economic philosophy of the American Federation of Labor."

President Green's declaration was in strict accord with the A. F. of L. Constitution, and in strict accord with our arguments in May, 1938, and since. Had our rights been as effectively safeguarded by the Executive Council as those of the organizations involved in the proposed settlement of the A. F. of L.

O. I. O. dispute, we could have and would have stayed out of court.

Of great significance is the fact that the Executive Council makes no effort to justify its own position. Nowhere in the report does it quote the authority under which it acted in 1933; nowhere does it cite the Constitution as evidence that any of its actions in this case have been in conformity with the Constitution, and hence above reproach.

This was not an oversight on their part—had the Council one iota of evidence, one scrap of authority to support their contentions, it is certain that that evidence and that authority would not have been omitted from the report.

When we affiliated with the American Federation of Labor we obtained our certificate of affiliation, making a binding contract, and that we have successfully attained the goal which is the common goal of every International Union, is best attested to by the fact that our industry is more than 98 per cent organized, and our membership enjoys conditions, working hours, and wages that are second to none in any industry of its kind in the United States. Government statistics will bear this out. I have here a copy of the Government Statistics Department of Labor, which shows that the Brewery Drivers have the best conditions as to hours, wages and general conditions of any drivers in the United States.

This was not accomplished over night. It took 60 years of struggle and sacrifice to bring about the conditions and cooperation we enjoy today.

We were affiliated 13 years before the Teamsters. Article 9, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor protects the priority rights of all International Unions affiliated with it.

Remember, these are our members, being a part of our organization, which the Executive Council now chooses to parcel out in accordance with its own ideas and in a manner it so quaintly terms "equal and exact justice," "in the democratic fashion."

Is it "equal and exact justice" to make a raid on the membership of a well-nigh perfectly established organization?

Is it the "democratic fashion" to arbitrarily demand that a portion of our mem-

bership be herded into another organization against their will or desire?

Perhaps our ideas of "equal and exact justice" and "democratic principles" are too old-fashioned. But they are still good enough for us, and I believe they are good enough for the representatives of most every International Union in this hall today.

I don't believe that there is a delegate on the floor of this convention representing an international union that would not stand on his hind legs to defend his organization against raids on their membership, and that is what the Brewery Workers are doing.

Are these the outgrowth of the fundamental principles for which the founders of the labor movement fought? If so, they are indeed, a strange and a forboding sign for our labor movement of the future.

It is charged that the Officers of the Brewery Workers are responsible for the non-compliance with the decision of 1933.

Let me set the delegates right on that score. The Brewery Workers is a democratic organization and its officers are but the servants of its members. Our organization was formed 60 years ago along democratic lines and we, its officers, have not seen fit to foist any new ideas of arbitrary government upon our membership, and in this connection I want to quote President Green's statement of only a few days ago:

"... Suppose your conventions decided upon administrative policies by a vote as decisive as two to one. What obligation rests upon the officers of your union? My conception of that obligation is this, that you pledge your honor, your good name as an officer of the union, to carry out the decisions of that body, and you ought to give your life and your blood if necessary to see that it is carried out. It may cost something sometimes to do these things, it may cost a lot... But after all, there are things more valuable than life itself, and that is honor and devotion to duty."

This exactly expresses our position. We are following the mandates of every one of our International Conventions since this unconstitutional decision was rendered, and our referendum vote demanded by the A. F. of L. in 1934, when our members voted 99.7 per cent against dismemberment.

The fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor guarantee certain autonomous rights, and if they have been obscured momentarily in the complex prob-

lems of this institution, they must be revived and held aloft—so that we may continue our forward stride with true democratic ideals. Let us not lose sight of these ideals. They've brought us recognition and progress. They must be maintained to assure our future success.

The Brewery Workers have a contract with the American Federation of Labor in the certificate of affiliation. If it is a contract with the Carpenters, the Plumbers, the Machinists, the Electrical Workers, the Musicians, and the Teamsters, etc., then it must in truth be a contract with the Brewery Workers, and it is the solemn duty of the officers of the Brewery Workers to protect that contract, even if they are driven to the point of being forced to protect it in the truly American fashion in the United States Courts.

We are older than the American Federation of Labor itself. We joined hands with other organizations in our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor to build up and not to destroy—retaining to ourselves, as did others who joined also, certain fundamental and autonomous rights—and those rights shall not be violated without protest.

The constitution of the American Federation of Labor does not give the Executive Council or the convention the right to transfer men who have been an integral part of one duly constituted organization for 60 years into another without their consent.

The constitution of the American Federation of Labor is designed to protect its affiliates, not to dismember them.

The principles of voluntarism and persuasion upon which Samuel Gompers stood, upon which every utterance he made was predicated, is good enough for us—and is reason enough for our unyielding defense of those principles which are the backbone of the bonafide labor movement.

At the El Paso convention in 1924, the last convention of President Gompers, just before his death he said:

"I want to urge devotion to the fundamentals of human liberty—the principles of voluntarism. No lasting gain has ever come from compulsion. If we seek to force, we but tear apart that which, united, is invincible."

I want to thank the delegates for their patient attention.

This is a needless controversy. We ask only to be left alone. We ask nothing that is not now and has not always been ours. The record and history of the labor movement is the foundation upon which we stand. It must not be ignored. We earnestly ask your support in defense of our rights under our certificate of affiliation and the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

I thank you.

Delegate Ryder, St. Louis: I rise to endorse that part of the committee's report which recommends that a committee be appointed to handle the matter of jurisdictional disputes. That was what St. Louis had in mind when it asked that a high commission be appointed for a similar purpose. We trust the Executive Council will in its wisdom see fit to extend the powers of this proposed committee to settle other jurisdictional fights.

We heard the address of Archbishop McNicholas the other day when he stated, "You must have the sustaining power of public opinion." These jurisdictional disputes cost us just this loss, and we trust the committee proposed will extend its services to other than just the jurisdictional disputes of the Teamsters and Brewery Workers.

Delegate Hughes, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I am not going to detain you long, and I am not going to frighten you with a bundle of books, such as the previous speaker had under his arm, and I am not going to quote the speeches and statements of Sam Gompers and every harum-scarum in the movement from here, there and everywhere. The question, as I understand it, is: Has the Federation the right to settle its affairs without the interference of the courts of this land?

It is hard for me to discuss the question while in the hall we have men who may misquote me, men who carry back every minute of the day every bit of the proceedings of this convention, back to Washington, back to the courts, so that myself and others may be endangering our freedom. The question is, can this Federation discipline its organizations? Can it function properly? I say that it has that right, and we contend that the action of the Executive Council originally, the action of this committee, is in accordance with

the laws of the Federation, and they acted within their rights.

This question is one that has been going on in this country between the Teamsters and the Brewery Workers since the year 1902. I was a party to the first conferences this organization has ever held and I will say, to be frank about it, that I have attended over fifty conferences held by the Executive Council, by special committees, by master brewers, by the Brewery Workers and everyone else, and there has never been one iota of change on the part of the Brewery Workers to bring about an adjustment of this affair.

Only recently here in this city and in this hotel, on the request of the late Jacob Ruppert, the biggest brew master in this country, we met here in conjunction with the Brewery Workers' organization, and we went further than we ever did in our life. Virtually speaking, we agreed to split the proposition fifty-fifty, and we gained nothing after our five or six hours of discussion here in this same hotel. Nothing can be done.

I have listened to the statements, listened to the speech of Brother Obergfell, and I can remember it as I remember my prayers I learned when I was seven years of age, and I haven't forgotten them—the same old hue and cry—you gave us our contract, you gave us our charter, and we have jurisdiction over these brewery drivers.

Well, some people may say, Why should the Teamsters bother with a handful of men in the Brewery Workers' organization? They have a big organization of over 400,000 members. It is true we have, and we expect to have a million workers some day. We expect to have any man who drives a vehicle in this country, regardless of what he hauls, regardless of what he handles, if he is driving a truck on the roads of this country he is going to be a member of our organization or we are going to know the reason why.

If we were to relinquish this jurisdiction, if we were to let the brewery workers go their way with this matter, what will every other organization do, what will every other organization think? Are they any better than the bakery workers who gladly—not gladly but willingly, when the Council decided so—relinquished their jurisdiction over the men driving bakery wagons? The laundry work

ers the same, and in every case where an appeal has been made these organizations, without any great fuss and especially without going into the courts, turned over their men into our organization. We have taken them, we have protected them, we have built them up. We have increased their pay and lessened their hours more than they ever had in these other organizations.

I do not want you to go out with the impression Delegate Obergfell left when he said that our men driving trucks are getting the best wages in America. I haven't any book here with statistics, but you can take your own town here, they are getting \$32.00 a week driving trucks, and we have men in the Eastern part of the country and men here getting as high as \$51.00 a week for 44 hours work per week. How does that compare with the wages of the brewery workers driving trucks doing the same work our other men are doing?

It makes no difference whether you are hauling beer, cotton or paper, the same wage scale is provided. Further than that, I do not like the style of the Brewery Workers

taking me into court. I do not like the style of the Brewery Workers taking the Executive Council into court. There are two things that I don't like. I don't like a scab and I don't like a squealer, and I won't have any part of either one of them. That is my position.

If we have to stay in here in affiliation with an organization that is going to take advantage of the courts and are going to run into court and jeopardize our freedom—and I am getting a little too old to put in days in jail—but at the same time I am going right along, regardless of your court and regardless of your injunction, and I am going to get these brewery drivers.

President Green: The hour of adjournment has arrived and I presume there are others who desire to speak on this matter. Does the convention wish to stay in session or shall we recess until 2:30?

Delegate Davis, Boilermakers: I move we recess until 2:30.

The motion was seconded and carried and at 12:30 o'clock the convention recessed to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Ninth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

ABSENTEES:

Bell, W. D.; Bernd, E. F.; Bordges, A. S.; Brown, J. (Dave); Brown, R. J.; Chandler, Alfred, Jr.; Eldred, L. M.; Finnegan, Tom; Furlow, H. W.; Gordon, J. G.; Gresty, C. H.; Hansen, H. I.; Heymanns, Chas.; Huntington, E. H.; Jackson, J. B.; Jolly, Tom; Kelly, John P.; Killingsworth, W. B.; Kiser, H. L.; Latour, John; Murrey, W. W.; Myers, Earl; Patterson, C. L.; Roberts, Mary; Rolando, Frank; Rosqvist, Aug.; Shave, E. J.; Slick, Claude S.; Stauffer, Paul; Tobin, George; Wilkinson, W. W.; Wood, J. W.; Younker, W. A.; Young, A. R.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT (Brewery Workers- Teamsters)

President Green: When we recessed at noon Delegate Kugler had asked for recognition, and the Chair now recognizes Delegate Kugler. While he is coming to the platform the Chair is privileged to announce that our old friend Vice-President Felix Knight, who attended the British Trade Union Congress, has just arrived safely in the City of New York. I am indeed very happy to make that announcement to you at this time. I hope he may arrive in Cincinnati tomorrow.

Delegate Kugler, Brewery Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I come before you in opposition to the committee's report. I am saying this in a very short sentence. The Brewery Workers of America at no time considered the decision of the 1933 convention in Washington, D. C., as an act of said convention. The reason for it, in the report of the Executive Council and in the report of this committee, appraising and using the language of history, is not only since the year 1933. This subject matter is forty years old, and some thirty-three years ago it occupied, not fifteen minutes of your time and was not confined to this, that and the other thing, but it was on the floor for practically three long days.

This is a matter of greatest importance and especially to an old-time organization of our type, which has given service and which has lived up to every obligation put upon us as strict trade unionists.

The reason the brewery workers take this position, we stood the acid test in the early days. We know our obligations and we know your own responsibilities to us in connection with the certificate of affiliation. It has been tried out before, and I might say in passing that I hoped at least I would be spared this unfortunate position, that I would again have to listen in my lifetime and for a second time to the suspension of the brewery workers' organization.

Yes, we were suspended before. We felt keenly about that situation, we were not over-joyed about it, but we proved at the time beyond any shadow of doubt that the formation of our organization was practically the medium of bringing about the organization of our industry on a 100 per cent basis.

That suspension took place between the years 1906 and 1907. That original charter was restored and is still in our possession. From that time on we have had quite serious discussion.

This recent controversy is practically six years old, and I won't give you all the information, how long we traveled to get to a basis of a common understanding,—in some cases oral in character, in some cases on written documents. I know when I signed the original document in 1910 with this organization, which is rather prominent in this federation of ours—and I emphasize that word "ours," very strongly, because trade unionism and this institution is a religion to me. I know from that time on up until the year 1933 you never heard as much as a whisper about this. It followed thereafter, and the proof is before you. The records disclose the fact that a signed understanding was reached with the Teamsters' organization in 1915. In all those years you never heard a whisper within the American Federation of Labor conventions. And then what followed? Lightning out of a clear sky, going through the misery of sixteen years of the most terrific struggle of an organization to maintain its position in the American labor movement, and we were able to preserve our organization. We are just getting a semblance of a footing, trying to

do something good for our fellowmen the same as for the entire trade union movement, and immediately we were confronted with the question of controversial disputes on phases of jurisdiction belonging to the other side.

I sounded a warning before the Executive Council in 1933 and I said, "Gentlemen, don't try to drag us into civil war, brother against brother. I claim there is room for both of us upon a common basis and not upon a basis of the whole pound of flesh." I hold the distinction of consummating agreements, and anyone in this organization knows just how hard it is to bring about a sensible, practical agreement without resorting to sources of uneasiness, and then have our life's work set aside, that they are going to dish out this membership of ours. I sure do think we are entitled to what! I claim we were at least entitled to a hearing. We should not have been left in the dark, coming to this convention and then the most unexpected thing comes up again—suspension of our organization. If that is the accomplishment, if that is the judgment and the wisdom and the message that I have to convey to our membership in the present day of confusion, it is the most terrific and the hardest thing to have a practical demonstration of unity and cooperation on a constructive basis.

Yes, we met in conference some years ago. It was an administration measure, and I have always been an administration man, and when I get my walking papers the second time I take my medicine and take it on the chin, and I am not going to run to cover under the C. I. O. That is my makeup. I am absolutely federation minded.

Then we come up to the San Francisco convention. You see how close the picture stood there. I am absolutely happy to see organizations real big. We are never going to be a real big organization, because we are going to live within the source of the industry, which is very, very limited. We are not intending to branch out in any shape or form.

Then the 1934 convention—there you have a different picture. And what followed in 1935? Everybody was silent about that. We were not so silent. We introduced a resolution, and we are not ashamed of it. We

tried to have the door opened to us, we tried to bring to your attention the absolute necessity, on account of economic prestige, to have not the industrial form of organization but semi-industrial. We had changed from the one where we were created, and we argued for hours before the Committee on Adjustment. I have no quarrel with anyone. The Committee on Adjustment labored very, very hard, and they brought in a report on Resolution No. 230, on Friday, October 18, 1935. From that time on we never heard a whisper. The matter was referred to the Executive Council and there it stood. No conferences—and I am strong for conferences. I see the best in all of them. I believe, and I have always worked to that end, but in the last three years some have taken the position that they are so powerful and important in themselves and they say, "That is my decision and that is the decision of the American Federation of Labor in the 1933 convention."

I have not in many years worried you with any single thing on the question of consuming any time. I know the law of the Federation, too. I have served on the Committee on Law under your President for years, and prior to that under President Gompers. I have acted in that capacity for fifteen long years, and I know in the question of the rush, in the time of the making of the NRA I made all allowances for the Executive Council. I realize that haste makes waste, and I said, "Why do you not exercise Article III, Section 11, which is presently in the Constitution, Article III, Section 12, and order us into conference?" We are satisfied after we battle it out amongst ourselves that we will discover we are no enemies. We know each others' bigness in every respect and we respect each other in every form. But the Council could not see it in that light. They rendered that decision.

Now, delegates, if you please, this committee which is to be appointed—I glory in the fact of the appointment of a committee, any committee, the Executive Council, anybody, but if you please, give some study and time to it. There are fundamentals involved, the surroundings of the industry, and other considerations.

To accomplish something constructive in the trade union movement requires time. And

what did you do in your rush order again? Thirty days—get down to a base of procedure within that time. Then you authorize the Executive Council to carry out exactly the recommendations contained in this report, and I can see ourselves automatically on the side lines.

Isn't that a picture of despair! Do you think we have committed such a criminal act that you can say there is no more room for association, no more room for discussions, because of some legal steps we might have taken! You are going to close the door.

I have seen other cases. This is not the first organization now to be made an example of. I don't like to bring out the question of the crucifixion, but is it possible that in the crucifixion of Christ there may have been some one from his own trade! Should you make this a sort of a rush order of business and follow this so quickly, follow it up with suspension automatically!

You know the fundamentals underlying the structure of our organization, and those fundamentals are practically at stake.

I am not asking for charity. Naturally the big brother can't see the other struggling brother at all. He may believe, and rightly so, that the day will come when there will be two million members in the teamsters' organization. I know they did splendid work in behalf of their own organization. So did we in our organization, and when you go to the oldtime brewery workman and you tell him that he must transfer, there is no more room in his own organization, gentlemen, if you want a rebellion, you can make the decision.

I come to you saying as I did in 1933, "Why don't you give us a break!" Why! Because we are entitled to it. I know there is room for both of us when we get together. You may say the heat is off, but I know the heat will be off in the coming year. So I appeal to you delegates in all sincerity, I have tried to give you a clear picture of why we are fighting in the direction for the preservation of our organization, and I appeal to you to let your conscience be your guide. Don't let us be thrown out on the sidewalk. Make up your minds, understand, if you don't want us at all.

This separation on the basis of suspension

—if you think that charter which you have granted and which is a part of our whole relics of our international organization should be taken off that wall, by God, do it in such an honorable fashion at least as not to put us in the unfortunate position of coming to you in a year from now, if our health permits, and pleading our cause, because you are putting a premium now on inactivity. All one needs to do is to sit back and wait for the parade to go around.

But if you see in your judgment that we ought to be given this chance, regrettable as it is to say it, I ask you to vote against the report of the committee.

Thanks to you all.

Vice-President Hutcheson: There was a motion passed that the special order of business for 3:00 o'clock be the election of officers. I therefore move you that further consideration of the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report be postponed until after the election of officers.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

President Green: We will now proceed with the special order of business, the election of officers for the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year, the selection of a convention city, and action on the selection of fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. The Chair asks President Coefield to come forward and preside.

Chairman Coefield: Nominations for the office of the President of the American Federation of Labor are now in order. The Chair recognizes Vice-President Duffy.

Vice-President Duffy: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention—Last year at Houston, Texas, I took the responsibility upon myself to nominate a man for President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming term. I hadn't done that in 34 years before, and it was then a pleasure to me to nominate a candidate who made good in the past and has made good since.

I will tell you right off the reel who I have in mind, and then I can speak about

him afterwards. Last year I nominated William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming year. This year I get on my feet to nominate William Green for the coming term. At that time I said he was my friend, my chum, my pal and my co-worker in the American Federation of Labor for 25 years, and after both of us serving 25 years, a quarter of a century, you can realize that it was a pleasure to me at that time to nominate him, and I can assure you now that it is a pleasure for me to nominate him at this convention. In fact, I didn't think I would have that pleasure. If I remember correctly, what I said last year was something to this effect: He is the right man in the right place and we want to keep him there; he is the man for you and me, always kindly and courteous, friendly, neighborly and obliging; but with all that a fighter from the word "Go" for right and justice.

I know this man, as I said, having been working with him, harnessed up with him for 25 years. I know him from experience; I know his qualifications; I know his ability and I know his capabilities. I am proud of him at these conventions. You will agree with me that he is an able man, a fair man, a just man and an impartial man.

I think I have said enough about him just now. It gives me great pleasure to nominate William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming term.

Chairman Coefield: William Green has been placed in nomination for President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term. Are there further nominations?

Delegate Fljozdal, Maintenance of Way Employees: I move that nomination be closed and the Secretary instructed to register the unanimous vote of this convention for William Green for President for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

After the affirmative vote was taken Chairman Coefield said: In opposition stand up. The only one is George Berry. Oh, I see he is sitting down. The motion was carried, and the Secretary will cast the ballot as directed by the convention.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Coefield: As your acting President, I declare William Green elected for the ensuing term.

After prolonged applause, the entire audience arising, Chairman Coefield said: That is the answer to the C. I. O.

President Green: President Coefield, officers and delegates at this convention—I accept your action this afternoon as a command to continue service in behalf of and for the American Federation of Labor. And, like a good soldier enlisted in the fight for life, I respond to your command. In doing so it is with a feeling of trepidation and an increasing consciousness of the responsibility which I am assuming for I think all of you who have watched the trend of events can understand that during the past two years at least the responsibilities of the President of the American Federation of Labor and his associates on the Executive Council have increased tremendously.

I face the coming year feeling sure that we are going to face great, grave responsibilities. I hope and pray that I may be given the strength and courage and the support of the American Federation of Labor so I can face them in characteristic fashion. But at the same time I am inspired by a spirit of optimism. In spite of all our difficulties we made more progress during the past year than during any year within the last two or three decades. We come here, as I stated in my opening address, with an increased membership, with increased prestige, stronger, occupying a larger place in the hearts and the minds and the affections of the masses of the people, and supported by a stronger public opinion.

I think I can safely say, and truthfully say, that the American Federation of Labor stands today as the victor in the fight with dualism and rebellion. Our battle has been won. The facts justify that statement. And during the coming year I am confident we are going to increase our membership tremendously. I am certain that one great or-

ganization, along with others, will come back, will return to the American Federation of Labor before the next year expires. All of this lends encouragement to this occasion, auspicious as it is, and it inspires us to go forward with renewed courage.

And so, accepting your commission again, I shall go forward during the coming year, putting into the work and into each fight as it may come, day by day, all the strength, the courage and the power I possess. I promise you again that I will give to the work all I have; I will do all I can do, and I know that when we report one year from now we will all be made happy because of the great victory we won.

It is a great honor to serve as the leader of the American Federation of Labor. It is an honor to which all may with pride aspire. I can conceive of no greater honor that can be conferred upon any one connected with the organized labor movement. I think it was our old friend Samuel Gompers who said that he believed there was no position in America that carried with it greater honor than to serve labor as the President of the American Federation of Labor. I am conscious of that honor. I appreciate the confidence and support you have reposed in me and given me. I owe you everything I can give and I promise to pay the debt. Thank you.

Chairman Coe: Mr. President, I desire at this time to turn over to you your emblem and baton of authority, and I trust you will use it with the same justice and force as you have used it, and I hope the good Lord will spare you to be President of this organization for many years to come.

President Green: I thank you, Brother Coe, for the service you rendered. The next order will be nominations of a candidate for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. The Chair calls for nominations for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duffy: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I am taking upon myself again this afternoon another responsibility, that of nominating a man for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, for the reason that I am not a candidate. I am not a candidate for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. I listened

to my old friend Frank Morrison this morning, and I agree with him in some things. I agree with Frank that the old time members should stand to one side and let the younger ones carry on. You will have us old fellows to fall back on and to guide you.

Frank and I are two of the older members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and we are the two longest members on the Executive Council. We will serve our term until the end of this year and then we will stand on the side lines and cheer you on.

I have in mind a man to fill my place. I know him well. He is capable, he is able, he is qualified, he is responsible, he is reliable. I speak from experience. I have worked with him for 25 years day in and day out, week in and week out, all the year round. I consider him a splendid type of a trade unionist, none better. When he says "Yes" he means yes; when he says "No" he means no. He is never on the fence. I feel that he will make a better, a far better, member of the Executive Council than I have ever been. He is my friend, my co-worker, my co-officer, none other than William L. Hutcheson, General President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and it gives me pleasure now to nominate him for the position of First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Are there further nominations? Brother William L. Hutcheson has been nominated for First Vice-President.

Delegate Stevenson, Carpenters: I move you that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William L. Hutcheson for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William L. Hutcheson as First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision, I hereby declare William L. Hutcheson elected First Vice-President for the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: The two announcements made here today by our very good friends, Secretary Morrison and Frank Duffy, do bring rather a wave of sadness, I believe, over all of us, and I am not in accord with the latter when he suggested that there would be a better officer serve in his place, although I have the very highest and greatest regard for President Hutcheson.

I am here to nominate the Second Vice-President, and perhaps I should not say anything about our good friend Frank Duffy, but there is no officer that ever served this organization that served as long and faithfully as he has. As President Green said a while ago, the responsibilities confronting the officers of this Federation are greater than ever in its history. I am in full accord with the problems that have arisen in the last generation. The mechanization of industry that has displaced hundreds of thousands of workers, has to be confronted by officers of this organization. We know well how they have fulfilled the responsibilities placed upon them.

Today I believe the reports made by Secretary Morrison, regardless of the number that left four or five years ago, show that we have a greater membership than ever before, with the exception of the year 1920, and the man I expect to place in nomination has indeed served you long and well and faithfully. He is a man of courage and ability, and with it all possesses a knowledge of the problems of every international union here. I worked with him. I know something about the great intellect with which he is blessed. So, Mr. Chairman, it is a privilege indeed to place before you the name of the distinguished President of the United Garment Workers of America, Thomas A. Rickert.

President Green: Thomas A. Rickert has been nominated. Are there any further nominations? Hearing none, the Chair recognizes Delegate McCurdy.

Delegate McCurdy, United Garment Workers: I rise to second the nomination of President Rickert, and move you that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unani-

mous vote of the convention for him for Second Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Thomas A. Rickert as Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I hereby declare Thomas A. Rickert duly elected Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for the office of Third Vice-President.

Delegate Volz, Photo-Engravers: Mr. Chairman, I am not endowed with a great deal of eloquence, and even though I were greatly gifted in that regard, I do not believe I could do justice, nor would time permit the recital of the abilities and accomplishments of the man I desire to place in nomination. Further oratorical ability is not necessary, for the man I am going to nominate, is known and appreciated by every delegate in this hall. He has worked with us for many years. His ability, his integrity, his worth and his accomplishments are quite well known. He has worked with many groups, from the highest to the lowest. I know of none who is called upon so often to give service, and I know of no man who gives that service so freely, so I take great pleasure in placing in nomination for Third Vice-President Matthew Woll, of the Photo Engravers' International Union, and the present Third Vice-President.

President Green: Are there any further nominations? Hearing none, the Chair recognizes Delegate Madsen.

Delegate Madsen, Painters and Decorators: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Brother Matthew Woll for Third Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew

Woll for Third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I declare Brother Matthew Woll elected Third Vice President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fourth Vice President.

Delegate Burke, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters: It gives me great pleasure, and I consider it a very great honor, to again place in nomination for Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor the present incumbent in office, John Coefield, General President of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada—the finest bunch of skilled mechanics in the world.

Delegate Myrup, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: As an ex-steamfitter, fully qualified, I take pleasure in seconding the nomination of an honest plumber.

Delegate Gilooly, Flint Glass Worker: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John Coefield for Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Delegate Gilooly seconds the nomination of good old John Coefield, an honest plumber.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John Coefield as Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision and the announcement of Secretary Morrison, I hereby officially declare Brother John Coefield unanimously elected Fourth Vice-President.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fifth Vice-President.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I rise in behalf of the present incumbent. A year ago Brother Wharton, our Fifth Vice-President, was denied the opportunity of attending this convention because at the time he was engaged with other duties, in a wage controversy

with the railroad managers of this country. As you all know, that conference concluded in a manner that benefited all the railroad workers of the United States. So therefore I place him in nomination. The International Association of Machinists observed that Brother Wharton was not enjoying good health and we prevailed upon him to take a leave of absence so he could rest and relax. We gave Brother Wharton leave of absence. His leave of absence expires at the end of this year. I believe a majority of the delegates in this convention are personally acquainted with Brother Wharton.

If those who have not had the opportunity to meet Brother Wharton or witness him in action, I would like to say that opportunity has knocked at the door of our Fifth Vice-President frequently throughout his career in the labor movement, and he took advantage of that opportunity. He developed his talents. He has been an acceptable, efficient representative, both within the labor movement and the positions he occupied outside of the labor movement.

Delegates in this convention represent organizations in the railroad industry, and they will remember the days when, through the efforts and service of Brother Arthur O. Wharton the railroad workers of this country benefited very materially because of his outstanding service. President Wharton is well fitted for the office of Fifth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and a member of the Executive Council. It is a pleasure, and I consider it a privilege to present to this convention the name of Arthur O. Wharton for Fifth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green. Brother Arthur O. Wharton has been nominated for Fifth Vice-President. Are there other nominations?

Delegate Alifas, Machinists: Mr. President, I move the nominations be closed and that the Secretary of this convention be instructed to cast the unanimous vote for Arthur O. Wharton for Fifth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Vice-President Coefield: Mr. Chairman, being closely associated as I am with the Machinists, having had a great deal of business to transact for that organization, and knowing the worth of Brother Wharton as I

do, I hereby place the International Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters on record as seconding his nomination.

President Green: Are there further nominations? If not, Brother Alifas moves that the Secretary stand instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the election of Brother A. O. Wharton as Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing year.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Arthur O. Wharton for Fifth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with this announcement and your decision, I officially declare Brother Arthur O. Wharton duly elected Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Sixth Vice-President.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: Mr. President and Delegates: Eagerly and happily the American Federation of Musicians, in whose behalf I am privileged to speak, embraces the opportunity to place in nomination a candidate for the office of Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. It is hardly necessary to re-examine his credentials. His life record of pro-labor activity is an open book. He has been true to the principles of his high calling. He has been the artificer, the designer, the master-builder of the organization of which for forty years he has been the official head. It is the testimony of his colleagues in the official family of the American Federation of Labor—a relationship which has lasted for eleven years—that his counsel has been helpful, his associate leadership courageous, his vision keen. It is this highly creditable background which stimulates our faith that the unanimous voice of this convention will be in behalf of a continuance of service. I therefore place in nomination for the office of Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor—Joseph N. Weber of New York.

Delegate Bagley, Musicians: Mr. Chairman, I move the nominations be closed and

the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Joseph N. Weber for Sixth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Joseph N. Weber, Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with the decision just announced I officially declare Brother Joseph N. Weber elected Sixth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Seventh Vice-President.

Delegate Paulsen: I rise to place in nomination for Seventh Vice-President G. M. Bugniazet, International Secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Delegate Kenefick, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman, I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for D. M. Bugniazet for Seventh Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for G. M. Bugniazet as Seventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Brother G. M. Bugniazet elected Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Eighth Vice-President.

Delegate Fljodzal, Maintenance of Way Employees: Mr. Chairman, I shall be very brief. The man whose name I wish to place before this convention needs no introduction to the labor movement of America. He has been so outstanding in the councils of labor for many years that anything I could say could not possibly increase his prestige or worth as a representative of labor.

George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, is well known to all of us, and I am happy to have the

privilege of again nominating him for reelection as Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Duffy, Pottery Workers: Mr. President and delegates to this convention, I deem it a very pleasant task to rise at this time to speak in behalf of a brother trade unionist who has won the admiration of the entire country because of the able manner in which he has presided in these wage conferences affecting the railway workers of the nation. In addition to that may I say that this member of the organization has demonstrated on more than one occasion his congeniality, his patience, as well as his great ability, and because of that I want to second the nomination of Brother George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks of America.

I wish to move that the rules be suspended and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Brother George M. Harrison.

President Green: If there are no further nominations the Chair will declare the nominations closed. Delegate Duffy moved that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the election of Brother George M. Harrison as Eighth Vice-president.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George M. Harrison as Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: And in conformity with this announcement and your decision I officially declare Brother George M. Harrison elected Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Ninth Vice-President.

Delegate Hughes, Teamsters and Chauffeurs: I desire at this time to place the name of Daniel J. Tobin for the convention's consideration for the office of Ninth Vice-President.

Delegate O'Connell, San Francisco Label Council: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the vote of this convention

for Daniel Joseph Tobin for Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin for Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with this announcement and your decision, I officially declare Brother Daniel J. Tobin elected Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Now we will receive nominations for Tenth Vice-President.

Delegate Moran, Bricklayers: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I take pleasure in presenting the name of Harry C. Bates, President of the Bricklayers, Masons' and Plasterers' International Union, for the position of Tenth Vice-President.

Delegate Coyne, Building Trades Department: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Harry C. Bates as Tenth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harry C. Bates as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision I hereby officially declare Brother Harry C. Bates elected Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Nominations are now in order for the office of Eleventh Vice-President.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, our hearts have been saddened this afternoon by the retirement of two veteran members of the Executive Council. I feel that each one of us would be glad to see them stay many years longer because of the service which we know they could give if they were to remain. Yet under these circumstances it seems to me only fitting that I should present the name

of a candidate for Eleventh Vice-President who is eminently fitted by temperament to represent the very youngest delegate present, to represent those of middle age, and to represent those of riper years, because there isn't a delegate here so young, so vigorous, so full of enthusiasm that he cannot be capably and well represented by the candidate whose name I am about to present. Neither is any one so ripe in experience but that he, too, may be well represented.

And so it goes for all between, because before me in this great convention there are not merely two or three generations, there are hundreds of generations. There is no sharp line of demarcation. From the youngest delegate present up to and including those who have served as delegates to this convention and as heads of their respective organizations since long before the birth of the youngest delegate, we are all one harmonious whole. There isn't any sharp line, as I say, to say that this is one generation and that is another.

In presenting the name of this candidate, I trust I may be pardoned for but a minute to speak of his wonderful record for the past quarter of a century at the head of the Letter Carriers' organization. I shall not attempt at all to recount in detail his successes, but I can say in a brief sentence that with the help of President Green and President Green's associates and his predecessor in that high office, and with the help of the entire American Federation of Labor, in that quarter of a century the letter carriers of the United States have reaped wonderful benefits in the way of shorter hours, better working conditions and increased pay.

We are told that the great forward movement at the present time is to secure the thirty-hour week. This particular delegate has served on the Committee on Shorter Work Day for, lo, these many years, and in this very city, when his first report was brought in on that subject, it was received with scant approbation. It was only perfunctorily approved, and yet not rejected, and now today we see emblazoned upon the walls of this magnificent meeting hall, contributed by the Electrical Workers' Local No. 3 of New York City, these splendid designs reading, "Practical Solution for Unemployment, Thirty-Hour Week."—something which was

nearly rejected by the builders has become the cornerstone of the temple of American labor.

Paul said to Timothy, "Let no man despise thy youth." There is no record that Timothy responded, "Let no man despise thy age." So we may assume that then as now, silver locks were a crown of glory.

I want to present at this time the name of a brother who is ever alert, who is not only abreast of the times, but, as in the case of the thirty-hour week, was away ahead of the times. His past record is an earnest of his work in the future. I present the name of that sterling trade unionist, of that young man, full of vigor and enthusiasm, of that middle-aged gentleman of mature judgment, of that venerable sage, that scholarly President, Edward J. Gainer of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

President Green: Are there further nominations? Inasmuch as there are no further nominations the Chair declares the nominations closed.

Delegate George, Post Office Clerks: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot as the unanimous choice of this convention for all three of the candidates mentioned by Brother Swartz.

President Green: It has been regularly moved and seconded that Secretary Morrison be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for all three of the candidates named by Brother Swartz for Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Edward J. Gainer, who represents the Trinity, as the Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with this announcement and your decision I officially declared Edward J. Gainer elected Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

(A number of delegates asked that Vice-President Gainer respond.)

Vice-President Gainer: Dear Brothers—I

want to say a few words. One time Theodore Roosevelt and William Jennings Bryan, each on a special campaign train in the presidential campaign of 1904, passed each other in the East St. Louis yards. Bryan said, "Hello Teddy," and Teddy said, "Hello Billie." And Billie said, "How's your voice, Teddy!" And Teddy said, "It's as rough as the Democratic platform. How's yours, Billie." And Bryan replied, "It's as broken as Republican promises."

I need not protest that during the current week I have observed so many of the brothers vocally noticing my hoarseness that I began to wonder if there was method in their madness. I did not protest that my voice was very hoarse. I will get over that. At the same time I want my friend Swartz, who has known me through good and evil report for many, many years, appreciate his trinity metaphor of linking me up with the eternal Irish three-leafed shamrock. That's good luck!

President Green: The Chair calls for nominations for Twelfth Vice-President.

Delegate McMorrow, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees: Mr. President and delegates, I wish to present the name of a man for Twelfth Vice-President who has served his International Union as its President for 47 years and who has served this Federation in its conventions for that length of time, and as a member of its Executive Council for a number of years. There is just one cloud on the horizon that I will be sorry to convey to him this evening, when I tell him that two of his old colleagues on the Executive Council have decided to lay down the mantle of office and become one in the ranks. Frank Morrison, the Secretary of this Federation, has been a friend of the man I am going to nominate for over fifty years. The same can be said of Frank Duffy, and I was thunderstruck beyond words to express when, sitting in this convention today, I heard those two old veterans decide to lay down the mantle of office. I don't know what effect it will have on my old colleague, but I know this, that he has cherished their personal friendship and I hope he will carry it with him to the end.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I place in nomination for Twelfth Vice-President of this Federation, William D. Mahon.

President Green: Brother William D. Mahon has been nominated. Any other nominations? If not, the Chair will declare nominations closed.

Delegate Rea, Street Railwaymen: I move the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for W. D. Mahon for Twelfth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for W. D. Mahon as Twelfth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare W. D. Mahon elected Twelfth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Nominations are in order next for Thirteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Barney, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: I desire at this time to place in nomination for Thirteenth Vice-President Felix H. Knight, General President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

Delegate Tremblay, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have the honor, and I move that the Secretary be authorized and instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention in favor of Brother Felix H. Knight.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Felix H. Knight as Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, for the ensuing year.

President Green: In conformity with your decision and this announcement, I hereby officially declare Felix H. Knight elected Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Nominations are now in order for a Fourteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Green, Theatrical Stage Employees: I hereby present to this convention the name of our International President, George E. Browne, for the office of Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Brock, Theatrical Stage Employees: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George E. Browne for Fourteenth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George E. Browne as Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare George E. Browne elected Fourteenth Vice-President for the ensuing year.

Nominations are now in order for Fifteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. President and delegates, I am not going to take up your time in eulogizing our International President. I think it is unnecessary. You all know him. I place in nomination the name of Edward Flore, International President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International League.

Delegate Koenig, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I wish to second the nomination, and I move that nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Brother Edward Flore as Fifteenth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Edward Flore as Fifteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

President Green: And in conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Edward Flore elected Fifteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

SECRETARY - TREASURER

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for a Secretary-Treasurer.

Vice-President Coesfield: Mr. President and delegates — I have assigned to me at the present moment about the toughest job that any delegate ever had in the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and that is to propose to you a candidate who might succeed our old war horse, Frank Morrison, who has declined to run and has retired.

I have in mind a man who is about the same age that Frank Morrison was when he was elected forty-three years ago, a young man who has become quite prominent in the labor world, a young man who I think has made more progress in the last few years in the position that he holds than any other labor representative I know of. He is at present holding a responsible position, President of an organization composed of about one-fourth of the membership of the entire American Federation of Labor. He has properly represented that organization and it is generally conceded that he is at least one of the best, if not the best president we ever had in the position which he holds.

In taking the position made vacant by the retirement of Secretary Morrison there is no financial advancement to the young man I propose to nominate, because there is just as much in a financial way in the position he now holds as there is as Secretary of this organization, so that he cannot be in any way charged with endeavoring to take care of his own financial affairs, or benefit them in any manner.

I think he is as well known as any man in this hall who has not been an International President or Secretary of his organization. He is President of the New York State Federation of Labor. He is a man of very fine habits, a clean living young man who is not addicted to the bad habits that some people are. He lives a perfectly clean and honorable life. He is a member of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters, a member of Local Union No. 486 of New York City, one of our largest Local Unions and I take pleasure in presenting for your consideration for the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, George Meany, an honest plumber.

Delegate Posschl, Engineers: May the General President of the Engineers have the

honor of seconding the nomination of George Meany for Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Ryan: Mr. Chairman and delegates, it is my privilege to come here on behalf of the International Longshoremen's Association and register the happiness of every member of that organization in seconding the nomination of George Meany. I presume every International representative would like to do the same thing, but I also have a special privilege as a Vice-President of the New York State Federation of Labor.

Joseph A. Mullaney, International President of Asbestos Workers, who is the First Vice-President of the New York State Federation of Labor, has delegated to me the privilege of saying to you that we are willing to make the sacrifice that is necessary because of what occurred in this convention today.

I am not going to take up your time telling you of the record that the New York State Federation of Labor has made. As Brother Coefield has said, we have had truly fine Presidents of the State Federation, and we say without contradiction we have made our greatest progress under the leadership of George Meany. You were privileged to witness during the past week the pictures of the parade which took place in New York City last month. We suffered a severe loss about the time that convention convened in the death of Brother O'Hanlon, our Secretary-Treasurer, but we have been fortunate to secure the services of E. W. Edwards, President of the New York State Printing Trades Council who had been honored by the Governor of the State of New York in appointing him as a member of the Industrial Commission and he proved to be a fine representative of organized labor.

We have filled that gap and when we came here we were told that George had been practically drafted to fill the gap made by the regrettable resignation of Secretary Morrison today. So it is with some dismay and concern and at the same time with a great feeling of personal pleasure that I say, also as the spokesman of the entire labor movement from New York State that we are willing to make the sacrifice. Our loss is your gain.

We predict that George Meany will be a

great help, and we hope he will be spared to the Federation for many, many years. We will fill the gap in the New York State Federation of Labor and we will still know that we have George's support there.

Delegate Tobin: Mr. Chairman, I know it is something of a nuisance to be making seconding speeches. It is not customary and it has not been done before in my time in the Federation. Neither have we in that time elected a new Secretary-Treasurer.

I want to second the nomination of George Meany, on the special request of one of our organizers in New York, who is also a member of the State Executive Board of the State Federation of Labor, of New York. I am doing it also for practical reasons in this Federation.

I am somewhat selfish in desiring that a man of the caliber of George Meany accept the position of Secretary-Treasurer, on the decision of Secretary Morrison to retire. Of course he will have the assistance and advice of Secretary Morrison, I am sure of that.

Most of you know how the State Federation of Labor in New York was run for many years. Men who were officers of the Federation were devoting their time principally to providing political jobs for themselves. When we got George Meany in there he changed all this, and he has done many things, but he cleaned up a bad situation and he worked for the labor movement of New York and not for a job for George Meany.

The office of Secretary of this Federation, and, so far as that goes, the office of Secretary of any International Union is important when properly filled. It ranks next to the President. The President needs one who will be helpful and assume responsibilities of office. He does not need just a bookkeeper. You can hire bookkeepers as secretaries for \$30.00 a week. The President wants a man who is able to take his place, engage in the work of the Federation, one who is able to take the platform in his absence explaining the work and the position of this Federation.

Meany is just the man for that kind of work. He has exemplified himself as second to none on the platform and in debates in legislative halls in New York State, in behalf of the New York State Federation of Labor.

One of the criticisms that men in respon-

sible positions in Washington have made of this Federation of Labor in recent years and of the Executive Council has been the weakness of our legislative representatives. Senators and Congressmen have advised me—and there is a Senator on my left who has not said anything, but who knows the conditions obtaining in the legislative committees in Washington—and one of the criticisms, justly or unjustly, directed against us has been the weakness of our legislative department in presenting the case of labor before congressional committees. I say whether rightfully or wrongfully that criticism has been made.

I have in mind that if George Meany is elected Secretary of the Federation the legislative service he can render in the absence of or in the inability of the President of the Federation to be present will be more than sufficient to recompense this Federation for his entire salary. He is fearless, he cares nothing about who the governmental officer is who disagrees with him, as was demonstrated recently in the New York State Federation of Labor convention, when he refused to be swayed by sentiment on a national issue.

That is the reason that we, the membership of the Teamsters' Union, are so happy over the selection of this man for this very important office at this very serious time in the history of the American Federation of Labor. I take pleasure, Mr. Chairman, in behalf of our International Brotherhood, in seconding the nomination of George Meany for this office.

Delegate Volz, Photo Engravers: Mr. Chairman, may I add my voice to dispel any misapprehension which may be in the minds of those who have not been fortunate enough to know the nominee and to know of his activities. As one who is not of the building trades but who has been closely associated with him and connected with the work of the labor movement in New York State, I also give my approval and endorsement to the nomination of George Meany for Secretary-Treasurer of this Federation. I feel he will fill the position to the satisfaction of every delegate in this hall. I say that because of knowing of his activity for many years in the New York State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Bates, Bricklayers: Mr. President, I desire the records of this convention to

show that the organization I represent seconds the nomination of Brother Meany.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: Mr. Chairman, I am not going to make a speech other than to say that for and behalf of the delegates of the International Association of Machinists I wish to second the nomination of George Meany for Secretary-Treasurer of this Federation.

Delegate Bove, Hod Carriers: On behalf of the International Union of Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers, I wish to second the nomination of George Meany.

Delegate McSorley, Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers: Mr. Chairman, I desire to take advantage of this opportunity to add my words to the seconding of the nomination of Brother Meany. I have known Brother Meany for a long number of years, in fact, since he first came into the trade union movement. I knew him when he was business agent of the Plumbers of New York City. I knew him when he was Secretary of the Building Trades Council of New York, and I want to say that it was chiefly through the efforts of George Meany that we were able to consolidate the two Building Trades Councils in the City of New York, bringing together at that time in the neighborhood of 150,000 building trades mechanics. George Meany is by ambition, ability and activity, fully capable and competent to fill the office of Secretary-Treasurer, and I am pleased on behalf of my organization and myself personally to have this opportunity of seconding the nomination of George Meany. I feel that the convention will be picking a competent, capable successor to our old friend, Frank Morrison, in electing him as Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. President and delegates, I probably could say more about George Meany than all the previous speakers. I worked with him in the New York State Federation of Labor. I was on that Council for twenty-two years and George succeeded me as President. Since then we have been working in close contact in the legislative halls at Albany. I know his worth and I know what he can do, and in behalf of our International Union it is a pleasure for me to second his nomination for Secretary-Treasurer.

President Green: Are there any other nominations?

Delegate O'Connell, San Francisco Central Labor Council: I desire to take this opportunity to second the nomination of our good friend, George Meany. I am glad that the American Federation of Labor, constituted as it is of the International Unions, finally had to admit that they are giving recognition to the "one lungers" in this convention and recognizing the ability of this young man, who has only one vote in this convention. I want to offer my appreciation of that, inasmuch as all he can vote is his delegation, which is one vote, the same as I have.

Vice-President Bugniazet: Mr. Chairman there seem to be no further nominations, and I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for George Meany for Secretary-Treasurer.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for George Meany for Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with this announcement and in accordance with your decision, I officially declare George Meany elected as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

I now have the pleasure of merely presenting to you, because I think you all know him, the newly elected Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, Brother George Meany.

Secretary-Treasurer-Elect Meany: President Green, Secretary Morrison and fellow delegates—It is with a keen sense of responsibility that I rise to express my appreciation to the delegates of this convention for the action you have just taken. The American Federation of Labor during the past sixty years has compiled a record of achievement on behalf of the working people of this country that is without a parallel in the history of the world. I know of that record. I know of the achievements of men like Secretary Morrison, Samuel Gompers and President Green, and it is in the light of those achievements that I say to you here this

afternoon that I will do my utmost to carry on. It is in the light of the contribution that the American Federation of Labor has made and the quality and character of American life that I pledge to President Green and the members of the Executive Council all in my power to make this organization even a better Federation, to make it a better instrumentality for the welfare and advancement of the workers of our great nation.

I thank you.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: The Chair now calls for the nomination of fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, the Chair recognizes Delegate Coefield.

Delegate Coefield, Plumbers: Mr. Chairman and delegates—It has been a custom of the American Federation of Labor to elect delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and also to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. At the present time there is a war waging in Europe and public gatherings are not permitted, so that we do not know whether or not, if we elected delegates now, they might be able to go there. Our sister country in Canada, which is across the imaginary line, is also engaged in war, and by the time their next convention rolls around, which is in September, I think, they may be prohibited from holding public gatherings. So that we find ourselves in a position that we do not know just exactly what to do about it.

I therefore move you, Mr. Chairman, that the selection of delegates to the British Trade Union Congress, and also to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress be referred to the Executive Council, the Council to select them if and when the time becomes necessary.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

CONVENTION CITY

President Green: the next question is the selection of the next convention city. We have received invitations from St. Louis Mo.; Seattle, Wash.; New Orleans, La.; Ontario, Canada; Indianapolis, Ind., and Providence,

R. I. Most of the invitations we have received were read to the delegates and were incorporated in the daily proceedings of the convention. You are familiar with them. Now what do you want to do about it?

Delegate Fritz, Indiana State Federation of Labor: Is it necessary to call a roll on that?

President Green: Not necessarily.

Delegate Fritz: I was going to offer a motion, if it be permissible, that the city which receives the largest number of standing votes be declared the next convention city.

Delegate Burns, New Orleans Central Trades and Labor Council: Mr. President and delegates—I have a very solemn duty to perform, nevertheless, one which gives me a great deal of pleasure. You have heard about the honest plumber in a great deal of nominating this afternoon, and you have elected an honest plumber as your next Secretary-Treasurer. It now gives me extreme pleasure to have an honest plumber in New Orleans welcome you in 1940.

I should like very much for you to come next year to a city traditionally endowed with all the tenets, all the dictates of the most sincere hospitality known on the face of the entire globe, a city known and esteemed and valued for its salubrious climate, a city that has 200 years of practices finely bound in hospitality satisfying to the soul, gratifying to the heart and most elevating to the mind.

I invite you to a city which is much better equipped than all others you have heard mentioned to cater to all of your wants and all of your desires for relaxation, and also to all of your just demands for uninterrupted facilities for transacting the business for which you will gather.

I invite you to the fairest city of our most wondrous Southland. Who is there in this great gathering that could resist the siren call of the Sazerac cocktail? How can you afford to miss the opportunity to sample the heavenly delights embodied in the soothing emulsion known and so highly appreciated as the gin fizz. You could never afford to miss an opportunity such as is being presented to you here now.

Now the same city also calls you because it needs you. It calls to the great American Federation of Labor to come because the

American Federation of Labor belongs on the firing line and, because this Federation has always been found in the front in the firing line, where the fight was hardest, where the going was toughest, where the fight had to be won or else we faced absolute abolition.

It is not so long ago that in this very same city of New Orleans a woman was shot while walking the picket line in an effort to establish for herself and her comrades decent standards of living, fair wages and fair hours. For these reasons, men and women of this convention, because you are needed there, because the South needs encouragement, and because of the long traditions behind you, I invite you next year to come to America's most interesting city, New Orleans.

Delegate Ryder, St. Louis: Mr. President, I have been assigned the task of bringing to you the devoted welcome, the loyal welcome of the trade union movement that I believe every international officer will recognize as one of the realms of the trade union history that they point to with pride. Mr. Chairman, this city has been portrayed as the gateway of the South. I might call your attention to the fact that we are the hub of the whole middle west, that we enjoy a unique geographical situation in which eight states actually open and border on Missouri. We have eight gateways to the State. I cannot promise what we shall be able to deliver when you get out through the gateways, but I do know that the gateways of welcome are open.

St. Louis has this to offer to you: We have one of the largest municipal auditoriums in the country. It is union throughout. We also have a special condition there in which you can have your labor exhibits in the same hall because of the capacity of that auditorium. We are known as the convention city. We have parks and we have the greatest zoological garden in the country. We will welcome you in a trade union city and show you a trade union movement that is your devoted slave.

Delegate Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention—I would be derelict in my duty if I did not appear before this convention. I have been coming here since

about 1913, and very seldom do I speak on the floor; but I was instructed by my convention last July to place the most wonderful city in the United States before this convention. I don't believe our delegates at that time understood a presidential election would be on and it would possibly be the third week in November before the convention would be held.

Conditions have come up that induced us not to ask for the convention in 1940. I am here to withdraw the name of Seattle. Last year we had a fight in that state that took all the money we could collect. We might have the same fight again this year. However, we licked the law we were fighting and we will do the same thing again next year.

I rise at this time to withdraw the name of Seattle and give notice now that we are coming back to the convention in 1940 and we are going to ask you to come to Seattle in 1941, and there will be a fight in the convention for it next year and I think we will take it home with us.

Delegate Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Unintentionally, Mr. Chairman, the cordial invitation that was extended to the delegates by the Boston Central Labor Union was not enough, and so I desire to correct that unintentional error by extending to the officers and delegates a genuine invitation, a New England invitation, to come to the city where they created this business of liberty. We cordially invite all the officers and delegates to come to Boston, where the Minute Men walked around with our cousins from Great Britain, making it possible for some of the delegates to come in here and nominate some of the cities that have been nominated.

I could tell you some of the features of Boston. We even have a subway over there. I should like very much to have the Officers and delegates come to Boston. There is real hospitality there, and I dare say that because of the entertainment, because of that hospitality, we may have difficulty in getting you out of town in two weeks. So I desire to nominate Boston as the convention city for the American Federation of Labor in 1940.

Vice-President Tobin: I am not going to nominate any city, but I question the legality of the convention to select a city by a rising

vote. We have only six delegates representing our international union on a rising vote, although we have 3,500 votes in this convention. I question the legality of deciding a contest for a city by a rising vote.

President Green: Brother Tobin, the delegates can demand a roll call vote, because the constitution provides for a roll call vote if the delegates require it.

If a sufficient number ask for a roll call vote we will have it.

Delegate Fritz, Indiana State Federation of Labor: I don't want the convention to violate any part of the American Federation of Labor constitution. I only made the motion with the idea of saving time. If it is against the constitution I withdraw the motion.

Delegate Beisel, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: I rise at this time to support the nomination of a city in which to hold your next convention, and I do it in all sincerity and ask your vote for the city of St. Louis. We may not come before you and tell you what entertainment or what sociability we will be able to give you, but I know that we will and can give you as good as any other city that has invited this organization to hold your next convention. St. Louis has been asking for the convention for a number of years.

I know the last time that I took the floor to support St. Louis as a convention city, objection was raised with regard to certain conditions in the hotels. It was said they were not organized. Today we can say the hotels in St. Louis are organized 100 per cent. We come to you from St. Louis with the labor movement as clean as any other labor movement in this great country.

The Trades Council in St. Louis has no politics whatever in it. We never permit politics to be discussed except when appeals come from other organizations. Otherwise, there is as clean a movement as you can find. In the last number of years we have had quite a turmoil in St. Louis because racketeers wanted to come in and take hold of the movement, but the St. Louis Trades Council, with the cooperation of the international unions, drove the racketeers out and they are not permitted in the labor movement of that city now.

There is another reason we asked for the convention. Many of you have attended the Union Label Trades exhibit here in Cincinnati a year and a half ago. It is the desire of the Union Label Trades Department to hold the label exhibit at the same time the American Federation of Labor convention is held, and St. Louis is the ideal spot for it. When it comes to the union label St. Louis will take the lead of any city connected with the American Federation of Labor. You will not have to go miles to look for a store that handles union label goods. You can buy union label goods in the department stores in St. Louis. If this convention decides to go to St. Louis, the union label exhibit can be held at the same time, which will be a benefit to organized labor throughout the country.

As far as hotel accommodations are concerned, I have the assurance of the Hotel Men's Association that they will have commercial rates during the convention. I do not want to say anything about New Orleans, but I understand the races will be held at the same time the American Federation of Labor will meet next November.

Another thing, we understand the hotels are not fitted to give proper lodging to the delegates. I know, as far as the labor movement is concerned, we have been asked to withdraw as a candidate for the next convention. We have done so for a number of years, and when I was asked and told to withdraw here, I said, "No, we are going to stay in the race." If the delegates want to go some place else they will have to defeat us, but we are going to stay in the race and we are in the race.

A number of the large organizations said they would defeat us on a roll call, but I know their locals in St. Louis desire to have them come there so they can associate with them and entertain them. St. Louis has not had a convention of the American Federation of Labor for the last thirty years. We do not ask this for the sake of business, but the labor movement of St. Louis desires the convention and should be given your next convention. As far as the labor movement is concerned and as far as the civic government is concerned, they will show you a hearty welcome if you take the convention to St. Louis. I know you will not regret

your decision if you decide to come to St. Louis. No matter in what way you take it, either as a matter of sociability or because of business interests, you will be welcome.

Delegate Fallon, Providence, Rhode Island Central Federated Union: Providence is asking for the next convention. We were sent here by the labor movement of the city of Providence to fight for the convention in 1940. We are going to put up a fight for it. We have all the accommodations necessary. We have printing plants to handle the printing of the delegates and the convention. We have the smallest state in the Union. We have sent a lot of literature here. We were criticized for not having the union label on some of it, but it wasn't our fault but the fault of Local 789. We have asked you to consider us for 1940. You have had telegrams from the Mayor and others who are working with us to get the convention.

Delegate Cahier, Rhode Island State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention—I wish to second the nomination of the invitation to the American Federation of Labor to meet in Providence, Rhode Island. I assure the delegates they will not regret their choice if they come to Providence in 1940.

Delegate Birthright, Barbers' International Union: I rise to place in nomination a city that offers to this convention all the hospitality and all the equipment necessary to carry on a convention of this kind. We offer you the same type of hospitality that every other city in America can give you, and in behalf of the Central Labor Union in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, and the Indiana State Federation of Labor, I place in nomination the city of Indianapolis, Indiana.

President Green: Are there any other nominations? If not, the Chair will declare nominations closed.

Vice-President Hutchinson: Before starting a roll call to determine what city is to hold the 1940 convention, I move that we hold a night session so that the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report can be completed. That will reduce the amount of work we will have before us tomorrow so that we can get through some time tomorrow afternoon.

I move that the rules be suspended and

that the convention meet tonight at 8:00 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: We will have the names of the cities that have been nominated read.

Secretary Morrison: The cities nominated are: New Orleans, St. Louis, Boston, Providence, Indianapolis.

President Green: Does the convention wish a roll call? All in favor of a roll call hold up your right hand. It is the opinion of the Chair that enough hands are up for a roll call. The delegates will vote for the city of their choice as the roll is called.

Delegate Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: I desire to make a statement. It is to the effect that in the name of the Boston group, I desire to withdraw the name of the city of Boston, hopeful that we may have some consideration in 1941, and we base the withdrawal on the fact that the Red Socks will win the championship in 1941, and the series will be held in that city in November, that year.

Secretary Morrison called the roll on the selection of a city, with the following results:

NEW ORLEANS—Mullaney, Sickles, Abernathy, Franklin, Davis (J. N.), Walter (Wm. E.), Nacey, Bowen, Bates, Gray, Moran (Wm.), O'Donnell (Thos. H.), Mulligan, Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Hutson, Sealise, McFetridge, Burke (Thomas J.), Mohlman, Fletcher, Levey, Knight, Tremblay, Barney, Fitzgerald (J. J.), Hutcheson (Wm. L.), Hutcheson (M. A.), Duffy (Frank), Cozzens, Bagley, Barrett (J. C.), Gebelein, Stevenson, Desepthe, Coulter (C. C.), Glenn (J. J.), Rosemund, Tracy (D. W.), Bugniazet, Paulsen, Kenedick, Hayde, Rens, MacDonald (J. C.), Comfort, McAuliff, Posschl, Fitzgerald (E. A.), Fay, Delaney, Swain, Mugnier, Rickert, Adamski, McCurdy, Slater (G. C.), Brooks (W. R.), Custer, Heffner, Campbell (J. A.), Moreschi, Marshall (Jos.), Rivers, Cox (M. D.), Bove, Etchison, Carrozzo, Donovan (Wm.), Palacios, Gainer, Finnan, Swartz, Duffy (C. D.), Gorman (Wm. J.), Ryan (Jos. P.), Owens (J. R.), Gerrard, Brown (H. W.), Alfias, Burrows, Robinson (W. F.), Nickerson, Ripberger, Fljoldal, Millman, Keller, Farnan, Turnbull, McCarthy (Wm.), Conway (J. J.), Byron (R.), Ryan (J. J.), Close, Moriarty, Weber, Bagley, Weaver (C. A.), Canavan, Tenney, Riccardi, Lindelhof, Kelley (J. F.), Meehan, Madsen, Oliver (J.), Wallace (A. W.), Burns (M. J.), Huggins, Barry (F. P.), Lynch (G. Q.), Collieran, Donlin, McDonough, Rooney (J. E.), Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Masterton, Rau, Quirk, Operative Pottery's Delegation (43 votes), Honey, Burke (John P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Meinz, Slater (M.), Killen, Lundberg, Dushane, Thompson (E.

D.), Browne (G. E.), Green (T. V.), Brock, Krouse, Zander, Noxon, Burnett (W. T.), Snyder (F. C.), Buckley (L. J.), Sumner (Chas. A.), Sinnegan, Givens (P. A.), Cullen (P. J.), Counts, Kuenzli, Fewkes, Grossman (M. F.), Tobin, Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, Brewster (F. W.), O'Rourke (J.), Wilson (G.), Winesburg, Rodgers (K.), Brown (H. W.), Curriegan (B. B.), Egan (J. J.), Weyler, Williams (E. H.), Coleman (F. J.), Brewer (B. M.), Marcianti, Meany, Fink, Smith (W. H.), Cahir, Acreman, Parks, Burr, Gresty, Anders, O'Brien (T. J.), Cushing, Cenerazzo, Butterfield, Doll (M.), Valentine, O'Neill (H. S.), McMahon (B. H.), Meyer (T. W.), Baxter, Buzzell, Seide, Merchant, Baer (J. C.), Quinn (J. C.), Lambert, Burch (F.), McCaig, Powers (J.), Tumber, O'Reilly (C.), Briner, Doyle (F. E.), Locher, Donhoff, Ketrner, Cikity, Mason (W. J.), Nichols (W. B.), Goodwin, Sharkey; representing 23,451 votes.

ST. LOUIS—Myrup, Schmidt, Beisel, Goldstone, Horn, Pelkofor, Haggerty (J. B.), Frewitt, Morley, Mara, Lawson, Obergstiel, Kugler, Hauser, Morrin, Lyons, Fitzpatrick (J. T.), Dempsey, Gayton, Van Horn, Harrison (G. M.), Ziegler, Morgan (R.), Volz (E. J.), Woll, Schmal, Fire Fighters Delegation (154 votes), McNamara (J. F.), Clinton, Kelley (James L.), Shanley, Maloney (J.), Warren (Wm.), Bennet (Geo.), Wolfe, Gillooly, Zaritsky, Goldberg (I. H.), Harding, Oppenheim, Flore, Lane (Chris), Messing, Kovesleski, Koenig, Caren, Ernst (H.), McSorley (W. J.), Hagen, Case, Bruck, Rose (F. W.), Slater, Scully (J. J.), Gorman (P. E.), Lane, Maxwell, Jimerson, Walsh (John J.), Stevenson, Armbrust, Leishman, Rapier, Reinlib, Laderman, Britton (W. W.), Kelsay, Randolph (A. P.), Webster (M. P.), Operative Potters Delegation (87 votes), Berry (Geo. L.), Moeller, Wilson (J. A.), Woods (J.), Kruse, Warfel (Geo. L.), Gardner (V. O.), Mahoney (D. J.), Powers (E. E.), Heint (R.), Sullivan (E.), Beaudoin, Cummings (Jos.), Bailey (A. L.), Jeffrey (Alex.), Smith (Earl), Anderson (Gust), Welsh, Ryder (M. E.), Woodmansee, Berger, Driscoll, Winget, Pierce (A. M.), representing 8,368 votes.

INDIANAPOLIS — Marston, Birthright, Crane, Merlino, Reagan, Robinson, George Horner, Hunt, White, Halibeck, Fire Fighters Delegation (153 votes), Bokall, Bennett, Strickland, Ernst (L. E.), Fritz, Summers, Cline; representing 1,466 votes.

PROVIDENCE—McMorrow, Kehoe, Bengel, Mischo, Rea, Coughlin, Taylor (Kenneth I.), Ohl, Johnson (D. L.), Getreu, Howe, Fallon, Norwood; representing 802 votes.

NOT VOTING — Behncke, Martin, Cary, Gross (W. S.), Greenwald, Minaden, Zitello, Daumenberg, Durian (Thomas), Foley (Laurence), Quinn (Bernard G.), Meyer (Frank W.), Ozanic, Jones (George W.), Gavlack, Winter (Edw. J.), Johnson (A. E.), Cashen (Thomas C.), Lauderger, Hoffmann (Sal B.), Rota, Coyne, Frey, Jewell (Bert M.), Ornburn, Patterson (C. L.), Thackrey (H. M.), Gross (John E.), Hoyt (Walter), Gramling, Rosqvist, Soderstrom, Couch (A. A.), Reid

(John), Olson (R. A.), Graham (James D.), Jolly, Murrey (W. W.), Donnelly (Thomas J.), Nickerson (D. E.), McDevitt (James L.), Iglesias, Harrison (J. W.), Baird (Maynard), Peterson (Paul M.), Moore (O. C.), Taylor (James A.), Cairns (Tom), Cahill (Martin), Smead, Moretti, Hare (W. O.), Bell (Williard D.), Kearney, Bell (Oral), Stefani, Andrews (Volney), Kiser, Cooke (R. M.), Ackerman, Johnson (Jeff O.), Hurst, Lenehan, Beck (Gordon E.), Latour, Shuman, Soutter, Osborn (J. M.), Seifert, Wegener, Nischwitz, Cauley (John F.), Denman (O. R.), Woods (Paul K.), Tobin (George), Lutz, Basore, Jones (L. H.), Melcher, Killingsworth, Slick (Clyde S.), Graham (R. R.), Mattson, Cavanaugh (T. J.), Downes, Graham (Fred J.), LeBow, Burke (Frank C.), Welch (Clifford B.), O'Flynn (V. F.), Harris (Charles), Cameron (J. W.), Johnson (Charles E.), O'Brien (W. J.), Murk, Baker (Alden P.), Hansen, Egan (William J.), Shave, Burns (Edward W.), Furlow, Rolando, Dickerson (Leonard), Jackson (J. B.), Brown (Mace M.), Gentry, Switalski Smith (Earnest S.), Bower (A. P.), Anderson (W. D.), Perlee, O'Connell (Jno. A.), Young (A. Roy), Andrews (J. R.), Forrer, Sullivan (Wm. E.), Froelich, Wilkinson, Houghton, Gordon (J. G.), McGeory, Rubin, Stahl, Williams (Arthur), Casey (W. B.), Foss, Bernd, Waugh, Remenik, Chandler, O'Rear, Angley, Herron, Bertier, Auttersson, Harris (Albert), Heymanns, Finnegan, Younger, Hickey, Huntington, Glick, Leonard Roberts, Cameron, Gales, Barnes, Dansby, Brown (R. J.), McCall, Kelly (J. P.), Bordges, Federman, Gallagher (Patrick), Whitehead, Kane, Nelsen, Jordan, Bradon, Klare, Stowe, Wood, Maguire (G. W.), Wills, Patton, Brown (J. D.), Peterson, Levitas, Loudon, Gusweiler, Stauffer, Eldred, Phillips, Sayre, Dever, Cook (John), Myers, Hurst (Ethel), Groner, Demko, Roberts (M. E.),

Hartsough, Lufrano, Grossman (Joseph), Kelly (Samuel H.), DiGuardo, Nagel, Beck (Dewey), Barnes, Elvin, Kennedy, representing 1,283 votes.

When a large number of the delegates had voted, among them the larger organizations, Vice President Hutchinson said. Inasmuch as a majority of the votes have been cast and as the remaining votes will not make any difference, I move that the roll call be discontinued.

Delegate Fallon: I want to be in a position to go back to my organization and register a vote for Providence, and under this procedure I will not be able to do so.

Vice-President Hutchinson: Then I move you that we give the brother from Providence the remaining votes.

President Green: I think the delegates ought to be accorded the right to vote, even though the matter may have been decided. We will complete the roll call in just a few minutes.

Following the announcement of the result of the roll call, President Green said: The roll call vote shows that the city of New Orleans has been selected for the next convention city of the American Federation of Labor, and it is so ordered.

At 6:15 o'clock, p. m., the convention adjourned to 8:00 o'clock p. m., of the same day.

Ninth Day—Thursday Night Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 8:00 o'clock.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Delegate Close, on behalf of the committee, submitted the following report:

Your committee has been advised that Delegate Brewster of the Teamsters has been called home. The name of Dave Beck has been offered as a substitute for Delegate Brewster. Your committee recommends that Brother Dave Beck be seated to replace Brother Brewster.

Delegate Close moved the adoption of the report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

(Continued)

Brewery Workers—Teamsters

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Gillespie, of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs.

Delegate Gillespie, Teamsters: Mr. President and delegates to this convention—First I want to say, as a member of the committee, I am in favor of concurring in that report. Second, as a delegate from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs I want to correct a few statements that have been made here today, even though some may be off the record.

One is in regard to wages paid to brewery workers throughout the country. The impression was left by one of the speakers from the other side that the wages of workers, including drivers, were evidently far in excess of the wages of our membership in our organization. I want to bring to the attention of the delegates here that on the working conditions we have unions today with a five-

day week, unions with a seven-hour day, and 80 per cent of our membership is working on the eight-hour day or less, at a high rate of wages in practically all sections of the country, including the South, where we are now organizing and where the wages were low for all, skilled mechanics or unskilled.

This question, whether it was intended or not, would have an effect in the minutes of the meetings to be spread as propaganda throughout the country, not only by those who are on the other side of this question at the present time, but among others who are not at all connected with our organization.

Another question I desire to bring to your attention is the fact of injunction, and I am first going to state that one of the speakers asked for delay. What is the reason for delay? We have had six years since the decision was given to our organization, and it has been from one convention to the other—delay until the next convention, or refer to some sort of committee, so that it can be kept up in the air and no possibility of carrying out the decision that was given to us. This delay is just for the purpose of more propaganda to be issued in every locality where there happens to be brewery drivers—propaganda of the worst kind, propaganda not only about our organization, but also about this convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council.

When you hear the propositions made you would feel that they were coming in here with absolutely clean hands. Many of the delegates here do not know that the injunction that was granted a few days or a few hours ago, many perhaps believe that that is the first piece of poison that has been poured upon our shoulders as an organization. I want to draw to your attention that we are in State courts and in the Federal courts of California, also in the State of Michigan, in the State of Washington. In the State of Oregon, in the State of Missouri, and any place where a slight dispute comes up, the first thing that happens, our local officers, our organizers and some of our national officers have been served even before they have had

their breakfast in the morning by some process servers of injunctions.

Ninety-eight per cent of them is on account of the Brewery Workers' organization. They have not been clean in any respect, and that is their only reason for asking that you delay, so they can continue for the next thirteen months to "pan" everybody they see fit.

I also want to draw to your attention, as I stated before, to the wage question in our organization—and we know this from figures in our office—we can show a higher percentage of wages than practically any skilled or unskilled organization affiliated with this body, for this reason: Our men work practically fifty-two weeks in the year. The wages are five to six times higher than they were in any of our large cities when our organization started. We have talked with many mechanics, many of the officers of their organizations, and we know this to be an absolute fact.

Now, my friends, there is no reason in the world for any delay. We have already got all the poison poured upon us that we need. It would be on you just exactly the same as on us. We blame nobody but the organization who has run away from the decisions of the American Federation of Labor and gone out into the courts to tie us up in every way they possibly can.

On talking with a friend the other day over this situation he referred to this injunction matter, and I want to draw this to your attention especially. Our International Union has never taken a labor union into court on an injunction process in our history. We have never taken a boss, even one who has broken his agreement with us, into any court in this country asking for any injunction against him. We have our own ways and methods with our organization to settle those disputes over the table, or in our own way. We do not need the court to go and get us an increase in wages or get us any membership.

The statement was made, "We are just a little organization, this organization is a great, large organization." It is large; we are proud of it and we expect that it is going to be larger. But the question is not the few men that would come into our Union.

It means that a man driving any kind of a truck today who is out of a job, if he applies for a job driving a truck hauling beer—and they are hauling many other things besides beer in these brewcries—he can't go and get a job there because he is not a brewery worker.

Let us go back before prohibition. When prohibition came along nearly all these men lost their jobs. They did not go out to make any watches; they did not go out to build any houses. Ninety per cent of them came into our local unions in our craft, because they had to be working as a teamster or chauffeur. They are no different driving a truck for a brewery than they are driving for any contractor we may have.

They also went so far as to tell many contractors in several parts of this country, when they were hired to do the extra work, when there was too much work for the brewery contractors, "You send the driver and we will supply the helper." That is not a square deal under any consideration, and when they were strong in some of those places our local unions had to stand for it. In many of the different cities they started ice companies. They were up against it, good and hard. Our organization went the entire distance to help the brewery workers throughout the entire time of prohibition. They had been delivering ice from these plants, men that were ex-brewery drivers, ex-breweries where they were making ice. Never once did we request any of these men to join our Union, because we were asked by the officers of the Brewery Drivers to give them a chance because they were up against it. We used our heart, we used our head, we gave them a break. Still we find one of their delegation asking today for a further break, so they can spread the propaganda of discontent and hurt our organization in every way they possibly can.

A man that drives a truck should be allowed to belong to the truck drivers' union. We have no trouble with our organization in any division of it. If a man changes his job and he goes from one contractor to another or he goes to another city, he takes his card, his transfer card with him, but he can't go into any brewery because they will strike.

Here is another fine little, cheap piece of

business that was carried on by them in one of our large cities. The beer was being manufactured by union brewery workers. The drivers all belong to our union and they, with all their propaganda, went to all the cities where this beer was consumed and had it placed on the unfair list, black listing the drivers simply because they were members of our Union and not theirs.

Today the situation is just the same in that city, only they are not going through that any more on the unfair list as far as that beer is concerned, and the drivers are all ours and they are going to be ours, not only now but for all time to come.

I don't want to take up any more time of the convention. The principal speaker of our organization, who is the President, naturally handles practically all the talking for our organization. I want to thank you for your kind attention and I ask you to support the committee's report.

President Green: Are there further remarks? The Chair recognizes President Tobin, of the Teamsters.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters and Chauffeurs: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—I listened to a statement yesterday made by the President of the Federation, endeavoring to get the attention of the convention for Delegate Weaver. President Green said, "This is a great democratic institution, an open forum, where freedom of expression is not questioned and where men need have no fear of saying that which is in their minds." President Green should have stated, "This was a great democratic institution where men need have no fear in the days past of expressing their thoughts and their minds."

We have been cautioned by our attorneys to be careful of what we are to say in this convention, so that we have reached the stage in the life of this Federation where men are not free to express themselves, lest they incriminate themselves as a result of misinterpretation placed on their statements.

The records of these conventions for the past thirty years in the case that has just ended in Washington have been scrutinized so carefully and so thoroughly by the Brewery Workers, that every expression of ours and of the President of the Federation, in the

prosecution of the Federation, has been used against us and misinterpreted in many instances by the parties who are here now in objection to the report of the Executive Council and to the report of the committee.

Yesterday the chairman of this committee, or the acting chairman—Harry Bates was chairman, and somebody advised him that in view of the properties of the Bricklayers in Washington, perhaps he had better let somebody else act as chairman—and Bill Hutcheson, not being a resident of Washington, acted as chairman, and he notified both parties to appear before the Committee on Executive Council's Report. We spent two hours and a half in there yesterday. Each man was entitled to say what he desired. There was no record kept of the meeting, so if there are any false statements made about what transpired it is one man's statement against another.

There is, however, a record kept of these conventions, which makes it a little more necessary to be careful. Joe Padway, attorney for the Federation, received a telegram today, and I will read you the first paragraph in the telegram. Now that committee session gave us over two hours and a half, yes, three hours, and every man said what he wanted to say. There were three or four speakers on each side. I have been chairman of committees myself in this Federation and have listened to argument, and I know how tiresome it is for ten or eleven men who are busy heads of their international unions to listen to endless argument, and one member repeating over and over again what the other fellow said.

What transpires within a committee is usually considered by honorable labor men as sacred. There is nothing binding, no man is sworn, we are not put on oath, but it has been an unwritten law in this Federation that the outside world would not be informed about what transpires within a committee.

Padway received this telegram from Mr. Reyburn, who is an associate lawyer in this case, who belongs to the firm of Ogburn & Reyburn. He is not one of Padway's partners: Quote, "O'Donoghue"—this is the attorney for the brewery workers—"telephoned me to say that Obergfell advised him that he was refused a hearing by committee on sus-

pension resolution this morning, and further that Tobin before same committee stated that his counsel in Washington, over long distance, just advised him that a suspension of charter would not be a violation of injunction." End quote.

I claim that this is a wilful and deliberate lie as far as I am concerned. I did state that we had the opinion and expression of a number of lawyers—and I didn't say in Washington—based on the expressions of the Judge, that he could not prevent the Federation from acting, that he could only go as far as to say that the Federation was wrong when it gave jurisdiction of truck drivers employed in breweries to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The committee now submitting their report to this convention, will answer for themselves whether or not they deprived Obergfell or his associates from stating their case before the committee. I merely mention this to show you that there is nothing sacred, there is no confidence that is respected by these people who are in opposition. They have willfully and deliberately misconstrued and confused the Judge, in my opinion, as to statements that I have made in other conventions, in the trial in Washington, and in several other cases in other districts.

This same case, we might as well explain, was tried before Justice Bailey—exactly the same case. Justice Bailey has a reputation as being a very able lawyer. His decisions have been very seldom, if at all reversed. He is a long-time justice with an enviable reputation amongst the federal judiciary, and about two years ago, after a hearing of the evidence he decided without any hesitation—and his decision is a matter of record—that this Federation was absolutely and entirely within its rights in acting as it did in awarding jurisdiction to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters over truck drivers. He went further and said, if I remember rightly—and I may not be able to use the exact language—that this Federation had a right to discipline, to add to or take away from charters issued by this Federation, as it had done for fifty years.

Later the brewery workers, through their lawyers, said they had some new evidence, and they were successful, as a result of stat-

ing they had new and important evidence that would change the whole case, and under legal procedure they were granted a new trial.

Unfortunately, Justice Bailey could not take care of the case, he was tied up in something else, and it was referred to Justice Goldsborough, who was a new man, appointed within the last year, to the federal bench in the District of Columbia—just this year, somebody tells me. I understand he is a native of Maryland, comes from a small town, never amounted to much as a lawyer it is said and according to the rumors down there. How he was appointed and how he passed through the acuteness of the Committee on Judiciary of the Senate is something I cannot understand. Perhaps he has qualifications that he did not display in this last case. There are several very, very peculiar rumors down there in Washington about the appointment and about the individual. Of course, I don't know whether they are based on facts. Some rumors are that he was an inmate of a nervous sanitarium. I can't say that is true, but I heard it. It would perhaps be well worthwhile for the press antagonistic to the administration to look into his history. All these things may be just rumors, but he acted in this case from such a prejudiced standpoint, in my opinion, from the very beginning, almost declaring his decision before he had heard the evidence, that no one can help thinking at least the whole proceeding was out of the ordinary.

For instance, Matt Woll was asked by President Green to go down and offer testimony. President Green could not be there. He asked Matt Woll to represent the American Federation of Labor, and the Judge refused to hear him, didn't want to hear any representative of the A. F. of L., although the A. F. of L. was deeply involved.

In my own case, I wanted and was willing to answer and testify. I had nothing to lose, everything to gain. I wanted to testify as an Executive Council member of this Federation and as President of our International Union. I realize that this is one of the most far-reaching cases that has confronted this Federation for many years. I was in Europe, in Geneva, at the suggestion of the government. I had been requested more than once

to go. One of the subjects was of great importance to our International Union, which was to be dealt with in Geneva. It was a subject dealing with road transport work.

While I was there I received a message that I had to return as soon as possible, that the case was called for August 2nd, and I came back and was ready to testify on August 2nd. When I got back, the Judge decided to postpone the case until October 9. They set the case in the middle of this convention. I spoke to Attorneys Padway and Ogburn and advised them it was utterly impossible for me to leave this convention. There were a number of our people in here with all kinds of grievances. They came here to see me, from all parts of the country, perhaps fifty of our representatives here who are not delegates; perhaps thirty-five or forty more who are delegates from central bodies and state branches. I didn't think there would be any hesitancy on the part of the court to grant me one week. I said I would be in Washington on the 16th, which was next Monday, and, lo and behold, the Brewery Workers, through their attorneys, opposed giving the head of an International Union, tied up in his work in this convention, with at least forty strikes on our hands at the present time—they objected and protested, they would not grant me one week's stay so that I could be present and defend our International Union before the court.

I don't know whether it was agreed to by the attorneys for the Brewery Workers, but the Judge said, "I will set the case forward" and the case was on a week ago last Monday, October 2nd, the morning of the opening of this convention.

There was a meeting of the Building Trades all during the week preceding the opening of this convention. There were meetings of the Board of the Building Trades, of which I am a member, and important matters were discussed. President Green called a meeting of the Executive Council and said it was imperative that some of us that were here be present at the meeting on Sunday afternoon, October 1st. We remained in session in this hotel until close to 7:00 o'clock Sunday night, and I had to be in Washington, on the insistence of the Brewery Workers, next morning—leave this convention. Well, I could not go, it was impossible. I

thought that my work here was as necessary and more necessary than being in Washington, but I am trying to picture to you the contemptible unfairness of a sister International Union that would not grant me one week's stay in order to attend to the work of our International Union in this convention.

When the case was opened on Monday, October 2nd—oh, yes, Brother Obergfell was here attending the Label Trades, a great labor leader, a member of the Label Trades Executive Board, and he stayed and did his work here and left this city, this hotel, after shaking the hands of national labor leaders that had risked their lives for their unions, and went to Washington, appeared to testify if necessary, to use every influence he had against this Federation and against our International Union, at the same time that we were opening our convention here in the City of Cincinnati, and sending forth a message of courage and solidarity to the toilers of America.

Well, gentlemen, if you call that trade unionism, it is not the kind that I was taught and that I was brought up to fight for. First we get the private conversations in our committee transmitted to Washington, with a lying statement made that they were denied the right to present their evidence. Then we get a misinterpretation of my statement. Then, no doubt, before I rise tomorrow morning, Judge Goldsborough will have their version of what I am saying now, and perhaps an order of contempt will be issued against me for my statements.

But we must, when we assume the office of leadership of our organization, be willing to pay the price of either unjust persecution by the courts or by the employers, but it is difficult to stand the unjust persecution of your own fellow associates in this convention.

Now, I will read to you the action of this Executive Council, just for the record. All these records and statements will again be in court. This is the 1933 proceedings, on page 115 of the Executive Council's Report to the convention. It reads:

"In view of the fact that by action and decision of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor the International Union of Operating Engineers was granted jurisdiction over engineers employed in breweries, it is the opinion of the Executive

Council that jurisdiction over engineers employed in breweries is vested in the International Union of Operating Engineers and so decides."

Then it goes on and says the same thing about the firemen, and in the next paragraph it says:

"In the case of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, vs. the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, the Executive Council is of the opinion and decides that teamsters and chauffeurs in the brewery industry properly belong to and come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs."

The usual all-day discussion took place when the Committee on Adjustment brought in its report and the usual arguments, most of which you have heard here today, were presented to the convention on the report of the committee, which was plain and short and direct, that "We, your committee, concur in and approve the report of the Executive Council."

After hours of discussion on the report of the Adjustment Committee a vote was taken as to whether or not the report of the committee, which sustained the Executive Council, which awarded engineers to the Engineers, firemen and oilers to the Firemen and Oilers, and teamsters and truck drivers to the Teamsters, should be adopted, and to vote on a roll call was approximately 14,000 for and 5,859 against—about two and a half to one in favor of the decision of the Executive Council as recommended by the Committee on Adjustment.

Now I want to call this to your attention. That was in 1933, and out of the 5,800 votes that they got, they got every one of the unions that are now C. I. O., that were then seated in this convention. The Miners at that time had 3,000 votes and the Ladies' Garment Workers had about 1,500 votes. There are 4,500 votes in those two unions that they got out of their 5,800. Every one of the unions that left us, the C. I. O. unions, voted for them and they got 5,800 and some odd votes, in 1933, on the same question that you are now discussing. And if the C. I. O. unions were here today, because they believe in absolute jurisdiction over the entire industry, every one of them would vote

today against your Executive Council's Report.

Now, really, the defense of this report devolves upon the Executive Council or its chief officers. If this committee's report is not sustained, then your Executive Council is not sustained, and all the work that you have done for years is destroyed. Let me say to you as one member, one delegate, I understand something about the workings of this convention. If this Federation hasn't got the right to regulate its own affairs, if it hasn't got the right to add to or take from or discipline international unions, then you might as well dissolve this Federation, it isn't much good to itself or to anybody else. That is the question at issue, and nothing else.

Why, in my time in the convention I have seen substantial international unions with a membership as large as the Brewery Workers ordered to amalgamate or get in as a whole into another international union, and they were given thirty, sixty or ninety days, and they were told, if you don't get in your charter is revoked. They got in and they bettered themselves by getting in and obeying the decisions of this convention.

I remember well the fights over the question of the Woodworkers, the Amalgamation with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. I remember those arguments and I remember how old Dennis Mulcahy, President of the Woodworkers, walked up and down the floors of our conventions and stated that the Woodworkers would never become part of the Carpenters, and if they did they would lose everything they had gained. But the convention acted on it. The Woodworkers were at one time one of the substantial international unions chartered and affiliated with this Federation, led by men like Tom Kidd of Chicago, and other such great leaders.

But the convention acted and they did not quibble, and the thing that made this convention successful in the years past was that it knew where it was going and it went there without any side-stepping and without any hesitancy.

There was the case of the Steamfitters and the Plumbers. In the City of St. Louis at our convention in 1910 we had the most bitter fight that ever happened in this Federation

It was the fight of the Steamfitters against going into the Plumbers. But the convention acted. And so on down the line, I could name them all, and because the convention acted and put into effect its decisions, both the Steamfitters and the Woodworkers will testify today as to the progress they made. There is an old steamfitter sitting here in the hall, Charlie Rau, of Chicago, who was leading in the fight, and today his testimony would be that it was the greatest and best thing that ever happened to their trades. And so it is all down through the history of this Federation.

For years and years we have been struggling along with this present question. It is a standing joke of the labor movement of America. "I suppose they will have the same entertainment again each year, of the Brewery Workers rebelling and refusing to abide by the decision."

Take any one of your International Unions—where are you going to fit if you allow a local union or a district organization or a number of local unions to stand out in defiance of the decisions of your conventions and of your Executive Board? Why, you would have no International Unions, and it is because you have enforced discipline in accordance with the law that you have maintained and preserved the solidity and the usefulness of your International Unions.

We, the teamsters, had many disputes in this Federation, many very bitter arguments because of the nature of our work. We touch every craft. For instance, in the Empire State Building in New York every ounce of material that went into the erection of that great structure, the largest building in the United States, was hauled there by our members. We did not have any dispute with any of the trades. Every pound of paper that goes into every newspaper shop is hauled by our men and the finished product is distributed by our men, and we have no argument with any of the twelve or thirteen trades in the printing industry.

Many years ago we had a dispute with the Bakers. We settled that dispute, the Bakers abided by the decision of the convention—I think it was the Philadelphia convention in 1910. Since that time the Bakers and ourselves have had very little trouble, and the membership of the Bakers' Union in this

convention is three times as large as it was in the Philadelphia convention and the decision that was given at that time was that the Bakery drivers came under the jurisdiction of the Teamsters.

And so it goes. We had a dispute with the street car men. It was settled and there was no more trouble between us.

We have had a dispute with the Machinists. Boys, you know what it is to have a dispute with the Machinists. They know their rights and they will fight until the last word is spoken. We entered into an agreement with the Machinists over garage mechanics, and we have not had a misunderstanding in several years.

And so on down the line I could name many others. We have one or two misunderstandings with International Unions, at present, which are mainly due to the evolution or revolution in industry. Those will be settled in time, and I have no hesitancy in predicting that these organizations are not going into the courts to settle them, thereby exposing by every method known to briefless barristers, briefless until they get a case of this kind, all the inner workings of our Federation.

The one outstanding case was the Brewery Workers. They testified down there in the court that I first refused to come and testify. Gentlemen, you have my statement. They also testified and the judge referred to their statements that I deliberately and willfully mistated facts in our conventions, otherwise the convention would never have decided to grant the jurisdiction it did—another false statement.

This case would perhaps not be so serious to us as far as the few members involved are concerned. That does not amount to a whole lot, when you consider that in the month of July, Secretary Morrison's books will show that we paid per capita tax on 430,000 members that month, also same for August. We don't have that membership the year around. I think the average is about 350,000 for twelve months, and we don't pay tax on members unless they pay dues to us. Our books are open for inspection of the A. F. of L. anytime.

It is not a question of membership, it is a question of the principles involved. Down in New York City we have wharves, steam-

ship lines, railroad stations and all other kinds of delivery stations. Go down there any time and look at the freight houses or the steamship wharves, and you will see a row of truck drivers driving big, heavy trucks, loading or unloading, and in among the truck drivers you will find one or two men who are not members of our union. They are union men, but they are not union truck drivers, members of our International, they are Brewery members.

Out of 51,000 members in Greater New York and vicinity, members of our International Union, just the brewery truck drivers are outside our union.

Do you think we can stand for three or four kinds of union men driving trucks? Of course we can't. You can't stand for three or four kinds of unions in your pressroom, nor in your carpenter shop, nor in your bricklayers unions, you can't do that. The identity and the safety of your craft is protected only by full organization of the men engaged in that employment.

A great deal of stress has been placed upon the fact that I signed an agreement in 1915. I think I ought to refer to that for the benefit of the court, which will have a transcript of what I say. We did sign some kind of an agreement. I had forgotten all about it because it is a long way to go back, about 25 years. I had forgotten about it, but under our laws no officer of our International Union could sign any kind of a contract that extends beyond the term of his elected office. If I did sign that kind of a contract it was not repeated or renewed, and all kinds of agreements are subject to recall.

The agreement we have with the Machinists' we can recall that agreement any time our Board sees fit.

In the meantime you were relieved of this Brewery question for a few years. Do you know why? Because you remember we had something called the Eighteenth Amendment that made it illegal to manufacture beer in this country, and the Eighteenth Amendment entirely wiped out the legal manufacture of beer in this country and practically abolished the Brewery Workers' Union. It was as Delegate Gillespie told you, that we let them have some ice drivers as members of their union in order not to break up their union altogether, and they came into the Council in 1921 or 1922, and I was a member of

the Council at the time—I was treasurer of the Federation that was when we had a treasurer and a secretary, and I remember of them pleading with us to save their organization by granting them jurisdiction over flour mill and cereal workers. In order to help them I voted with the other members of the Executive Council to grant them this extended jurisdiction. They made a statement or a promise that it would be possible to organize all the flour mills and the other cereal plants, and after five years they were unsuccessful in organizing any of them, so much so that they said the extended jurisdiction wasn't really any good to them. I don't know whether they surrendered that jurisdiction, but the Federation has sent out its organizers and the Federation has organized a great number of those workers. The Brewery Workers told us they could not organize them after we gave them to them. Every man on the Council, including myself, wanted to help them.

So that there were no beer drivers during the years of prohibition. We had forgotten all about them. Their organization was practically on the rocks. They paid some per capita tax. I can't say that they paid on their actual membership, I wouldn't say that they didn't but the stories they told before the Executive Council, I remember well, were pitiful.

Now that is the reason you heard nothing about this dispute for many years, because there was no Brewery Workers. They had a few men working in soft drink establishments. Everybody knows that the near beer proposition was a failure. Anheuser-Busch lost millions in trying to put over Bevo. They could not do it—and by the way, as long as that comes to my mind, we voted against St. Louis today against our wishes, because of this fact, that we have unlimited, far-reaching injunctions against our organization and our International Officers in the City of St. Louis, which is one of the most sweeping injunctions there is, obtained by the Anheuser-Busch Brewery against us, in connection with the Brewery Workers' Union and their officials. We can't go to St. Louis very well, because if I ask a truck driver of a brewery in St. Louis to join our union I could be sentenced perhaps to life imprisonment. I want you, Mrs. Ryder, to understand our

reasons. We have splendid local unions in St. Louis, but those are our reasons for voting against St. Louis for the next convention.

Still we find that this Busch Brewery has sent letters to Congressmen and Senators telling them about the awful things going on in this Federation of Labor and asking for God's sake that Congress give them some relief, because there is some jurisdictional dispute there between the Carpenters and Machinists—an institution joined by the Brewery Workers, that enjoined our International Union from endeavoring to put into effect the decisions of this convention.

Joe Obergfell and I worked together in the campaign of 1932 in trying to get rid of that Eighteenth Amendment, because we felt the Federation was right when it said that it destroyed the freedom of men and women, and as a result of the financial crash in the early part of 1933 the Eighteenth Amendment was practically abolished. The country was in such a condition it took a very short time to have another amendment adopted that abolished the Eighteenth Amendment.

Just after Prohibition was over I asked Joe Obergfell to come over to Indianapolis and see what we could do about organizing the brewery industry, which was trying to refinance itself and come back to life. Nearly all the old breweries had gone out of business. The few of them that remained were antiquated. Any one of you who disputes this can look into what happened in Cincinnati. In St. Louis they were practically shut down two-thirds of the time.

New innovations came into the brewing of beer, and I asked Joe Obergfell to come over, or I would go to Cincinnati. He did come over and I said, "Now, Joe, after years and years the brewery business is coming back to life again. We might as well have a plain, distinct understanding that we will work together, to the end that we will organize the industry." And he said, "No, Dan, that's not going to go. We want the same jurisdiction we always had." I said, "That's unfair, that's impossible. Truck drivers belong to us." You remember when the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted horses were prevalent everywhere, but twelve or fourteen years afterwards motor trucks had taken the place of the horses, and there were no more horse-drawn vehicles, there were none

of the men who drove horse-drawn vehicles fifteen years before that were capable of driving modern motor trucks.

So that the men involved in the driving of the modern motor trucks were never engaged, in ninety-nine per cent of the cases, in driving horse-drawn vehicles of the old breweries. That is where the dispute started.

I want to call your attention to another matter. The brewery workers contend it will destroy the efficiency of their organization. In the City of Chicago there are about fifteen or sixteen hundred drivers of brewery trucks that are members of our organization, and the conditions of that organization, the conditions of the inside workers of members of Brewery Workers' Union were never better than they are today, and they work hand in hand together, no trouble whatever. The same is true in Cleveland and the same is true in innumerable other places. The only difference is we both are stronger than before, and better able to maintain conditions, and I have pledged to Obergfell—whether he has stated it to his membership or not I don't know—that wherever he had a signed agreement for inside workers in breweries, wherever he had trouble in any way, shape or manner with his inside workers, the drivers who are members of our organization would not work. I have gone further, I have said, not only will we tie up the drivers who are working for the brewers, but any of the materials that are hauled in there by the members of our union, materials and other supplies will not be delivered—just to prove to him that the solidity and economic strength of his union would not be weakened but strengthened by the backing of our large, militant organization and we keep our word. Let me call another thing to your attention. You know over in England and in Switzerland last year I met a number of national world characters, both in labor, government and industry, and they were almost unanimously of the opinion that the allies, when they won the war, blundered because they did not drive the Germans back beyond the borders of their own country and make them suffer as they had made the French and Belgians, and the others suffer. They now see the blunder they made, and then they allow the Germans to rebuild their armies and dictate the present policy that is going on.

I think the blunder we have made in our conventions is that because in the first instance when this decision was rendered you did not enforce your decisions.

To use the language of the street, you have been soft-pedaling the whole thing for a number of years since 1933. Now the report of the committee says wait and call another conference. That is all right, but I am telling you now, judging from the past, there is not much hope of a settlement. We can't possibly surrender the truck drivers, the only thing we have got. We don't want and will never ask and will never hold a man that belongs to another organization.

Now let me call another thing to your attention. It is not a question of membership. The great wine industry of this country, a business manufacturing intoxicating liquor, has not been organized. We have the drivers every place, especially in the wine area plants all through California, and not an inside worker was organized, unless Bridges has organized them lately.

Years ago we asked the Brewery Workers why they did not organize these inside winery workers instead of fighting over a few members involved that were driving trucks. They did not want them.

The distilleries of this country that manufacture intoxicating liquors are unorganized, and the Brewery Workers refused to organize them. The Federation is now organizing them into pretty strong unions. We, the Teamsters, have the whiskey drivers organized almost everywhere in the country where whiskey is manufactured, and stored in the custom houses, and the warehouses. But the inside workers would not be admitted into the Brewery Workers. Let me show you the inconsistency of this organization. They go out and they organize the Coca-Cola workers. Soft drink workers, and we have the drivers wherever we are strong enough to take them. In isolated plants the Brewery Workers don't draw the line of demarcation, purely industrial, they have the engineers, the firemen, the machinists, and every one else. They never say, as you say and as I say, "You don't come under our jurisdiction." They don't say—as you say as trade union leaders, respecting the rights of somebody else. They have organized these Coca-Cola workers and they

have pretty good conditions. We have the drivers. Now, if they are manufacturing beer and they take in soft drink workers, wouldn't common sense and reason tell you, and the Federation has never stopped them, and that they could take in the manufacturers of these other intoxicating liquors? I don't know how many thousand workers are engaged in the inside of the wineries, but there must be an enormous number of them. They tell me that we are now making wine in this country and sending it to France, and it is coming back here again marked as French wine. I don't know whether that is true or not. But down in the Sandusky district here in Ohio, and all through the California wine and grape belt thousands of these workers are employed making wine. Do you think the Brewery Workers would take them in? No, because wine is a competitive drink to beer, and the master brewers don't want those engaged in competitive drinks with beer organized.

The whiskey manufacturers of the Peoria district, I don't know how many there are, and all through Kentucky were unorganized, refused by the Brewery Workers, and still they are arguing in here about ten or twelve thousand men who are driving trucks that never go inside the brewery. Our men back up to the platform. We don't make beer; we don't allow our members inside of a brewery. We back up for a load, just as we back up for a load of coal or a load of lumber or a load of iron pipe, we haul it to wherever it is to be delivered. That's all we want—the fellow who is hauling material every day in the week. We don't want anybody inside of the brewery.

It is not a question of membership, it is a question of being able to prove that you can't discipline this organization, that with all of the strength in your power, with your 4,000,000 members and your decisions in convention after convention, it means nothing to them. That's the answer. They care nothing for your decisions. Haven't they got the courts.

Are we going to tolerate this condition? If you do you are going to wreck this Federation. Why, the other day here—and I voted with you—you suspended the charter of one of the oldest International Unions. What for? An organization of 82,000 members, and it is rumored that one of its original founders,

in conjunction with the carpenters, McGuire, wrote the first constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

You suspended the charter of 82,000 members. Why? Remember, I said I voted with you—because they refused to obey an act, a motion of this convention dealing with an assessment. And this organization, now under discussion, the Brewery Workers, for six years has openly and defiantly told you that they won't obey the acts and decisions of your convention, with their 42,000 members—just half the membership of the I. T. U. Is there any consistency in such action? Why this hesitancy? Is it a question of membership? It can't be that on your part, because our International Union has paid you in its increased per capita tax within the last year on an additional 50,000 members, more than the total membership of the Brewery Workers, which is 42,000. It can't be on account of the membership. There must be some other reasons for it. I don't know what they are.

In the whole history of this Federation you can put all the crimes that have been committed against it and multiply them, by all the organizations, and none of them has been equal to the crime perpetrated against this organization by the Brewery Workers, who have endeavored to strangle you by asking the courts to rule that you have no right to make decisions in this convention to regulate the affairs of your own organization. All of them put together wouldn't equal it.

I just asked Secretary Morrison about the decision in the Buck Stove & Range Company case. It was mooted, as we call it, mooted by the United States Supreme Court. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison were sentenced to prison for violation of an injunction in 1908 or 1909—I think it was in 1908. They appealed the case, and after a year or two the case was mooted. The Supreme Court of the United States did not have courage enough—to go through, that was my interpretation then and it is now—they just mooted the case, when settlement, a victory, had been reached with the Buck Stove & Range Company of St. Louis.

I remember Gompers making this statement in a meeting in Indianapolis: "No more cruel and unjust persecution of the workers

prevails than persecution by injunction. There is grave danger of our labor movement being wrecked by injunctions unless organized labor rises in all its might and give every ounce of energy with which they are possessed to overcome this monster, the injunction. Unjust employers and prejudiced judges are using all their power to destroy the labor movement by the writ of injunction. As for me, Gompers said, "I will rot in prison rather than submit to strangling the Federation of Labor by injunction."

They were sentenced to imprisonment. There is only one of those three who is alive. But lo and behold, gentlemen, that was thirty years ago, when we were fighting for the right to belong to unions. Lo and behold, gentlemen, we defeated the employers and rendered their injunctions useless in most instances. But today we are confronted not by Van Cleve of St. Louis or D. M. Parry of Indianapolis, Presidents of the National Manufacturers' Association, not by the Buck Stove & Range Company, but by the United Brewery Workers' Union, who have strangled us in the Federal Courts in Washington, strangled this Federation and this International Union I represent. Deny those statements if you can. Facts speak for themselves.

It is almost compulsory on our unions to become affiliated with State bodies and central branches. There are many representatives of central bodies and State branches here, and they know what I say is based on facts. We pay every assessment. We insist on affiliation. We help in every way possible to maintain those central bodies and State branches. In about 21 of the largest cities of the country and perhaps in some of the State Federations our members are officers. Several of them are here representing central bodies. We have found in certain districts in the West that the statements made, in what they believed, were their free rights in central bodies have been used in court against them. In the City of Portland, Oregon, where they passed that contemptible anti-labor law, word after word as used by our delegates in meetings was used in the persecution of our men. A lawyer named Kaste was an attorney for the Brewery Workers and was a Deputy Sheriff. One of the most cruel and brutal regimes against labor we have ever experienced obtains in the State of Oregon, and especially in Portland.

I have no doubt but that in due time every word that is uttered here will be produced in court and perhaps used against us. Every copy of the proceedings of the conventions of the Federation, since 1905 or 1906, has been gone over in Washington and in other places by Brewery Workers and their lawyers, sometimes misinterpreted in order to prosecute us.

To show you the uncertainty of the judiciary and how difficult it is for us laymen to understand it, we had a case of an injunction applied for in San Francisco, and it came before Judge Roche, whose training and environment was among the workers. Judge Roche wrote an opinion and it has been quoted, stating without hesitation that this Federation had a perfect right to regulate its own affairs, and he sustained the Federation. This Judge Michael Roche was once a member of the Molders' Union.

Down in the southern part of California, where we have the Associated Farmers, the Harry Chandlers and the Los Angeles Times and all the conceivable enemies of labor, Federal Judge James rendered a decision distinctly opposite that rendered by Judge Roche. They were both Judges for the same government. They both had the same judicial power. The cases were almost similar, and one Judge disagreed with the other. It was not the same case, but almost similar. We appealed the decision of Judge James to the Court of Appeals, which has jurisdiction over Washington, Oregon and California, and the other day the Court of Appeals decided Judge James was wrong. But they qualified their decision in the fact that they said, "This case should go to the Labor Board."

In Detroit, Michigan, there were 800 men who, of their own free will, brewery drivers and helpers, came over to our organization. We did not solicit them. They were drivers and helpers, who were initiated, and who were members of our organization. The Brewery Workers came in and, working with certain other labor officers, manipulated a plan where they got the brewery owners to apply for an injunction, and they joined in the opinion that it was a violation of their agreement. They got the injunction. There was no compulsion at all with these 800 members. They came to our office and implored of us to give them a charter. They said, "The

only thing that we, as drivers can do, if we lose our job as brewery drivers, is to go on a merchandise truck, or something of that kind, and we want to be in your organization." They go down and get an injunction, against those men belonging to our organization. The employers started to back them up and did back them up and would not let our men go back to work.

Those 800 men applied to me and asked me if I would not let the matter go to the Labor Board. We could have won out a hundred to one, but in order to maintain what I believed to be the just position of this Federation, I protested to the Labor Board over the demands of these brewery drivers, that it did not come within their province to try to adjust a jurisdictional dispute within a Federation organization. Well, we lost, or nearly lost that Union. There are two or three injunctions pending up there now. The Brewery Workers have had their attorney from Detroit in here watching your proceedings. He, it is reported, has been collaborating with a lot of others here.

Our people say that they will not stay in the central bodies or State branches. They say, "We are losing our freedom, we are in danger," as has been demonstrated in Portland. We ourselves are rendering ourselves liable here by our expressions in this free forum, this great democratic institution that used to be, we are liable to have a suit against us for damages involving our funds, and we can't go on in this manner, much as we would like to. That is our position. We can't go on.

There are International Union men here, who are not frightened by some expressions of the court. There are other International Union men, who are not so sure. They know the extremes to which these Brewery Workers will go. You cannot keep us in this position. We have been battling for this Federation up and down the country, and I am not saying this in a boasting manner, because it is a duty that we owe the labor movement, but every man who knows the situation on the Western Coast, knows that the Teamsters saved the American Federation of Labor on the Western Coast. I want no thanks for it, I want no payment for it. We stopped Bridges, when everything else was gone, and that is the testimony of men, who are not members of our union. Bridges

has said if the Teamsters were with him he would let them write their own ticket, no matter what it is, and he would clean the Western Coast across the Rocky Mountains (except in one or two instances of technical trades) free of the American Federation of Labor.

Now don't let us have to fight Bridges on the outside and all of the innumerable employers that are trying to strangle you and me, with all the adverse, antagonistic political leaders who are trying to strangle us in the legislative halls of the nation and in the legislative halls in Washington, with everybody trying to take a crack at the American labor movement today, don't ask us to remain still in association with an International Union here that is trying to strangle and hamstring us, render us powerless by a court injunction and by legal decisions.

Dave Beck and several of our officers have had suits brought against them running into millions of dollars for things they said in meetings such as this—and not so important. We can't go on. I say to you in all honesty, and as free from malice as I possibly can be, under these circumstances, that in all my experience in this or any other country in which I am acquainted with the affairs of the movement—and I try to keep myself informed—there has never been an instance of such cruel betrayal of the labor movement as there has been in this instance. If I didn't like the decisions of the Federation or the Brewery Workers, if I didn't like it after four or five years and after the convention by an enormous majority each time so decided, I wouldn't stay in the Federation, but I wouldn't go out and try to strangle the Federation and do something that the Employers' Association could not have done. I would have left the Federation. That would have been the decent thing to do.

But they haven't done that. They want to stay in here and further strangle us. Well, we have large interests involved, financial and economic, and we can't run the dangers any longer of being strangled for our statements in these open, public, democratic forums such as this Federation.

The C. I. O., if I remember rightly—I may be wrong, but I have listened to the whole argument and what I say is not in any way endeavoring to minimize their actions against

this Federation—they never should have left this Federation, they should be back in this Federation. But not one of those organizations, when you suspended their charter, when you revoked their charter, ever took this Federation into court.

We can't let the United Mine Workers of America put coal trucks down in Pennsylvania and run them into New York. We had to stop them. Up in the State of Washington, the coal operators, with their coal miner members, started to haul coal from the mines away up in the State down into the city of Seattle, and we had to stop that. There are none of those trucks running now. But, if we are compelled to fight outside organizations for the right of jurisdiction over truck drivers, in the membership of the C. I. O., surely you can't expect us to close our eyes to the decisions granted by this Federation and ask the same right of the affiliated national and international unions here, including the Brewery Workers, to respect our jurisdiction.

That is the question involved. Summing up the whole situation, the question is, shall this Executive Council be sustained in its decision, which, in substance, is that after six years of the Brewery Workers having refused to obey decisions of one, two or three conventions, then they have gone further and persecuted this Federation by taking it into court.

The decision of your Executive Council is that their charter be suspended—for how long? For one day, perhaps, or perhaps not at all, but if it is suspended it is only suspended until such time as they come back into the Federation or to President Green and say, "We have agreed to abide by the decision of the convention." It is not suspended indefinitely, it is not revoked. It is suspended only until such time as they say they will abide by your decisions. They have no right to admission, they have no right to ask to remain here until such time as they agree to abide by your decision.

That is the question. If you don't sustain the report of your committee, which sustained the Executive Council, then I say to you, you are writing the death knell of this Federation, because its usefulness will be at an end, if it cannot function as it has functioned for fifty years and regulate its own affairs

with its affiliated unions chartered by this Federation.

I hope and trust that I will never have to appear again in the future—I can almost promise you I won't appear on this very distressing case. I hope now that you will make no mistake and that you will put into effect the decision that you rendered six years ago, confirmed five years ago, and reaffirmed the following year, that you will sustain the report of the committee, which sustains the Executive Council.

Delegate Hauser, Brewery Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention—I paid quite a bit of attention to the previous speaker and I heard a lot of nasty things about the organization I am privileged to represent and am a member of. At the outset I would like very much to clarify that St. Louis situation so that no one leaves this hall with the idea that that injunction in St. Louis was instituted by the Brewery Workers. I want to let you know how it came about before I discuss the question of the committee's report.

One morning about fifteen machines drove up in front of a brewery and told the men, as they were going to work, that they were not permitted to take those wagons out. We were called to that plant and we were told that force was being used to prevent them from delivering their products. We were asked what we thought should be done in the matter. The advice was given to them that they should call on some union teaming contractor and have him make the deliveries. We were advised that that was not the only plant that they would tie up, but they would tie up another plant within two or three days. They did, and although we had bona fide contracts with these breweries our men were not allowed to deliver beer.

The employer then took it upon himself, because the action of the teamsters in that city, to go into court and ask the court for a restraining order to prevent the teamsters from stopping him in his lawful business he was engaged in. It is true, when the matter was brought into court, we were brought into court as witnesses and testimony was given. The court then decided to enjoin the teamsters from interfering with the business of the brewery.

As far as the report of the committee is concerned, let me say this: First of all, there is a limitation in that report. Yes, I am agreeable that a committee shall be appointed, but with a limit and instructions as to what that committee shall do, you might as well hang us tonight as hang us thirty days from now.

What have the Brewery Workers fought for? We have heard a lot about the house of labor. The facts are we helped to build that house of labor, and when we entered that house of labor we were guaranteed certain rights and privileges, and as long as we were allowed to exercise them there was no question of jurisdiction. I don't consider this a jurisdiction fight, it is a question of transferring men.

I have been in the labor movement a great number of years and I know how the Brewery Workers feel and I believe that the recommendation of the Executive Council and which should be the recommendation of that committee, if they follow out the instructions of the committee that is referring it will not solve that question. I don't believe that if you do suspend the Brewery Workers—and I say this advisedly—that you will stampede them into saying they are going to give up part of the organization that for so many years has been the instrument whereby they were able to make conditions, shorten hours, and, as I say, have one of the finest organizations within the Federation. We want to stay within the Federation. We have been Federation-minded all our lives and it will hurt us very much if we have to leave this Federation.

The contract that we entered into between this Federation and the Brewery Workers is a question that was referred to the courts. It is true this convention has, time and again, decided that jurisdiction should rightfully belong to the Teamster, yet nowhere within the constitution can I find where this Federation has the right to break the contract they made with the Brewery Workers. I want to read you, just for the record, an opinion of the court. I don't like very much to do it, but I believe it is proper and it should be in the record. It says:

"It is obvious that a court will not interfere with the rulings of a labor organization made within the limits of its constitution, even though the court might not

be of the same opinion as the labor union as to the merits of the controversy, but these unincorporated organizations can make contracts, and when they clearly violate their contract, especially where civil or property rights are involved, they are subject to correction by the court."

That is an opinion of the court. That has been our opinion all the time.

It is said when prohibition came the Brewery Workers went out of existence. The question was discussed about the 1915 agreement reached between the Brewery Workers and the Teamsters. Probably no one was happier than the Brewery Workers when that agreement was reached in 1915. For years, until prohibition came, that agreement was lived up to by both parties, and I don't believe there was any time in the conventions between 1915 until prohibition that the controversy between the Brewery Workers and the Teamsters was called to the attention of this convention.

When they wrote the 18th Amendment into our Constitution, the first amendment that said "Thou shalt not," the Brewery Workers continued the same charter they had prior to prohibition, the same rights and the same privileges that we had prior to prohibition were still ours when repeal came. But why the change?

I would like to solve this question if it is possible to do so, but I do feel that the orders issued by that committee if they are carried out, will not solve that question. There have been so many mean things said about the Brewery Workers, I don't know but what there are so many good things that also can be said about them. There isn't an organization in this Federation that hasn't been helped by the Brewery Workers. There isn't an organization here that we haven't gone out and spent our time and money to help organize. The best label men and the best card men—that is how we were known. The Brewery Workers have done a lot for the Federation, and because they are standing up for the things they think they are entitled to, and because they were unable to secure it in this Federation, they went into the court of equity and there laid their case before a judge and that judge surely was not favoring the Brewery Workers or favoring the Teamsters.

The Federation was defended by the very

able counsel, because I had the privilege of hearing Judge Padway here. Surely, everything the Federation was able to offer they offered at the hearing, and the things we were able to present to the court were presented, and then the court found there was a contract between the Federation and the Brewery Workers that could not be set aside without both parties agreeing.

A statement was made here that contracts are only made for the tenure of office of the men who make the contract. It seems rather peculiar to me, for we were under the impression that when that contract was made between the Teamsters and the Brewery Workers it would hold until such time as either party to it wanted to break the contract.

We speak much of the rights and privileges of the individual. I have heard it spoken from this stage. Have not the men who belonged to organizations some right as individuals? Can we transfer them like cattle, if you please? If the day would ever come that our men would say they were not satisfied with us, then it would be an entirely different question. As far as our organization is concerned, the make-up of it and our method of going out and getting contracts and conditions for our men, surely this Federation cannot say we do not do our full duty toward organizing the industry. Our men are not super-men, they are no more intelligent than the average trade unionist, yet we were able to organize 99 per cent of the industry here prior to prohibition. If every organization had been as successful as we, you would have had 10,000,000 men within this Federation. The only thing we are trying to do is to protect the rights of the international union. You do not know if you may not be the next international union that will be told, regardless as to what the contract you may have had when you affiliated with this Federation, that "today we are going to change it and if you don't like it we are going to suspend you."

Not long ago in the convention the sacredness of contracts was referred to. It was said the contract shall be lived up to, the contract shall not be violated. Why not live up to the contract here that the Federation has made?

After all, probably public opinion is going to play an important part in our every day

life. Public opinion will probably play an important part whether we were right or whether we were wrong. Let me read you another article here for the record before I conclude, and that is this, and upon this we base our argument. That is the question that we did not at any time agree to appoint the Federation as an arbiter. This says:

"The workers involved herein can, if they so desire, constitute the American Federation of Labor the arbiter of their destiny, but they have not done this, and for the court to withhold substantially the relief asked for by the plaintiff would amount to a judicial recognition of authority acquired by usurpation. Whatever may be the factual situation at any time or place, wherever usurped authority comes in contact with the jurisprudence of the democracy, it then and there, instantly, ceases to exist. So the court makes the added observation that both reason and history are conclusive that there is no such thing as a benevolent despot."

I do hope that a solution will be found whereby our troubles will be settled within the Federation. You have been asked to tell us to get out. I have always thought the doors of labor were open for us to come in.

I remember back when we weren't so prominent, when we were only about five or six hundred thousand men in this Federation, when governors and senators didn't address the Federation conventions, and we went out and worked and worked hard to build up this Federation. The old pioneer, and there are many of them left among the Brewery Workers, would feel it keenly if this convention, without another effort, would oust the Brewery Workers.

The C. I. O. has been mentioned. I want to make this statement: I have been Federation-minded all my life, and in or out of the Federation I will still be Federation-minded. I hope you can solve this problem. I want you to just take this thought: The only hope and the only resource which the Brewery Workers have left if we did not want to be dismembered was to take the action we did.

I am not bitter against the Teamsters, not at all. I am proud of them, because they became a strong and tremendous international union. There is lots of room there for additional membership, but to take away from the Brewery Workers part of the membership will weaken the Brewery Workers and we would not be in a position to give service to our men as we have been doing in the

past, and I do ask the Federation to consider those facts. Don't oust the Brewery Workers.

President Green: Because the American Federation of Labor is in this controversy, I deem it my duty to calmly and dispassionately present to the delegates the decision of the American Federation of Labor and the efforts it has put forth to compose differences. We hold both of these organizations in high regard and we wish earnestly that both of them, the Brewery Workers International Union and the Teamsters shall remain an integral part of the American Federation of Labor. During all this controversy, which has existed for practically six years, I have been deeply concerned, and in dealing with the difficult problem I have endeavored to pursue a policy of toleration and moderation. Every effort I could put forth as President of the American Federation of Labor has been put forth in the effort to compose differences. That is the attitude of the American Federation of Labor. It has endeavored to hold the scales of justice on an even balance, because we have been deeply concerned and tremendously interested in the economic and industrial welfare of the membership of both organizations.

Six years ago, at the 53rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, the issue was presented to the delegates in attendance at that convention for decision. It was a question as to the jurisdiction which should be exercised over truck drivers and team drivers and chauffeurs employed by brewery manufacturing plants. The issue was fairly presented. My good friend Joe Obergfell presented the Brewery Workers' case to that convention as earnestly and sincerely and as impressively as he presented his case here today. In like manner, President Tobin of the Teamsters presented the case of the Teamsters in as logical and argumentative a way as he presented it tonight. And when the vote was taken after the fullest, widest, freest unlimited opportunity for debate was offered, the convention decided the issue. It decided as follows:

"In the case of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America vs. the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, the Executive Council is of the opinion and decides that teamsters and chauffeurs in the brewery industry probably belong to and come under the

jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs."

That was the decision of the 53rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. Can any one misunderstand it? There is not an unnecessary word in it. It is simple, concise and direct.

Now for six years we have been endeavoring to have that decision applied and carried out. Surety, forbearance and patience has been exercised. We have tried through conferences, through appeals, through recommendations to have this decision of the 53rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor complied with and carried out.

The authority of the American Federation of Labor to render a decision in a case of this kind has been challenged. Well, what other course can we pursue? Where should we go to settle a controversy of this kind? The delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor come from all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, from the central bodies, from the Federal Labor Unions, and from the local unions. They sit in judgment. Are they capable and competent? And if a convention which, after all, is the highest tribunal within the American Federation of Labor, cannot render a decision when two unions cannot agree, then where shall we go for a decision? The alternative is chaos and confusion, the rule of the jungle, the triumph of force. We have endeavored to substitute an orderly procedure for that, so that intelligence and reason and good judgment might be the controlling factors in the settlement of disputes between two unions.

Now I know the delegates in the convention of the American Federation of Labor would not render a decision in a dispute of this kind if, in their judgment, the decision would injure the economic interest of the members of the organizations involved. For, after all, the economic interest of the workers transcends every other consideration. Based upon that assumption, we endeavored at a conference, I think it was in this city, to prevail upon the representatives of the Brewery Workers and the Teamsters to accept this decision of the highest court in the American Federation of Labor and apply it, and to supplement that by an offensive and defensive agreement which would provide that agreements negotiated between the

representatives of the two organizations with the owners of breweries would begin and end at the same time, and that the Teamsters' Union would support the Brewery Workers' Union in any controversy in which it might be engaged in the brewery manufacturing plants, and in like manner the Brewery Workers would support the Teamsters.

Can you conceive of a more powerful economic organizational plan than that, having for its purpose the protection of the economic interests of the Brewery Workers and the Teamsters? That would mean that the Teamsters would refuse to haul from the brewery any of its products in case of any dispute that might arise between the Brewery Workers and the brewery owners. And if the Teamsters refused to haul, how could the plant operate?

You must bear in mind that the Teamsters' Union is a key union; it touches practically every trade in the United States of America and in Canada as well. The Longshoremen in New York City and in the East have a working agreement of the kind I just referred to with the Teamsters, and there they stand invincible. The Teamsters rally to the support of the Longshoremen, and when they refuse to haul and deliver there is no shipping concern that can operate their ships and their vessels.

Only the other day, in conversation with a delegate in attendance at this convention, he told me the Hatters, or Millinery Workers, or some trade of that kind were on strike for weeks with the employers because of discrimination. They were sacrificing, suffering, unemployed, on strike, using their economic power, but they could not prevail against the employer. And then what happened? The Teamsters' Union came to their rescue and notified the manufacturing plant that no further merchandise would be delivered or hauled from the plant. And when that action was taken, immediately the owner of the plant yielded and entered into an agreement with these workers and the strike was ended.

Now, that is repeated over and over again, and we want to establish that same relationship between the Teamsters and the Brewery Workers.

It is offensive and defensive, the Teamsters obliging themselves, pledging their sacred honor to stand with the Brewery Workers in any test they have with their

employers, working as one, not as two, standing as one, not as two; striking as one, not as two; and when that is done, would not the economic interests of all concerned be adequately protected?

Behold the situation here in the city, the Teamsters hauling from bakery plants where bakers are employed in delivering goods from the bakery to the customer and to the merchant, members of the Teamsters' Union, and in the same city the Teamsters hauling from the brewery to the customers members of the Brewery Workers' Union. Is that consistent? In the working alliance that has prevailed between the Bakery Workers and the Teamsters the highest and best economic interests of all concerned have been conserved. I repeat again that I know you would not render a decision, and the delegates in the 53rd annual convention did not render a decision which they believed, or which they even suspected, would be against the economic interests of either organization.

The main point in the controversy is this: We could probably have exercised further forbearance, further patience, appealing to reason and judgment, if it had not been that our good friends the Brewery Workers resorted to the use of the injunction against the American Federation of Labor itself. I want to tell you now something that perhaps you do not know. The Teamsters, naturally, had pressed the American Federation of Labor during the six years to demand and require the Brewery Workers to comply with the decision of the 53rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

In a most eloquent, logical and convincing way the representatives of the Teamsters have brought the matter to the attention of the Council upon number of occasions. The Council itself, impressed by the situation, wishing to avoid conflict, counseled moderation and forbearance. Then the representatives of the Teamsters suggested that one way through which and by which we could bring home to the Brewery Workers the seriousness of the situation would be to call upon central bodies and State Federations to disassociate from membership therein local unions of Brewery Workers until the national union complied with the decision of the American Federation of Labor. That seemed to be a moderate policy, but the

Council again counseled moderation. It asked the Teamsters' Union to withdraw that request, and they did. We did not apply that sort of pressure, reasonable though it may be.

I refer to that in order that you might know something about the moderate policy we pursued. But what answer could we make when we were notified that an application had been made in a Federal Court for a restraining order, restraining the American Federation of Labor from following a normal course, from applying such pressure as, in its judgment, it thought advisable and necessary in order to bring about the acceptance of a judicious decision?

Then there was involved in that proceeding the state of mind of working men and women toward the resort to and the use of injunctions. It was the American Federation of Labor that led the fight against the use of injunctions as between employer and employee. The representatives of labor protested in the lawmaking bodies of the nation against this abuse of power on the part of the courts. And so, we sponsored the Norris-LaGuardia Act, an act that, in operation, robbed the judiciary of the power to issue injunctions in labor disputes.

Many employers in defending the writ of injunction used the same language as was used here today. They said to labor, "Why are you afraid to go into the courts? Why are you afraid to submit your case to the courts?" Well, we never were afraid. Labor never was afraid, but it always believed that differences, even between employers and employees, had no place in the equity courts of the nation. And if the differences between employers and employees had no place in the equity courts of the nation, then how can we reason that differences between unions within the Federation of Labor have any place in the equity courts of the country?

Let me read from the Executive Council's Report on this question:

"The officers and members of the American Federation of Labor have always recognized the authority of tribunals set up within the structure of the American Federation of Labor to compose differences and to settle such differences within the family of labor. We cannot successfully follow

any other line of procedure. If the stamp of approval were placed upon resort to equity courts and to the use of the writ of injunction in the settlement of jurisdictional controversies which arise between organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor, chaos, confusion and rebellion would follow. Jurisdictional controversies must be settled through mediation conferences and decisions within the family of organized labor. That is fundamental to the success of our great voluntary movement."

The officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor have always recognized the authority of tribunals set up within the structure of the American Federation of Labor to compose differences and to settle such differences within the family of labor. We cannot successfully follow any other line of procedure. If the stamp of approval were placed upon resort to equity courts and to the use of the writ of injunction in the settlement of jurisdictional controversies which arise between organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor, chaos, confusion and rebellion would follow. Jurisdictional controversies must be settled through mediation, conference and decisions within the family of organized labor. That is fundamental to the success of our great voluntary movement. We have fought against the use of injunctions in labor disputes between employers and employees during all the years of our existence. Our bitter opposition to the use of the writ of injunction in labor disputes inspired conventions of the American Federation of Labor to demand the enactment of legislation which would prohibit employers from resorting to the use of injunctions and injunctive processes in labor disputes. Our effort in this direction met with a large measure of success when we succeeded in prevailing upon Congress to pass the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

If we can not tolerate and approve the use of injunctions by employers in labor disputes, how can we consistently endorse and approve resort to the same line of procedure by organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor? If, as we contend, a resort to the equity courts and the use of the writ of injunction by employers is wrong, it must be increasingly wrong for the same procedure to be followed by an In-

ternational Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

In the light of these developments it would seem that we should have included in the Norris-LaGuardia Act a section that not only prohibited employers from resorting to the use of the writ of injunction in labor disputes, but we ought to have written into that statute that labor organizations are prohibited as well.

I know how the Brewery Workers feel. They feel the matter keenly, but we cannot substitute feeling for judgment. Orderly procedure should be followed, and we ought to follow out the decisions of conventions at any cost.

I do not know what will develop out of this, but I say to you, if this decision of this lower court is the law of the land, if it is accepted as the law of the land, then the American Federation of Labor is through so far as settling jurisdictional disputes between organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is concerned. And what would apply to us will apply to fraternal organizations and other organizations, because an aggrieved party losing in the tribunal of his own organization, within his own family, may then resort to the use of the writ of injunction.

I do not know how you may feel, but I will say to you fellow workers that I would rather allow a sister organization to exercise jurisdiction over a group of workers after the American Federation of Labor said that jurisdiction belonged to them, rather than to resort to the writ of injunction in order to restrain my union.

I do not know whether my good friends, the Brewery Workers, fully appreciate the seriousness of their action. Reference has been made to a contract, when a charter is issued to an International Union by the American Federation of Labor, and it has been said that an agreement has been entered into. The charter is accepted with a definite understanding, and that is, that the autonomous rights of that union will be protected and that the American Federation of Labor pledges its power and authority to protect those autonomous rights.

But the agreement is not one-sided, it is a reciprocal agreement. It provides that those to whom the charter is issued also as-

sume obligations and responsibilities. They pledge themselves to abide by the laws, the rules, the principles and the decisions of the Federation of Labor.

In closing may I refer to the fact that both sides submitted their case. It was not decided upon ex-parte evidence. The evidence in favor of the contention of the Teamsters was considered, and the evidence of the Brewery Workers in opposition thereto, was considered by the delegates. Wasn't it fair to assume, when both sides presented the case, that by implication at least they agreed to abide by the decision? Now after six years we find them in court, not in a civil suit, but, instead, asking for an injunction restraining this American Federation of Labor itself from functioning normally as we have functioned for sixty years.

We have had these jurisdictional disputes before us many times. We decided in the case of the Amalgamated Woodworkers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and that decision was applied. We have rendered decisions repeatedly. We are rendering them every day almost, and the membership of the American Federation of Labor acquiesces and accepts these decisions and applies them. In fact, they have been taught to believe that this is the last court of resort, and the mail constantly brings to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor appeals to the Federation to render decisions in disputes which arise. Is that to be ended? Is that to be denied? Are we to stop? And if we stop, where do we function and what functions can we perform? We are helpless, nullified in all our work and in all our efforts. I cannot believe that, regardless of what the circumstances may be, or what may have taken place, the great constituency, the sovereign body of the American Federation of Labor will submit to such a condition as that.

Now in conclusion may I point out to the delegates that this report of the committee in no way passes upon the merits of the controversy. It does not deal with a single phase of the controversy, or of any merit in the controversy. Please remember that the committee recommends reference. It is a report to refer, and with the instruction that the Executive Council appoint a committee, use every effort at its command to compose

the differences, and then exercise its opinion and good judgment as to what course it shall pursue. Could wisdom be more personified than that?

The Executive Council recommended that this convention suspend the Brewery Workers from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. That was direct, concrete and definite, and I want to say to the Brewery Workers and to the delegates to this convention that in my judgment no such recommendation would be included in the Council's Report if you had not resorted to the court for an injunction against the American Federation of Labor.

Now, this convention does not comply fully and immediately with the recommendation of the Council. It still says tolerance, patience, forbearance, all to be exercised, all these splendid characteristics—be patient with the Brewery Workers and be patient with all concerned. We commission you, we instruct you, to find a way, a basis of accommodation. We command you to bring about a settlement through negotiations and conference if that is possible.

I submit to you, delegates, the wisdom and soundness of this recommendation. Could you conceive of a better plan, a better way, in the face of the difficulties we are encountering? It appears to me that all concerned ought to accept the committee's report, acquiesce in it. It ought to be adopted by a unanimous vote of this convention.

Delegate Paulsen, Electrical Workers: I move the previous question.

President Green: Delegate Hutcheson has the floor—the Acting Chairman of the committee.

Acting Chairman Hutcheson: Mr. Chairman and delegates, as Acting Chairman of the Committee I deem it my duty to give you a short resume of what prompted the committee to present this report as worded to this convention. Before proceeding, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Delegate Obergfell if the accusations made in the telegram read by Delegate Tobin are correct.

Delegate Obergfell: It is not.

Acting Chairman Hutcheson: You did not notify anyone in Washington or elsewhere that you were refused permission to appeal before our committee?

Delegate Obergfell: I did not. I want to

qualify that, though, Mr. Chairman, if you will permit me. I did talk to Attorney O'Donoghue, and I did not say what that telegram said. I said this, that we were not given the opportunity for rebuttal argument, and that's the truth. There has never been a case in all my experience in the labor movement in any committee where the one side started off in its argument that it was not given an opportunity afterwards for rebuttal argument, and I said so to the committee.

Acting Chairman Hutcheson: Mr. Chairman, the statements of the delegate more than justify the report of the committee, and before going into an analysis of the various paragraphs of the committee's report, or at least a few of the paragraphs, I would like to cite for the benefit of the delegates here what occurred when the committee was having its hearings.

The representatives of the Brewery Workers and the representatives of the Teamsters appeared before the committee. Previous to their appearance the committee had had a short executive session in which it was agreed among the members of the committee that there would be no one permitted at the hearing either as a legal advisor for either party or as a stenographer to take down what might be said. Reaching that conclusion, the committee permitted the representatives of the two organizations to appear.

Inasmuch as the appearance of the Brewery Workers was in opposition to the subject matter being considered by the committee, your Chairman ruled that they were to enter their objections or state their objections first. They did so. All three of the representatives of the Brewery Workers were permitted to address that committee, and address it without interruption and without any limitation on what they might say, or the length of time they might want to talk.

After hearing the representatives of the Brewery Workers, then the Chair called upon the representatives of the Teamsters, who were given the same permission as were the Brewery Workers. Following the conclusion of the statements of the representatives of the Teamsters, Delegate Obergfell then again took the floor, and as Acting Chairman I permitted him to start to talk again, when the question was raised as to what length of time the committee would spend listening to

arguments pro and con. The question then was submitted to the committee whether we should permit the delegates of the Brewery Workers to talk further, which of course would have necessitated permitting the Teamsters to do likewise, or whether the committee had heard sufficient statements so that they could reach a conclusion in reference to what their report might be, and by a show of hands of the committee the majority was opposed to hearing any further statements. Now if that is preventing the Brewery Workers' delegates or anyone else that appeared before the committee from presenting evidence, then I must be a Dutchman and don't know anything.

So much for that statement, Mr. Chairman. Now in reference to the statement of the committee, wherein we said: "The recommendation of your committee in this matter will, in the judgment of the committee, be far more lenient and considerate than the facts in the case warrant."

The conclusion of the committee, insofar as that statement was concerned, was to the effect that, inasmuch as the Brewery Workers had seen fit to go into court, not only getting a restraining order against the Teamsters but getting a restraining order against the officers of the American Federation of Labor, that we were very lenient in the manner in which we brought in this report. I might say for myself if I were to have had my way I would not have listened to the Brewery Workers for one moment until they withdrew that injunction against the American Federation of Labor. If I had had my way I would not have permitted them to come before this convention and say one blasted word until they had withdrawn that injunction against this Federation of Labor.

Time after time in my experience as President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America we have had restraining orders applied for and obtained. The time came, however, when the controversy would reach the point where a settlement would be asked for, and in every instance in such case the first thing we insist upon is that the restraining order must be dismissed before we would even discuss a settlement with them. That, in my opinion, should have applied in this case.

Now, let us just briefly review the recom-

mendations of your committee. First, that the President of the Federation appoint a committee. Your committee did not recommend the number, leaving that to the good judgment of the President. Our reasons for reaching that conclusion were due to the fact, as just related, of the manner in which the two contesting parties endeavored to present their evidence to our committee. We readily saw that it would take more time than we could apply to the situation to listen to the merits of the case. Therefore, we believe that it might be possible, if a committee was appointed and arrangements made for hearings, or by whatever method they desire to pursue, that some arrangement or understanding might be reached between the two organizations. Therefore, we recommend that the committee be appointed.

The period of time has been mentioned here. The next recommendation of the committee is that if this report is accepted the committee be appointed and function within thirty days to the extent of arranging the manner in which evidence will be presented to that committee. That thirty days does not mean that the committee would have to reach a conclusion, or perhaps not even reach the point where they would start their hearings.

Then the committee further recommends that if the special committee be appointed they report to the first meeting of the Executive Council to be held in 1940. Everyone knows that as a rule the first meeting of your Executive Council is held some time in January. That would mean, practically speaking, approximately a ninety-day period, and surely if it is possible to bring these two contesting organizations together through the activities and the work of a special committee, it should be done within ninety days, or between now and the time the Executive Council will hold its next meeting after the adjournment of this convention.

You will note that there is no place in this committee's report where it uses the word "suspension." No reference is made to it. It states that the special committee shall report to the Executive Council, and the Executive Council take such action as in their opinion will conform to the recommendations made by the Council to this convention.

Delegate Obergfell himself asked me prior to these hearings to endeavor to get this committee to refer this matter back to the

Executive Council. That's right, isn't it, Brother Obergfell?

Delegate Obergfell: Not entirely, Brother Hutcheson.

Acting Chairman Hutcheson: In what respect is it not?

Delegate Obergfell: I was asked to have a conference with you.

Acting Chairman Hutcheson: Didn't you ask me to work to the end that the Committee on Executive Council's Report would refer this subject matter back to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor?

Delegate Obergfell: I said we would be satisfied . . .

Acting Chairman Hutcheson: (Interposing) Didn't you ask me to do that?

Delegate Obergfell: After you asked me . . .

Acting Chairman Hutcheson: (Interposing) I would like to have you answer "yes" or "no".

Delegate Obergfell: Well, I am not coming before a court.

Acting Chairman Hutcheson: Well, you have been before a court. You ought to know how to answer a question, and a man with your experience in court ought to know that you are supposed to answer a question "yes" or "no". I would like to have you answer in that manner.

Delegate Obergfell: I should like to have the right to qualify what I said, that I told you we would be most agreeable if the matter went back to the Executive Council or to a special committee, without any limitations about it.

Acting Chairman Hutcheson: Prior to that—let me correct you—you seem to have a darned poor memory. You yourself came to me and asked me to do just what I have related and I said, "No, I will not do that, but I will endeavor to get that committee to refer it to a special committee." That is clear.

Now, Mr. Chairman, as it has well been said here, this is a recommendation to refer, and surely if you ever expect to get this controversy settled, you have got to start about it in some manner that will bring some results, and in my opinion that method is not the method of going to the civil courts.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman and delegates, I trust that the delegates here—not because

I happen to be connected with this committee or this report, but because I believe it the proper method to pursue at this time—will approve of the committee's report.

Thank you!

A number of delegates called for the question.

President Green: I do not want it to be said that anyone was denied the fullest and most complete opportunity to make a statement to the delegates in attendance at this convention. The Chair recognizes President Obergfell again to make your statement.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I just want to say that if you are going over this case for the second time we shall ask for the privilege of being further heard.

President Green: I appreciate that, but I want to go beyond even the limits of parliamentary requirements in order that the matter may be presented.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers: Mr. Chairman, I am not going to detain this convention any longer. I deplore the fact that this most important question involving one of the oldest International Labor organizations in this country should have been dragged out into a night session.

I want to ask President Green one question, since you have bemoaned the fact that we have gone into a court of equity to have the validity of our contract sustained. Isn't it a fact, President Green, that you, as President of the Federation of Labor, in the case of Green versus Gravatt, reported in 19 Federal Supplement 87, had entered for an injunction against the local federal labor union?

President Green: I have no recollection of any such case.

Delegate Obergfell: The records are here. Let me ask you this other question then I am through. Is it not a fact that the Building Trades Department of this Federation had entered suit for an injunction in the District Courts against the 12 building trades organizations at which President Green, Morrison and Executive Council members testified pleading for the issuance of the injunction against the 12 Building Trades Union and President Tobin of the Teamsters made the motion in the Building Trades Department that they seek an injunction against the 12 organizations. Were they condemned from pillar to post by the convention? No, not a syllable had been heard.

President Green: That action was disapproved.

Delegate Tobin: I would like to request that the report of the committee on this matter be reread.

Delegate Lynch, Secretary of the Committee, reread the report, as follows:

TEAMSTERS — BREWERY WORKERS

(Executive Council's Report

Pages 54 to 57)

Under this caption is set forth the recommendation of the Executive Council with regard to the long standing dispute existing between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers' of America and the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.

The Executive Council of the Federation has used every reasonable effort to bring about a reconciliation and amicable settlement through conferences between these two unions over a period of years.

While this jurisdictional question was before the Council the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America applied to a Court of Equity in the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia for an injunction to restrain the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers from attempting to carry out the decision rendered by the Executive Council, date of May 2, 1933, and approved by the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1933.

The Brewery Workers Union also requested from the Court an injunction to restrain the American Federation of Labor from carrying out the provisions of the Executive Council's recommendation which was approved by the convention in 1933.

Your committee is of the opinion that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the convention of the American Federation of Labor was acting well within its rights in recommending the jurisdiction of National and International Unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and in submission of its decision to a convention for final consideration and action.

Your committee deplores the action of the Brewery Workers Union in taking questions which properly should be considered and adjudicated within the family of labor to an outside agency.

The American Federation of Labor has for many years deplored and denounced the use of injunctions in labor disputes between employers and employees. The Federation has used its agency, its finances and its combined influence to curb the power of courts in issuing injunctions in industrial disputes. This has been the position of the Federation with regard to the use of injunctions by employers against the International Unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. This being so, your committee is of the opinion that it is far more reprehensible and deplorable for a union within the family of the Federation of Labor to employ this means in the settlement of its differences with another union within the family of the American Federation of Labor. It is even more deplorable that this injunction was sought in anticipation of, and not because of a decision on the part of the Council and a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Brewery Workers' Union was not seeking relief from any final or binding action on the part of the Council or of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The order of the Court carries the date, October 6th, 1939. This convention of the American Federation of Labor was not called into session until Monday, October 2nd, and no one could know in advance what the action of this convention would be with regard to any recommendation or decision rendered by the Executive Council.

It is a matter of common knowledge that conventions frequently disagree with recommendations made by the Council; therefore the relief being asked in the court of equity by the Brewery Workers' Union was, at best, based upon their own gratuitous and unsupported supposition that the action of the convention would be in accordance with their guess. Therefore, their procedure in this matter is doubly ignominious;

FIRST, Because it sought relief by a medium that has been denounced and condemned as an instrument in the adjudication of labor disputes.

SECOND: Because at the time application was made for relief no one could possibly have had definite knowledge as to what would or would not be the action of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in Cincinnati, beginning October 2, 1939.

The recommendation of your committee in this matter will, in the judgment of the committee, be far more lenient and considerate than the facts in the case warrant.

The history of the American Federation of Labor proves that its policy in these matters is judicious, patient and considerate in the extreme.

Your committee wishes to make its position clear that it believes it to be within the constitutional right of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to make recommendations with regard to jurisdiction to the convention of the Federation.

A committee of the convention has no opportunity to weigh and consider all of the merits involved in cases of disputes covering long periods of time.

The International Unions at dispute in this case appeared before the committee and were heard. It was clearly evident to the committee that full and proper consideration of the merits involved would extend to a period of time which the committee was unable to give under the rules of convention procedure.

In view of the circumstances surrounding this case, and the belief of the committee that every effort should be made to preserve peace within the family of labor, and without thought or intimation that the Council and the convention of the American Federation of Labor is without proper authority to finally decide all matters in dispute in the family of labor, your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a special committee of members of the American Federation of Labor to proceed in an effort to find a basis of accommodation, leading, if possible, to a satisfactory settlement of the dispute at issue.

Your committee further recommends that this special committee meet and organize to carry out the provisions of this recommendation within a period of thirty days.

Your committee further recommends that this special committee be empowered to establish reasonable methods of procedure; permitting presentation of evidence and reach its conclusion and report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its first meeting held in 1940.

Your committee further recommends that if an adjustment is not consummated by the

special committee that this convention authorize and direct the Executive Council to take such action as in their opinion will conform to the recommendations submitted by the Executive Council to this convention.

Delegate Tobin: Mr. Chairman, on account of the explanation that you made, I wanted to get some parts of that committee's report clearly in mind. First, I want to know if it is understood by this convention that, if this report is adopted and this committee is appointed and they fail to reach an agreement, is it the understanding of this convention or is it your interpretation of the report, Mr. Chairman, that the Executive Council is empowered by this convention, if they so see fit to so proceed, that they have standing power and are instructed by this convention, if no agreement is reached, and if in their judgment that is the procedure they wish to adopt it, if they are impowered to suspend the charter of the Brewery Workers! Is that your interpretation of the report?

President Green: Well, I should like the Chairman of the committee to interpret that, because the committee dealt with it.

Delegate Tobin: Better have this understood right here and now, for the information of the courts, and of the labor movement.

Acting Chairman Hutcheson of Committee: Mr. President and Delegates—I don't know why the presiding officer has asked me to render a decision here. However, Mr. Chairman, I will give my opinion, not a decision. It says very clearly:

"Your committee further recommends that, if an adjustment is not consummated by the Special Committee, this convention authorize and direct the Executive Council to take such action as in their opinion will conform to the recommendations submitted by the Executive Council to this convention."

Mr. Chairman, my opinion is that if this is adopted the Executive Council would have a perfect right, if in their opinion it was warranted and no agreement was reached, to suspend the charter of the Brewery Workers. It is not a legal opinion, understand, Mr. Chairman, only a layman's.

Delegate Tobin: That is one question answered clearly. I am going to ask another question. What position are we in, in complying with this decision in the appointment

of a committee to meet a like committee of the Executive Council and the Brewery Workers, what guarantee have we got of protection in the presentation of our evidence freely. What guarantee have we got that we will not be prosecuted for statements that we may be compelled to make on evidence that we may submit? If we have no guarantee, if we have no assurance, then we must refrain from expressing ourselves when the committees meet.

President Green: The Chair would answer that question by saying that we have no guarantee, so far as the judicial process may be concerned. I do not know what the court may do, nor can I tell what interpretation the court might place upon the action of officers and delegates in this convention, or upon such action as the Executive Council might take later on, or upon such action as anyone representing the Teamsters or the Brewery Workers may take in presenting facts and information to a Special Committee authorized by this report, or to the Executive Council itself.

Acting Chairman Hutcheson: Mr. Chairman, could I offer another opinion as a layman?

President Green: Yes.

Acting Chairman Hutcheson: I would suggest that if a Special Committee is created, and by some action of our courts they were not permitted to sit and take evidence of the Teamsters, that that committee and the Teamsters take a little trip over to Canada.

Delegate Tobin: That trip over to Canada does not protect us at all if we are to judge by the actions already of the Brewery Workers. There are two members of this Executive Council that have not been in this hall since this discussion started this evening, and they are nobody's fools, but they are afraid of court procedure.

Now, Brother Obergfell quibbled in his answer to Brother Hutcheson. He did not say that he did not telephone or transmit what transpired in the committee yesterday. That was a closed session. There was no stenographic report, but he telephoned or sent his opinion to O'Donoghue, who perhaps reported it to the court and Judge Goldborough. He also telephoned to O'Donoghue, if Rayburn, our attorney in this case is telling the truth, that I made a certain statement, which I deny making in that language.

Now, how are we going to present our case? We have millions of dollars in cash and property. We are in danger of having a lien placed on our property and on our accounts—at least that is the opinion of some of the members of this Council. How can we go into this committee meeting under those conditions and be free agents? We know the statements that we have made in committee hearings before and expressions made in conventions have been used as evidence against us.

I would like to have some guarantee as to whether or not we are going to be immune from prosecution by the Brewery Workers and their attorneys for statements we may have to make in the committee meeting—else the committee meeting is no good. We will go there and just remain silent. We cannot afford to jeopardize the properties and funds of our organization. That is the situation we are in.

Delegate Kugler, Brewery Workers: I want to make a statement in behalf of the Brewery Workers' International Union. We also have millions in property. That goes for No. 1.

Secondly, we pledged ourselves, when we enter the committee room, to discuss and submit our evidence in regard to what we think is right, and we are not going to appear in that session in a legal-minded fashion; we are going in in the spirit of the trade unionist. That is the guarantee that I can vouch for in behalf of my international organization.

We have been in conference before and we understood each other properly. Everything seems to travel in legal minds. I can say to you safely that we have not for years and years spent a dime in the employment of attorneys, and only through the matter of confusion and desperation, because we tried to present to you our loyalty; we wanted to remain with you, because we are grateful to this Federation. We want to remain within the court of the Federation.

I only say this as a last sentence. I respect the tribunal, but I want the tribunal to understand the facts in the case. I mentioned this afternoon that because of the limitations put upon us I believed there was not sufficient time to get all the facts in the case, so that we would be ready for January. There are fundamentals involved, and Janu-

ary, 1940, is not very far away, and surely we will not be able to settle a matter of this magnitude all in three months.

I would remind you at least of this: When January comes and you in your judgment and your wisdom find that it is not just exactly up to the minute, just try to be ordinarily fair and just, in the spirit of trade unionism.

So I do not take it for granted what the chairman of the committee said, that that means automatically the suspension of the Brewery Workers in January. If we are ready in January, well and good; we will seek an understanding. If we are not ready in January you will have to be a little more tolerant, too, but I am satisfied, I have enough confidence in my colleagues that they will also be tolerant in that respect and that we will get down to the business of an amicable adjustment before another year rolls around.

President Green: The question now recurs on the adoption of the committee's report.

(Several delegates asked for a roll call.)

President Green: First of all, let us vote. All in favor of the adoption of the committee's report, hold up your right hands. Those opposed, the same sign.

It is clearly evident there is not half a dozen votes cast against the committee's report—six votes.

Delegate Tobin: I sent word to you, Mr. Chairman, an hour ago that for the records of the court there should be a roll call vote on this all-important question.

President Green: There were only six votes cast against the adoption of the committee's report. Surely that is conclusive.

Delegate Tobin: All right, Mr. Chairman, I don't want to hold the delegates here, but I know the dangers in these things.

President Green: The Chair ruled that all the delegates in attendance at this convention voted for the resolution except six. Six votes only were cast against the adoption of the committee's report, and the report of the committee was adopted.

The convention will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

At 11:35 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, October 13th.

Tenth Day—Friday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio.

October 13, 1939.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

The Chair now recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Education, Brother Milliman.

INVOCATION

**Rev. Dennis Burns, President
St. Xavier University**

Oh God, Thou Who didst sanctify labor and the laboring man by becoming one Thyself, look down with favor upon these closing sessions of the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Grant us, though we may differ in opinion and secondary matters—which is really healthy to have in the way of a difference of opinion—grant that in spite of our differences of opinion we be united on those essentials and fundamentals which make, not only for the wealth of the working man, but of the whole community, those essentials of justice and charity towards all. Amen.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Morrison for an announcement.

Secretary Morrison: I have here a telegram or a cablegram from Cuba. I will read a translation of it:

Havana, October 11.

To the American Federation of Labor Annual Convention, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Confederation of Cuba Workers hopes convention will facilitate Workingmen Union of America, so extending more greater cooperation already given by you in the past to the workers of Latin America.

LAZARO PENA.
General Secretary.

President Green: The message will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

I notice our very dear friend, Brother Felix Knight, and his good wife, Mrs. Knight, have returned safely to America and to this convention of the American Federation of Labor. They are sitting here in the center of the hall, and I ask that they stand up so that the delegates may know that they are here. Later, at the appropriate time, I am going to call upon Vice-President Knight to speak to the delegates, to tell us something about his perilous experiences abroad.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Secretary Milliman submitted the following report:

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA

(Executive Council Report,
Page 216)

It is now twenty years since the convention of the American Federation of Labor gave its support to the general principle of adult education for wage earners. Two years later the Workers' Education Bureau of America was established as a clearing house of information and guidance in the conduct of adult workers' education. In the years since its establishment the Bureau has become more and more closely integrated with the activities of the labor movement until today it may be said to be an indivisible part of the educational activities of the American labor movement.

President Green has on more than one occasion referred to the Bureau as "the educational arm of the Federation." It has become one of the agencies through which the Federation carries forward its education activity for workers. As the Bureau embarks upon the nineteenth year of service to labor, your committee is prompted to express to the officers and members of the Bureau appreciation for its record of service and the notable accomplishments which have been wrought over the years.

The award of the Rutgers University Medal for distinguished public service in the field of Workers' Education, which was made to Spencer Miller, Jr., Director of the Bureau, in 1939 by Rutgers University in New Jersey, is an expression of esteem of the work of this Bureau and persons and groups both within and without the labor movement.

LABOR AND EDUCATION
(Executive Council's Report,
Page 211)

The interest of American labor in education has been a long and continuous one. Even before the first plans for a system of free public education had been formulated by such educational leaders as Horace Mann a hundred years ago, associations of workmen in Philadelphia, Boston and New York were making emphatic their demand for the right of the children of all the people to education at public expense. "Our government is republican; our education should be republican" said the workers of Philadelphia in one of their early manifestoes. Around this agitation on the part of labor for "an open ladder system of schools" there developed widespread community support. It reflected the close cooperative relationship between school and community. Since that day labor has faithfully supported every extension of educational opportunity for all the people. The record of their championship of free public schools has been one of the bright pages of labor's history. The story of that service to education deserves to be brought to the attention of the public, as well as to the membership of labor. It was the recognition of this fact that the Permanent Committee on Education invited the cooperation of the Workers Education Bureau in preparing a record of American labor to Education.

A pamphlet entitled "Labor and Education," of some 77 pages, has now been compiled and published by the American Federation of Labor; copies of this have been distributed to the delegates at the convention. It has been widely circulated among teachers' training institutions, schools, colleges and universities and public libraries. The report has been universally commended and has already had a pronounced effect upon public opinion.

Your committee desires to commend the Permanent Committee on their decision to publish such a pamphlet for the benefit of the labor movement and the community as a whole; it particularly congratulates the Workers' Education Bureau on the completion of another significant piece of labor research.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LOCAL EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY
(Executive Council's Report,
Page 211)

Home rule in education has been an American tradition. For many years labor has recognized the great importance of local initiative and local responsibility in the conduct of our education system. It is in the local community that labor must make its voice felt on matters of school policy and administration. If it is to do that, labor must come into close contact with the local school authorities. For labor cannot expect other groups in the community to represent its interests; it should not surrender to others the educational experience of such representation and collaboration. From the local union through the Central Bodies to the State Federations, labor can express its will on educational policy; it is through these units that the Federation policy in turn is channeled to the movement. But on the other hand labor's educational policy must be applied to specific situations. It can be best applied if labor is adequately represented in educational bodies.

Your committee would therefore recommend to this convention what it has previously commended to other conventions; namely, that labor should seek actively to secure representation on local Boards of Education and on the boards of public libraries.

Your committee would further recommend that Central Bodies set up an active Committee on Education, where they do not now exist, to collaborate in evolving sound educational policies and to cooperate with various committees on vocational education.

Delegate Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers: Mr. Chairman, I want to say just a word in appreciation of the splendid piece of work which has been done by the Workers' Education Bureau in behalf of public education. It is perhaps not generally known that from coast to coast in our teachers' training institutions very little attention has been paid to the history of labor and edu-

cation. The distribution of those pamphlets, which have been prepared by the Workers' Education Bureau, is going to do much to place in our schools and in the curricula of our teachers' training institutions something of the history of labor and education.

In that part of the report which has just been given emphasis is placed upon the necessity of having active education committees in all bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I would like to emphasize that particular part of the report.

We have had a great deal of discussion in this convention regarding vocational education. There are a few points on that subject which need to be cleared up, and they will be in conferences in the future; but I want to say this: That vocational education today is going beyond the bounds of the Smith-Hughes law and is becoming involved in the CCC, and NYA, and other organizations. It is vastly important that every central labor body has an active labor committee to study these things that have come out of the emergency and see to it that an emergency does not become the means of lowering the standards in the field of scholastic education. We want to be sure that in this field of education the opportunity has not come to use the funds for vocational training for a type of instruction that does not teach real workmanship.

Just recently one of the outstanding educators of the nation said to me that the American Federation of Labor, during the past year, has had a wider influence upon education than any other organization in America, and all of us who are represented by the trade union among the teachers are very appreciative of that fact.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

YOUTH

Executive Council's Report, Pages 212, 214)

The youth problem in every civilized State has today become a matter of real concern. In the totalitarian States the regimentation of youth has been the basis by which dictators has sought to perpetuate themselves. In

many of the democratic countries the plight of unemployed youth has become a threat to the stability of the social order. In recognition of the reality of the special problems with which youth are confronted today, special commissions have been set up and exhaustive researches made in this and other countries. In previous reports to this Federation of Labor, the notable research studies of the American Youth Commission has been appraised. In the pages of the Executive Council's Report there has been set forth an extended discussion of the youth question which deserves the study of the delegates to this convention.

The Council's Report gives consideration to the trends in National Youth Administration. It is clear from what is here set forth that this is a matter which comes very definitely within the concern of labor and toward the solution of which labor can make a significant contribution. For labor speaks out of decades of concern for child life; it has stood valiantly as the champion of the abolition of child labor. It has urged the extension of educational opportunities in order to meet some of those requirements. It has also urged the expansion of recreational opportunities for all. It has taken those methods calculated to meet youth needs at the point where they can best be met.

Out of labor's experience there has come some clearest conclusions. In the first place, while unemployment among youth is an increasingly serious problem, it is impossible to resolve this problem apart from the total problem. Youth are a part of the body politic; they are an indivisible part of every nation. When unemployment abounds, youth are among many other sufferers; when jobs are plentiful, youth will find work.

In the second place, labor realizes the wisdom of extending secondary educational opportunities to our youth to meet the need of unemployed youth in many of our communities. While raising the school age level is not a permanent solution for the question of youth unemployment, it does place upon the educational authorities a responsibility which they are better equipped to meet than any other agency in the community.

The decision of the National Youth Ad-

ministration to develop a Juvenile Employment Division in the Labor Employment Office, to assist in the placement of young people in their labor market, should materially help in finding work for youth.

Your committee notes the concern of the Permanent Committee on Education for the activity of the National Youth Administration in connection with vocational training. The difficulty that has arisen in the National Youth Administration is due to the confusion in the minds of this agency as to whether their function is to perform vocational training or work experience of a pre-vocational character. It is the considered judgment of your committee that vocational training of our youth should be done through existing educational agencies adopted to meet this need. On the other hand, in the matter of work experience of a distinctly pre-vocational character, your committee agrees with the present policy of the National Youth Administration.

But what has become clear is the need for a revision of our high school curriculum to meet the changing needs of industry as well as the expanding needs of youth. As the secondary school becomes a common school for all of our youth, it is clear that we must have more in the way of pre-professional training and pre-vocational education for our youth.

Your committee cannot do better than to make its own the closing paragraph of this significant section on youth from the Council's Report: "Every age has a responsibility for the young. The American Federation of Labor shares in that responsibility which includes provisions for material well-being and opportunity for physical, intellectual and spiritual development. We as an organization can be responsible only for assuring opportunities and the right to benefit by them, but the development of personality and spiritual capacity in our young lies outside the reach of our organization and devolves upon the home, the church and those teachers whose own personalities give them power to help the young grow in insight and wisdom. In order to conserve influences that are necessary to discipline and ideals in living, the American Federation of Labor declares for freedom of religion and religious training as the most fundamental contribu-

tion we can make to the children of the future."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WORLD CONGRESS AND EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY (Executive Council's Report Page 216)

A year ago the Committee on Education, in anticipation of the opening of two World Fairs in New York and San Francisco, respectively, pointed out the unique opportunity which these fairs provided for the holding of an International Conference of Technical Education. The committee recommended that the United States Office of Education be invited to use its good offices in setting up such a conference and recommended that a representative National Committee be appointed to sponsor such a conference, in which the American Federation of Labor should be properly represented. This proposal was discussed with the United States Office of Education, with the Director of the National Occupational Conference, The American Youth Commission, the Dean of Teachers' College at Columbia University, and with several other national associations on education. It awakened great interest. It was hoped that this conference might be held during the summer of 1939 in New York.

In the meantime, events in the world moved with great rapidity. It became clear that a prior need was the rallying of the forces in education that were devoted to the perpetuation of the democratic way of life. Accordingly Teachers' College at Columbia University assumed the initiative in calling such a World Congress on Education for Democracy, and invited the collaboration of leading institutions of business, labor and farmers. The Federation of Labor was invited to membership in this Congress. The Workers Education Bureau was also invited to confer on planning the program for the Congress. When this Congress was convened in August of this year, it was evident to everyone that the challenge of dictatorship to democracy had become acute. With war clouds gathering over Europe, the Congress met in the City of New York. It was a time of deepen-

ing crisis in the world. The need for a world-wide message in support of democracy was urgent. The Congress met that need.

Moreover, this great assembly brought leaders of state and education from different parts of the world and representatives from no less than 28 different national organizations in American life. By addresses, which were broadcast through the world, through the press, and in the movies, the message of this Congress reached literally to the four corners of the earth.

Arising out of this Congress was the decision for a three-fold program. (1) A continuing agency for the perpetuation of the Congress for a period of five years; (2) the development of a manual for the guidance of local groups, and (3) the development of basic research in the field of education and democracy.

Responsive to the invitation of President Green, Dean William F. Russell of Teachers' College at Columbia University addressed the Fifty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor and reported briefly on the work of this Congress. He invited the continued cooperation on the part of the American Federation of Labor.

In the light of a great need for unity within the life of America at this time, and also the insistent need for perpetuating the democratic way of life, your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor, through the cooperation of the Permanent Committee on Education, be authorized to cooperate fully with the Congress in carrying out its broad social objectives.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR INSTITUTES

The labor institute, which was devised and carried forward under the general direction of the Bureau, has become today one of the most useful and successful activities of this agency. The purpose of these institutes has been frequently stated: They are short intensive training courses for leaders or members of labor for the consideration of such subjects as are of special interest to them. The institute has provided, moreover, a unique opportunity for labor to draw upon

the resources of our universities to aid labor in understanding current problems.

The pioneering activities of Rutgers Labor Institute has been commended again and again. It continues to merit our approval for the leadership which it has exercised, the service it has performed. It has set the standard for other such projects throughout the country. The institute on the campus of the University of Michigan likewise enjoys a record of distinctive service to the labor movement. Similarly institutes at the University of Indiana, University of Wisconsin, the University of Chicago, the University of California and in many other parts of the country, testify not only to the validity of the method, but also the willingness of the universities of America to cooperate with labor in this work.

Your committee commends to the consideration of labor throughout the country the educational opportunities which are theirs through the establishment of such institutes. In particular it would urge that State Federations of Labor cooperate in the extension of this agency to their own States.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor: I rise at this time, not because of my desire to make a speech, but because I was requested by Spencer Miller to make a few brief statements or remarks to you regarding our educational program as conducted by the Indiana State Federation of Labor. We have attempted to operate in the State of Indiana in accordance with the methods of the Education Bureau and the American Federation of Labor in every instance. In the vocational educational program and in attempting to encourage the local school boards to favor the organization of the teachers in the State of Indiana, while we have made much progress, we have not made the progress which we believe is necessary before the educational program will be the success that it should be. The teachers must be organized and must consequently become trade unionists before they themselves will be capable of instructing the labor movement.

Spencer Miller particularly wanted me to mention our educational institute, which was

held in conjunction with Indiana University last June. I think our institute differs from the institute in New Jersey, Massachusetts, and other States. We direct this labor movement ourselves through the Indiana State Federation of Labor and its labor committee, which are responsible for the success of this institute and not the university, although we did have the cooperation of the university. We further decided that this institute would be labor's institute and that the subjects presented would be presented by representatives of labor.

I want to hurry this, because I realize that every one here wants to go home, but I want to mention the things considered in that institute. They were collective bargaining, history of the labor movement, labor relations and labor legislation and other matters were presented to the gathering at which there were more than 100 local committees and officials from all over the State. These matters were considered by the business agents and officials of the local labor unions in connection with the professors from the university. We were told by those who visited the institute that the subjects were presented better than the professors had presented similar subjects to any gathering. We were enthused about the fine representation and the fine attendance. We felt that something must be done to stimulate interest on the part of our people in the educational program. We felt that enthusiasm must be aroused. We must bring education to the workers.

While we have cooperated in every instance with the entire program which has been covered by the report, we feel we should be particularly interested in giving attention to leadership and extended knowledge to our people within the ranks of labor, and to this end our institute carries on, and we expect to continue in regional conferences and local conferences, and we hope to tell you next year of the progress we have made in the State of Indiana in the matter of workers' education.

Delegate Reid, Michigan State Federation of Labor: The Michigan State Federation of Labor also had an institute. Under the Smith-Hughes Act about \$22,000,000 every year is spent on vocational and adult edu-

cation. The labor movement that sponsored those Acts gets very little benefit from those funds. The fund can be used not only by State Federations of Labor, but by city central bodies and international unions, to promote workers' education for the members of our organizations.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

Samuel Gompers shortly before his death prophesied with unerring accuracy that "whatever progress the American labor movement makes in the future will rest on an educational basis." Subsequent events have abundantly supported his prophecy. An educational basis has been provided for the labor movement; progress has been made, but no one who looks candidly at our movement could be completely satisfied with the progress that we have made. We must make even more ample provision for our educational activity if we are to hope for greater progress in our movement for the future. We can expect no more out of our activities than we put into them. The need for an expansion and diversification of our educational activities is evident.

The opportunities for educational service are without end. But if we are to embrace those opportunities, if we are to expand the base of our educational activities, we have got to make more ample provision for the financial support of this work.

When the Bureau was created in 1921 it was part of the vision of its founders that this type of education service for labor would be supported by labor. Toward that object the Bureau has worked constantly for years. The El Paso Convention adopted a plan for the voluntary support of the Bureau on a per capita basis. The Federation itself makes an annual contribution in support of the Bureau. With this aid the Bureau has made substantial progress. However, that goal of the founders has not yet been reached. It is evident that the extent of the service of the Bureau to the trade unions bears a direct relation to the amount of support which

it receives from trade unions. At a time when the need for the education of labor has become more urgent than ever before it is imperative that even greater efforts should be made for increasing the financial support of the Bureau.

Your committee therefore recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor send a letter to National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies, not yet affiliated, urging their affiliation with the Workers' Education Bureau of America, so that its service can be expanded to meet the needs of our forward-looking labor movement.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

President Green: The Chair wishes to take this opportunity to urge upon the delegates in attendance at this convention to give the Workers' Education Bureau their full and complete support and to call upon those they represent to respond in like manner. I know that there is a growing appreciation in our movement of the service rendered by the Workers' Education Bureau. We are constantly learning the value of education, and particularly so during these days when we are adding thousands of new members to the American Federation of Labor. These new members, most of them, are like the pupils who begin to learn their first lesson in the public school. They begin in the primary grades, and so these untried, inexperienced workers coming into our organized labor movement are like pupils in the primary grades. Education clothes them with a new power, a new consciousness of the value of organized labor. Education is the means through which we can develop to a maximum capacity the economic power of organized labor.

The Education Bureau is rendering an excellent service, doing fine work, limited as it is with its financial income. It can do more and it will do more; it will expand and grow if the membership of our great movement will make proper financial contribution. So I ask you, when you go back to your constituency, to impress upon them the report of this committee calling upon them to provide the amount of money the report asks for. The American Federation of Labor is making its

contribution. We are making a substantial contribution each year to the work of the Bureau. You can supplement that by making your small contributions from national and international unions, from central bodies, which can make a contribution to the payment of a nominal initiation fee. Local unions and all making a small contribution can assist in the work of the Bureau.

Delegate Birthright, Barbers: Mr. Chairman, in support of the committee's report, I want to say that our International Union has been interested in the work of the Education Bureau for several years. The work of that Bureau has been of tremendous benefit to our members. With the cooperation of Mr. Spencer Miller, this program has been of benefit to our members. I feel that the International Union's contribution to this Bureau has been bought and paid for many times.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

President Green: Secretary Milliman of the committee has been called away, and Brother Kuenzli, a member of the committee, will continue the report.

The following sections, Regional Conferences, State Federations and Workers' Education, Local and Workers' Education, Radio Program, Research, Publications, and Address of Director Spencer Miller, Jr., were read by the committee:

REGIONAL CONFERENCES (Executive Council's Report, Page 217)

The growing disposition on the part of many of the State Federations of Labor to carry on an education program among their members in connection with their legislative program illustrates the manner in which the regional meeting can best serve the broad ends of education; it brings the State problem directly to regional and local groups. It is a method that can be profitably extended, especially in the larger industrial States with diversified industrial groups.

Your committee would commend particularly the program as it has been developed by

such States as Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey in connection with their legislative program and urges that this method be more widely utilized throughout the country. While it is impossible to lay down a uniform rule of procedure for education, nevertheless it is profitable at times to take a leaf out of the book of experience of one State Federation and adopt it, if possible, to the work of other States

**State Federations and Workers'
Education
(Executive Council's Report,
Page 217)**

The practice of holding institutes in connection with the regular conventions of the State Federations of Labor as inaugurated by the Bureau tends to make the meetings of the State Federation purposeful and educational.

Your committee recommends that all State Federations of Labor be urged to set aside a day or half day, preferably before a convention, for the consideration of educational or economic matters of interest to labor. While such institutes are not legislative bodies, the deliberations of such conferences should enable labor to make more discriminating judgments on issues as they are presented.

**LOCAL UNIONS AND WORKERS'
EDUCATION
(Executive Council's Report,
Page 217)**

During the year there have been many heartening indications of the growth of interest and activities of the various unions in the promotion of educational programs. Some of these have been conducted by the International Unions in the form of conferences or institutes; in other cases, local unions have shown a notable measure of enterprise in the development of their educational work. The Executive Council's Report refers to one of these countless endeavors in the work of Local No. 3 of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in the City of New York. The effective manner in which this local has gone about its tasks and the re-

sponse it has received from the membership is most encouraging.

But as there have been heartening indications of educational activity during the year, the need for such work has also been made evident by the events of the last twelve months. For into the Federation have come hundreds of thousands of new workers in the year that has past. Many of these new recruits know little of labor's policies and less of labor's long history. To train these new recruits, to transform them from new members into new missionaries for labor's cause, is our task. It is an educational responsibility of far-reaching importance. It is a task which can and should be undertaken by all our local unions who have thus added to their members.

Your committee would commend the educational work of the various unions affiliated with the Federation of Labor. In particular it would call to the attention of the local unions the opportunity which is theirs to initiate such programs. It would emphasize the duty of the locals to aid in the education of their new members.

The local union can become in fact the basic unit of an effective program of Workers' Education.

**RADIO PROGRAM
(Executive Council's Report,
Page 217)**

A year ago the report was made to the convention about the launching of a new series of radio programs in connection with the Columbia Broadcasting Company, entitled "Americans at Work." That program now is in its seventeenth month. It has maintained an unusually high level of educational value. It was adjudged by the jury of awards honorable mention for its educational character; it being continued for a second year with the cordial cooperation of the Columbia Broadcasting System. It is increasing the range of its audience.

Your committee commends the Bureau for its activities in connection with this radio education program and recommends that this convention express to the Columbia Broadcasting System its appreciation for their continued cooperation.

Your committee expresses the hope that this radio educational program with which our Bureau has cooperated since its organization 17 months ago by the Columbia Broadcasting System will be continued with the fullest measure of cooperation by the Bureau.

RESEARCH

(Executive Council's Report, Page 218)

Among the varied activities, which have been carried forward by the Bureau is research. The need for research into methods and materials has been evident. The Bureau has been privileged to cooperate with several State Federations of Labor and international unions in carrying forward research activities.

Your committee commends the Bureau for its service in this field.

PUBLICATIONS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 218)

One of the first educational needs of workers which became clear to the Bureau after its establishment in 1921 was the preparation of special educational material. Accordingly books and pamphlets were issued, outlines were prepared and reprints made available to workers at prices within the reach of wage earners. This publication activity has been carried on without interruption through the years. At times these books have been published by the Workers' Education Bureau Press; at times through the regular publishing houses. In all, the Web Press has published nearly 90 different titles.

Your committee desires to repeat its commendation of the Bureau for its services and recommends these publications to the membership of the Federation.

ADDRESS OF DIRECTOR SPENCER MILLER, JR.

For sixteen years the Director of the Workers' Education Bureau has addressed the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor upon the invitation of the President. Each year these addresses have not only been most informative reports of the work of the

Bureau, but also have been characterized by a breadth of vision and an interpretation of educational ideals that have been of genuine significance.

VIOLATIONS OF TEACHER TENURE

The committee desires to call special attention to a serious problem presented by Delegate E. C. Valentine of the Jacksonville, Florida, Central Labor Council. Brother Valentine reports that forty public school teachers of Duval County, including all the officers of the local Teachers' Union, have been dismissed from their positions, without presentation of any charges whatever. It is reported that some of these teachers have served as long as thirty years in the public school system of Duval County and that the average length of service is ten years. It is also reported that the only reasons expressed unofficially for the mass dismissal of teachers are (1) that the teachers had been active in the work of the Teachers' Union, with a membership of more than 300, and (2) that this group had been active in attempting to establish a teachers' tenure law for Duval County. It should be emphasized, however, that no official reason whatever has been given by the Board of Education for refusal to renew the contracts of these forty teachers.

The Central Labor Council of Jacksonville has given wholehearted support in seeking reinstatement of the group, and President Green has sent a communication to all local labor bodies in the State urging their support on behalf of the group. The Board of Education, however, has steadfastly refused to open the case to present specific charges or grant hearings as provided in sound principles of tenure.

In a statement issued by the Board of Education to all teachers on September 28, 1939, teachers were warned of the consequences of affiliating with the Teachers' Union. We quote from the report:

"The administration, however, desires to make it clear that individual teachers who by their activities of any organization, must necessarily assume responsibility for the acts and activities of the organization to which they lend such support."

"Therefore, it becomes necessary that indi-

viduals must recognize the fact that the responsibility is placed upon those who by their approval or acquiescence create policies, and not upon those who actually carry out the policies of their organization.

"Individual teachers can ill afford to grant authority for themselves for acts which may be carried on by those outside of the system, but which may be, nevertheless, approved and endorsed by those within the system, and furthermore, which may be reasonably construed to be in violation of the terms of the teachers' contracts."

Since the regimentation of the labor movement and control of the public school system are two of the first steps in the destruction of democratic governments, and since mass dismissal of public school teachers, without specific charges, is an undemocratic procedure and not in the public interest, we recommend to the convention emphatic condemnation of such action and urge all labor bodies of Florida to rally to the support of these teachers who have been unfairly treated.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly declared its position in favor of sound tenure laws for teachers and freedom for teachers to affiliate with organized labor. The convention at Denver in 1937 declared:

"The American Federation of Labor was one of the pioneer agencies in this country in the establishment of free public instruction. It has ever jealously guarded the fundamental democratic development of our public school system since its inception. It must continue to do so, for it is not only true to say that the labor movement can progressively continue only under democratic institutions, but the democratic institutions can continue to progress in safety only so long as there is a labor movement."

"Your committee recommends that Education Committees and Labor everywhere watch carefully the conditions under which our public schools are administered. The American Federation of Labor has ever and will continue to support teachers and other employees of our public school system and higher institutions of learning in their demand for complete freedom of organization."

It was also reported to the committee by President James Graham of the Montana State Federation of Labor that several outstanding union teachers at the University of Montana have been dismissed in a highly autocratic manner and that the Montana State Federation of Labor is at the forefront in a battle to protect the State University from political domination and control by the enemies of organized labor.

The committee recommends that President Green and the Executive Council give all possible support to the American Federation of Teachers and to other labor bodies seeking reinstatement of teachers in such cases as are exemplified by these mass dismissals.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Kuenzli: This is the end of the report of the committee, and it is signed by:

GEORGE M. HARRISON, Chairman.
ELMER R. E. MILLIMAN, Secretary.
ARTHUR R. WALLACE.
THOMAS E. BURKE.
MAX ZARITSKY.
L. E. SWARTZ.
WILLIAM I. HORNER.
KENNETH I. TAYLOR.
A. REX RICCARDI.
W. M. REA.
JOHN J. DEMPSEY.
WM. L. McFETRIDGE.
CHARLES SUMNER.
JAMES A. CAMPBELL.
IRVIN KUENZLI.
LAWRENCE E. ERNEST.
HOMER MARTIN.
HARRY LUNDEBERG.
FRED W. ROSE.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON UNION LABEL

Vice-President Flore, Chairman of the committee: The committee selected Chauncey Weaver of the American Federation of Musicians as secretary, and he will read the report.

Secretary Weaver: Mr. Chairman and delegates—In behalf of the Union Label Committee, I have the honor to present a report, the subject matter of which we hope will appeal to your sensibilities as a method of congratulation and an evangel of peace. There is not one explosive element in it, although I had something to do with its preparation. In fact, you might as well expect to take a torpedo out of the unfolding petals of a morning glory or to hear a clap of thunder out of a summer hour of perfect calm as

to find any disturbing element in this contribution which we present for your mental meditation, ethical absorption and aromatic delectation.

To the officers and delegates of the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Cincinnati, Ohio:

As an incidental duty connected with the annual Labor Congress now in session, the functioning of your Committee on Union Labels has been positively unique.

Not one single resolution has been referred for its consideration. We refuse to regard this situation as an index of a declining interest, a cooling enthusiasm, or a waning cause. An examination of the official report of departmental activity will speedily dissipate all such surmisings.

The keynote of this document will, therefore, be one of congratulations to an administration whose untiring energies are being rewarded with the fine fruitage of a larger mead of tangible accomplishment with each passing year.

Every worthwhile movement is distinguished by a symbol of some kind or other.

The union label is the guiding star pointing the way out of the fog of industrial depression. It is the flag which leads the procession of toiling masses from the darksome and miasmatic valleys of low living standards into the highlands where opportunity opens, where larger degrees of comfort are available, and the enrichment of life which heart and mind and soul have a right to covet is within the reach of all.

The union label cause is distinguished by a triple insignia—the Label, the Shop Card and the Service Button. Each serve an individualistic purpose. All unite in unification of an ideal.

We have carefully examined the report of the Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department Thirty-second Annual Convention held in Cincinnati on the 28th and 29th days of last month.

We shall not undertake anything like a complete digest of its contents here. It is a document well calculated to challenge the earnest perusal of all who are interested in this special service line of a great cause. We will, however, make a few specific references:

Generous support from all departments of organized labor has been accorded.

Women's Auxiliaries have increased in number, and all have uniformly given unequalled support.

Fifty-four new charters have been issued to Union Labor Leagues during the past year.

Union Label weeks are rapidly becoming times of special recognition in cities and towns in all parts of the country.

The Union Label and Industrial Exhibition held in Music Hall, Cincinnati, in May, 1938, was crowned with signal success. No attempt at a repetition of the enterprise was scheduled for the current year on account of the two great World Fairs in progress on both the Atlantic and Pacific Coast; but it has been decided that the next undertaking along this line will be attempted in 1940 and in the city which shall be finally selected as the seat of the sixtieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The 1939 Union Label Catalogue Directory contains an up-to-date list of manufacturers of Union Label and Union made goods and is available to all interested.

The Union Label Trades Department regularly prepares news releases, editorials and cartoons which are issued to all labor weeklies, monthly labor journals, labor annuals and similar publications. These features are used by 90 per cent of the labor publications of the country. Liberal space is provided without expense to the department.

Radio, the wonder of the modern world, as a disseminator of information, is playing a more and more notable part in the diffusion of Union Label publicity, and coast-to-coast broadcasts on the networks of the National Broadcasting and the Columbia Broadcasting Systems are of frequent occurrence.

The Congress of the United States recently amended the patent laws to permit the federal registration of our Union Labels, Shop Cards and Buttons.

In the pictorial reproduction of the great New York Union Label Parade, flashed upon the screen for the edification of the assembled delegates, showing one hundred and twenty thousand men and women in the line of march, we beheld evidence of the progress of a great cause.

We congratulate the Union Label Department upon the substantial growth of the movement which is under its official direction; on the workings of a harmonious personnel, and upon the prospect of early reaching a triumphant goal in the world of tomorrow.

Respectfully submitted,
 EDWARD FLORE, Chairman.
 CHAUNCEY A. WEAVER, Secretary.
 JOSEPH OBERGFELL.
 H. G. COZZENS.
 PETER BEISEL.
 ANTHONY MERLINO.
 M. S. MAXWELL.
 H. GOLDBERG.
 GEORGE C. SLATER.
 W. G. DESEPTE.
 MATTHEW BURNS.
 JAMES A. TAYLOR.
 WALTER C. MOELLER.
 E. L. WHEATLEY.
 JOHN ZITTELLO.
 MARY G. MORLEY.
 R. E. VAN HORN.
 CHARLES E. SINNEGAN.

Committee on Union Label.

Secretary Weaver: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Laderman, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers: May I say a few words about how we try to promote our label? Our label is the youngest label in the Federation. I believe. You see it on handbags, pocketbooks, brief cases and other articles. The manufacturers refuse to put the label on the cheap bags that are usually sold for one dollar. The bags that are sold for five dollars do not have it because they won't put it on. The same goes for trunks and for all the other articles we produce. I want to leave a word with the ladies, and for you men who buy pocketbooks for your ladies. They go into a store and usually what the saleslady will give them they will buy.

A great deal has been said about helping workers by buying label goods. I want to speak on the sanitary aspect. You find a man who is a jobber and he hands out work to small contractors. They work in their homes, in bedrooms and in basements, and six, seven or eight contractors make up the product of

one manufacturer. We must protect ourselves from these insanitary goods. The ladies should know that if they haven't a label the goods might be made in basements and bedrooms and under all sorts of insanitary conditions. Only if they have the label can you be sure they are sanitary and clean, and by insisting upon the union label you are assured that they were not made under insanitary conditions.

When we organize and give the manufacturers the label we are sure the article is made under sanitary conditions. A brief case is a small article and it can be made in basement shops and other insanitary places. The pocketbook industry is 50 per cent organized. The other 50 per cent is not organized, and the workers are in the small towns of New Jersey, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. They probably sell the bags for 10 cents less than the bags under sanitary conditions. In those cases they get \$10.00 a week where they are not organized and that is being paid because of the Wages and Hours Law. Before that Act was enacted they were paid less. We pay a minimum of 17.00 a week. We must have the label on all trunks, brief cases, pocketbooks and belts. We ask you to help us. Remember, you can get the label if you ask for it. We furnish it to all the manufacturers, and they can put it on if they wish.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Delegate McSorley, Chairman of the Committee: Your Committee on Building Trades Department has had referred to it three subject matters dealing with housing upon which the committee wishes to report. Secretary Masterton will make the report.

Secretary Masterton submitted the following report:

Federal Housing Administration

Under this caption on Pages 121 and 122 of the report of the Executive Council is included two subjects. One, a proposed amendment of the National Housing Act to prevent Federal Mortgage Insurance on substandard

housing, and a proposed amendment which would require the payment of prevailing wages on all projects on which the mortgage is insured by the Federal Housing Administration.

ONE: Your committee commends the Officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Building and Construction Trades Department upon their effort to secure legislation designed to prohibit use of Federal Funds in the financing and erection of sub-standard homes. It is our opinion that the Federal Housing Administration was designed to encourage home building by private enterprise and through this channel to provide homes in keeping with American standards of Safety, Health and Comfort, rather than to encourage the erection of shacks which will in a short time create additional slum areas.

TWO: We also commend the Officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Building and Construction Trades Department for the effective effort made to secure the enactment of a prevailing wage law to apply on all dwellings upon which the mortgage is insured by the Federal Housing Administration. Because of disagreement in the various committees in Congress even the passage of this modified bill covering all dwellings costing over \$16,000.00 was a real accomplishment and resulted in safeguarding established wage standards in many parts of the country.

We recommend that continued effort be made by these officers to secure further legislation covering these two important subjects.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LOW RENT HOUSING

Under this caption on pages 118 and 119 of the report of the Executive Council is a history of the effort made, in keeping with the action of the 1938 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to secure the passage of the United States Housing Act of 1939.

Your committee commends the action of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, together with its committee on housing consisting of Vice-President Bates, Vice-President Coefield and Brother Collieran, President

of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Association upon their efforts, in keeping with the action of the 1938 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to secure the extension and continuity of the Low Rent Housing and Slum Clearance program administered by the United States Housing Administration. Under the guidance of these officers, bills for this purpose were reported favorably to both houses of Congress, which because of adjournment, were not given final consideration. These bills will be acted upon by Congress early in 1940 at which time we are hopeful of securing their final passage.

To this end we recommend that the officers continue their effort to secure this much desired legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HOUSING CENSUS

Under this caption on pages 121 and 122 of the Report of the Executive Council is a history of the passage of Senate Bill 2240 introduced by Senator Wagner at the request of President Green. This bill makes possible the taking of a nation wide housing census in conjunction with the decennial census of population in 1940, and every five years thereafter.

Your committee commends the action of the officers of the American Federation of Labor in sponsoring this legislation and on the effort expended in securing its enactment into law. This action, we believe to be the first forward step toward securing the actual facts regarding housing conditions throughout the country, and in preparation for long range planning of housing designed to meet the needs of our people for homes in keeping with American standards of living and recommends the adoption of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

This completes the report of the Committee on Building Trades which is signed by:

JOHN P. COYNE, Chairman.
GEORGE MASTERTON, Secretary.
WM. J. MCSORLEY
JOSEPH V. MORESCHI

F. B. COMFORT
 BERT SWAIN
 JOHN H. LYONS
 JAMES J. RYAN
 JOHN J. MULLIGAN
 PAUL A. GIVENS
 JOHN OLIVER
 EDWARD HAYDE
 J. M. GAVLAK
 M. J. McDONOUGH
 JOHN J. CONWAY
 GEORGE WILSON
 JAMES L. McDEVITT
 D. E. NICKERSON
 C. A. FINK

Committee on Building Trades.

Secretary Masterton moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Vice-President Hutcheson, Chairman of the Committee: The committee on Executive Council's Report has one more report and that will complete our work.

Secretary Lynch will read the report.

Secretary Lynch read the following section of the report:

CONCLUSION (Executive Council's Report, Page 158)

Your committee wishes to commend the efforts and accomplishments of the Executive Council for the past year. Under their leadership the prestige and dignity of the American Federation has been protected and advanced.

The American Federation of Labor has important influence in the political, industrial and educational institution and activities of our nation, because its aims and policies meet with public approval.

It cannot be stated or reiterated too often that in a democracy the aims and objects of voluntary organization must have public approval and support in order to grow and

prosper. If tactics, contrary to public interests, are employed, the people in a democracy will soon control or abolish such tactics by statutory provisions.

The members of organizations in affiliation with the A. F. of L. look to the Executive Council for guidance and advice with regard to the many problems which intimately affect their lives. For this reason the Council must examine and evaluate the merits of many proposals during the period of a year. In this convention and in future conventions delegates, democratically selected, assemble to pass judgment upon the stewardship of those who make up the Executive Council of our Federation.

No group of federation officers has ever been confronted with so many, or so complex problems, than has your Council during the past five years. To date the Council has shown its ability to meet and deal with these problems. The acid test of leadership is its success or failure. Measured by this test the Council has met its responsibilities.

In spite of dual unionism, subtle sabotage and unwarranted criticism the record shows the splendid growth and expanding influence of the American Federation of Labor.

No one man or group of men can successfully discount this growth and progress. The A. F. of L. is today a part of the institutional structure of our nation.

Over a period of more than half a century it has voiced the hopes and aims of millions of workers. Its loyalty to the democratic way of life has never been successfully challenged or seriously questioned.

Upon the President of this Federation devolves the duty of explaining the work of the Council and these Conventions to the American people. We feel that this work should be especially commended. He has discharged this duty with dignity, statesmanship and unusual patience. It required no Gallup pole to prove the high esteem in which his services are held by the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

Present indications are that the A. F. of L. will grow in membership and importance in the years ahead. This growth will place new and additional responsibilities upon the Executive Council. The importance of decisions

by the Council will increase conversely with this growth in membership because such decisions and policies will affect larger number of people.

We commend the Council for its past accomplishments and look forward to a continuance of this same high standard of leadership.

Secretary Lynch: This completes the report of our committee, which is signed:

WM. L. HUTCHESON, Chairman
 GEORGE Q. LYNCH, Secretary.
 ROBERT BYRON
 F. A. FITZGERALD
 JOHN M. GILLESPIE
 HENRY F. SCHMAL
 CHARLES M. RAU
 FRANK COLEMAN
 IRVIN BARNEY
 HENRY OHL, JR.
 M. D. COX
 HARVEY W. BROWN
 GEORGE L. BERRY
 EDWARD MEMMORROW

Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Secretary Lynch: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Moreschi, Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers: On the question of adopting the committee's report as a whole, I wish to have the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers opposing the portion dealing with the granting of a charter to the Cement Workers.

President Green: That will be noted in the record.

The motion to adopt as a whole was unanimously passed.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 187)

The report of our Executive Council does not reflect progress in developing unem-

ployment compensation equally satisfactory with that of old-age insurance. We note that \$19,000,000 was appropriated for administering the law in 1938-39 but that the average weekly unemployment benefit was \$10.13. Such low benefits do not justify the administrative expenditure nor do they provide social security. Nor do state funds necessitate such low benefits. The standards written into state laws are too low. Substantial progress was not made in the past year in raising standards for the main legislative drive was toward administrative simplification. In addition the necessity for amending 49 different laws in order to affect betterment in dealing with the national problem of unemployment makes progress unnecessarily difficult. We recommend approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Social Security

Until benefits are payable under social security legislation it is hard to evaluate the measure. The report of the Executive Council informs us that the Federal Government appropriated \$714,700,000 for the fiscal year 1938-39 for purposes provided in the Social Security Act. The Executive Council also lists the following types of beneficiaries under the law: dependent aged, dependent children, the blind, those without jobs accustomed to be self-supporting, crippled children. As well as maternal and child health services and public health work. Obviously we have at least made a beginning to assuring some degree of security against emergencies. As the Executive Council points out, there is no provision for disability whether temporary or permanent except that afforded under state compensation laws for injury of an industrial origin.

An important administrative change follows from an amendment to the Federal Law adopted in the last session of Congress requiring that personnel receiving and spending federal funds must be on a civil service basis—chosen for merit, not for political reasons.

We recommend approval.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Old-Age Assistance

To assist in caring for needy aged per-

sons, the Social Security Board may make grants-in-aid to states whose laws have been approved by the Board on a 50-50 basis. Congress raised the maximum Federal contribution from \$15 to \$20 in its last session, raising the total within which it would match the state contribution up to \$40.

The Executive Council points out, however, that liberalizing the Federal contribution means no more security for the needy aged unless the state increases its payment. Only one state—California—has been paying an average pension of \$30 or more; payments in eight states average less than \$10 even with Federal aid; in one state the average amount paid was \$6.05. Although these small sums cannot be called social security, they reflect the economic capacity of the states concerned to meet the problem.

We therefore recommend approval of the position of the Executive Council in urging variable grants so that for those states with less wealth and lower per capita incomes the federal government shall pay a larger percentage of individual pension paid to needy aged.

We recommend hearty concurrence with the warning of the Executive Council against extravagant programs. Security must be provided out of national income. Promises that must be met by taxes must be in proportion to capacity to pay and in proportion to the full security program.

We further urge central labor unions and state federations of labor to consult the President of the American Federation of Labor before giving their endorsement to proposals for change.

We recommend approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Old-Age Insurance

The Executive Council reports important amendments improving this title of the Social Security Act. The date of monthly payments was stepped up from 1942 to January 1, 1940; the basis of calculating monthly benefits has been changed to average monthly wages earned which formula increases the benefits payable to persons becoming eligible in the immediate future; and provisions were made for the dependents, survivors of the

insured person; there is to be no increase in the tax rate; coverage has been increased.

For the self-supporting worker who becomes eligible to old age benefits, an additional amount is payable to his aged wife equal to one-half the husband's benefit, which increases to three-fourths in case of the husband's death. If an insured worker dies before he is 65 years of age, his widow and minor children in his family are eligible to benefits. We recommend hearty approval of the efforts of representatives of the American Federation of Labor in contributing to the enactment of these amendments and further recommend renewed efforts for extension of coverage to all agricultural workers covering farm laborers and employes in agricultural industries, domestic workers, all seamen and those employed in the fishing industry.

We recommend that the A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security include in its duties aid to unions in helping workers keep wage data and such records as will constitute evidence of benefits to which they are eligible.

We recommend further that the A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security study the possibility of extending coverage to self-employed persons.

We recommend that the A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security explore the possibility of a Federal unemployment compensation law. There should be uniform provisions for unemployed workers just as we have uniformity in provisions for those disabled for work by old age. The question of constitutionality which decided against a Federal system when the Social Security Act was formulated has been answered affirmatively by the Supreme Court. The organization of industry and the problem of unemployment are both national in scope. It is obvious that our provisions against this emergency should also be Federal in scope. We note with approval the efforts of our Federation to secure authorization by Congress for an Advisory Council to study unemployment compensation and to recommend changes in the Social Security Act in accord with their studies. It is particularly necessary that we find ways to put uniformity into our provisions for the unemployed workers. We recommend that the Executive

Council urge upon Congress authorization of such Advisory Commission.

Pending amendment of the Federal Act we recommend endorsement of the next steps in state legislation submitted by the Executive Council:

- (1) One week waiting period.
- (2) Flat benefit period—16 weeks minimum, 20 weeks preferable.
- (3) Benefit classes not to exceed 5, with benefits in round figures.
- (4) Full-time weekly earnings to be used as benefit base.
- (5) Minimum benefit not less than \$5.
- (6) Simplify administration by eliminating merit or experience rating.
- (7) Partial benefits at least equal to difference between actual earnings and full time benefit.
- (8) Eliminate excessive provisions for disqualification. No cancellation of wage credits. Limit disqualification to reasonable time—not more than 5 weeks in addition to waiting time.

In addition we recommend that the A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security be charged with making special study of rulings on disqualifications of persons making application for benefits as well as decisions on appealed cases and provide guidance for unions handling these problems.

We recommend approval.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Health Policy

We note with approval the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in deliberations necessary to development of a national health program and the recommendation of the Executive Council that a federal health insurance provision be included in that program. In view of the interrelation between the administration of health insurance and unemployment compensation, we urge that amendment of unemployment compensation to make it Federal in scope be carried forward simultaneously with the enactment of health insurance legislation.

While temporary disability is administratively linked with unemployment due to loss

of job, permanent disability is administratively linked with disability due to old age. We urge continuance of the efforts of the Federation to secure provisions in the Social Security Act for those prevented from earning a living because of permanent disability.

We recommend further specific approval of the Executive Council's recommendation that the administration and enforcement of a national program to promote health and safety in industry must be located in the U. S. Department of Labor and that this department allocate federal grants-in-aid to State Departments of Labor to carry on the work within their respective jurisdictions. We urge the amendment of the National Health Bill introduced by Senator Wagner in accord with these suggestions.

We move adoption of the committee's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Chairman Well: In connection with this subject on health and medical care, I desire to call to the attention of the convention a remarkable movement that is developing in New York State, wherein prominent laymen, outstanding religious leaders, men most eminent in the medical and surgical profession, in cooperation with the leaders of the State Federation of Labor as well as the City Central Body, are now conferring for the purpose of taking up the whole question of providing medical care and attention to the wage-earning class. It is a movement of the utmost importance and those associated with it feel confident that within a year it will grow to an organization which will be of extreme service to those who are to be benefited by it. It is hoped it will lead to other states and communities taking it up.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

Workmen's Compensation

The Executive Council recommends that eventually workmen's compensation legislation should be coordinated with the National Social Security plan both to improve standards of security for workers and for administrative simplicity and economy. We recommend concurrence in this suggestion for

workmen's compensation which was our first step in a social security program, should be advanced and coordinated with provisions against other emergencies. Recommend approval.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY

It is obvious that the Social Security Act is of far-reaching importance and that the field of social security is of basic consequence to those whose incomes are derived from wages. Furthermore, the field is a technical one in which the rights and interests of wage earners must be constantly maintained as the decision standard in determining policies.

For these reasons we recommend the Executive Council in charging the A. F. of L. Committee on Social Security with responsibility for studying the problems in this field and making recommendations to the Federation and urge continuation of this committee. Recommend approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COVERAGE OF LABOR LEGISLATION (Executive Council's Report, Pages 106, 202)

The Executive Council makes a special report on coverage of social security legislation and other laws assuring rights to labor. This section of the report points out how workers are prevented from securing the benefits of such legislation by various limitations on coverage, exclusions from coverage, as well as definitions. Such restrictions on coverage are usually made in the name of administrative expediency but are for the most part efforts by the employers concerned to relieve themselves of the obligations of the law. For example, the seamen, including fishermen, asked to be included under social security law, but the clause adopted to cover them excluded all fishermen except those in the salmon and halibut industry.

Although factories have moved into the

fields and agriculture is becoming mechanized, agricultural employers succeeded in getting a definition that withdraws old-age benefits from some now covered and excludes other workers who are not farm employes such as industrial laborers, carpenters, mechanics, bookkeepers, truckers, etc.

Withdrawal of coverage by old-age insurance is additionally questionable because it nullifies equities created by contributions by employers and workers.

One of the most unjustifiable exclusions is that portion of the Social Security Act which limits tax credits against Federal taxes for unemployment compensation to employers of eight or more. This limitation complicates instead of facilitates administration and denies benefits to groups sorely in need of the protection.

Federal Fair Labor Standards Acts providing minimum wages and maximum hours in private industry and for those employed on public contracts are weakened by exemptions for learners, apprentices, and handicapped workers. The privilege of exemption from the minimum affords opportunity to evade fair standards of competition and should be granted, if at all, only in accord with the regulations satisfactory to labor. The American Federation of Labor holds that all beginners should be paid the minimum wage and that apprenticeship standards should be fixed by collective bargaining.

The Fair Labor Standards Act loosely exempts agricultural workers including anyone in the area of production. This exempts workers handling, packing or storing raw products, those employed in canning, agricultural or horticultural products, or in making cheese, butter or other dairy products.

Coverage under protective labor legislation should be based on need growing out of the employer-employee relationship. These workers should be assured incomes that will enable them to be self-supporting and relieved of necessity for applying for relief immediately upon the loss of job or occurrence of sickness in the family or such happenings as befall all families.

We recommend that all organizations, central bodies and State Federations of Labor promote organizing campaigns among these workers usually excluded from labor law and

whose sub-minimum standards endanger fair standards for all, as well as increased taxes for all for relief expenditures. Organization of the workers concerned so that they may present petitions in their own behalf, facilitates their inclusion in labor legislation.

We also urge careful scrutiny of coverage of all labor legislation so that as many as possible may have the benefit of protection which inturn facilitates the organization of workers in unions. We urge unions everywhere to be alert to the industrialization of farms, to the relation between first processing, quick freezing, industrialized farming and related processing and industrial production in urban centers whether small or large. The welfare of workers in all kinds of employment is the concern of organized labor and should be the concern of social legislation.

We recommend approval of this section of the Executive Council Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey submitted the following resolution of appreciation:

RESOLUTION OF THANKS

Resolution No. 103—By the Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, The 59th Convention of the American Federation of Labor has been entertained by the organized labor movement of Cincinnati and vicinity in a most hospitable way; and

WHEREAS, We have been extended a full measure of cooperation by the press of the local community, and the Nation; and

WHEREAS, The broadcasting facilities placed at our disposal have been of great benefit in transmitting addresses and messages of great importance during our deliberations; and

WHEREAS, The citizens of Cincinnati and vicinity have cooperated in all efforts to make our stay here comfortable and enjoyable; and

WHEREAS, The delegates and visitors to this convention have been accorded all possible courtesy and assistance by the highest city and state officials during our stay here; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby extend to our fellow trade unionists of Cincinnati and vicinity, to the people of the city, the officials of the State and city governments, to the press, to the broadcasting companies, our most sincere and hearty

thanks for their generous hospitality and their untiring efforts to make this a most successful and memorable convention.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Resolutions, which is signed by the entire membership of the committee:

MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman.
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary.
A. A. MYRUP
J. A. FANKLIN
THOMAS L. HUGHES
JOHN POSSEHL
P. J. MORRIN
M. J. GILLOOLY
JOHN B. HAGGERTY
L. P. LINDELOF
R. G. SODERSTROM
THOMAS H. O'DONNELL
JOHN J. MARA
FRED BARE
HENRY W. STRICKLAND
M. A. HUTCHESON
MICHAEL J. COLLERAN
W. C. BIRTHRIGHT
JOSEPH P. RYAN

Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Frey: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. Your attention is called to this fact, that all of your committee's report has been adopted without amendment.

The motion to adopt as a whole was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Donlin, Plasterers: I move you that we remain in session until the business of the convention is finished.

President Green: I want to inform the delegates that we have one committee that has not yet filed even a partial report. That one is the Committee on Adjustment and, in my opinion, there will be some discussion on some sections of its report, so, Brother Donlin, it will be impossible to complete the work this morning.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate George, Secretary of the committee, continued the report, as follows:

Your committee had three additional res-

olutions submitted to it, No. 100, No. 101 and No. 102.

FAVORING IMPORT TAX TO PROTECT WORKERS IN FISHING INDUSTRY

RESOLUTION NO. 100. By Delegate Walter W. Cenerazzo, Gloucester, Mass. Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Many thousands of employees in the fishing industry have been deprived of employment due to the reciprocal trade pact signed by the Department of State; and

WHEREAS, Certain foreign governmental agencies have offered and paid high subsidies to American fishery concerns to operate plants in foreign countries; and

WHEREAS, Many thousands of these employees have been organized into the American Federation of Labor during the past several years; and

WHEREAS, The only relief these members of organized labor can obtain is through the intercession of the American Federation of Labor through action of the United States Senate and Congress; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use its influence to secure the imposition of a customs tax, which tax on imports of all fisheries, will equalize the difference in wages paid so as to protect the job opportunities of our American workers employed in the Fishery Industry.

The objective of this Resolution No. 100 is to protect the workers in the fishing industry in America, particularly in New England. It provides for the imposition of a duty on imported fish products equal to the difference between the wage scale in foreign fishing industries and the wage scale in the American fishing industry. However, the wages are not the only item entering into the difference between the cost of production in America and the cost of foreign production, and in view of the fact that this convention has already adopted a resolution providing for a customs duty equal to the difference between the cost of imports and the cost of American production, your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to be considered in connection with Resolution No. 72, already adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Enactment of H. R. 4496 to Restrict Commuting of Aliens From Foreign Contiguous Countries

Resolution No. 101, By Delegate, Central Labor Union, El Paso, Texas.

WHEREAS, H. R. 4496 was presented in the House of Representatives at the last session of the 76th Congress on February 24, 1939, by Mr. Lesinski and was referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization; and

WHEREAS, This bill was taken from a resolution presented to the Texas Federation of Labor by the International Association of Machinists, Local 392, El Paso, Texas, and the Central Labor Union of El Paso, Texas, and presented by the Texas Federation of Labor to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The 76th Congress has adjourned and Bill 4496 has died in said committee; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Texas Federation of Labor be again requested to present this bill to the American Federation of Labor and to lend its utmost efforts to secure the passage of this legislation, the contents of which are as follows:

A BILL

To restrict habitual commuting of aliens from foreign contiguous territory to engage in skilled or unskilled labor or employment in continental United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that no alien or aliens, foreigner or foreigners, or citizens of any foreign country, nation, or colony, or a citizen of a possession of any foreign nation or country, the boundaries of which touch the boundaries of the United States of America or are contiguous thereto, shall be permitted to habitually cross said international boundary line for the purpose of seeking employment, or engaging in any employment, vocation, or trade, either as skilled or unskilled labor employment, in the United States of America, to and from his or their residence or residences which are outside of the borders of the said continental United States.

SECTION 2. The words "alien," "foreigner," and "citizen of any foreign country, nation, or colony" shall be construed to mean any person who has his residence in said foreign country, nation, or possession or colony of a foreign country.

SECTION 3. Aliens within the purview of sections 1 and 2 of this Act shall be held to be immigrants and shall be excluded from the United States or shall be deported from the United States under the provisions of the immigration laws now in effect, unless they are in possession of an unexpired immi-

gration visa at each separate application for admission or in possession of an unexpired reentry permit for each separate application to return from foreign contiguous territory.

SECTION 4. The provisions of this Act are in addition to the provisions of the immigration laws now in force, and shall be enforced as a part of such laws, and all of the penal or other provisions of such laws now applicable shall apply to and be enforced in connection with the provisions of this Act.

SECTION 5. The provisions of this Act shall not be applicable to any person who is a bona-fide employee of any common carrier operating between the United States and any foreign contiguous territory.

This resolution requests reaffirmation by this convention of the position previously taken by the American Federation of Labor, in reference to protection of American labor from encroachments by aliens from contiguous countries.

It calls attention to a bill before the 76th Congress, the purpose of which is to provide such protection. In the second Whereas it is stated that the bill is now dead as the result of the adjournment of the 76th Congress. That is not a fact as the 76th Congress is not adjourned and consideration of all legislation introduced in the first session will be resumed in the second session to be convened in January, 1940.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to continue support of this legislation.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Change in Classification of Workers in Floral Industries Under Social Security

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The federal ruling classifying workers in the floral industries as agricultural workers deprives them of the benefits of the Social Security Act and the Wagner Labor Act; and

WHEREAS, The work performed by these men is not (or should not) be classed as agricultural work because of the artificial condition under which it is performed, namely the light is admitted through glass which eliminates part of the sun's rays, thereby necessitating special care, as all plants grown indoors either in hollow trenches or pots require water applied artificially and mechanical ventilation and, in fact, all operations contrary to natural environments; and

WHEREAS, Because of the aforesaid conditions, these men should come under the same act as the men working in factories; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled direct its officers to request the proper federal officials to have this classification changed accordingly.

(Introduced in accord with action taken on Resolution No. 4, Illinois State Federation of Labor convention, September 18-23, 1939, Springfield, Illinois.

In line with the desire to extend the benefits of social security to all citizens of America, your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take such steps as are necessary to secure these benefits for floral workers.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Ornburn: This completes the report of the Committee on Legislation, which is signed:

I. M. ORNBURN, Chairman,
LEO E. GEORGE, Secretary,
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,
B. M. JEWELL,
O. L. ROSEMUND,
J. F. BENNETT,
JAMES M. DUFFY,
RICHARD J. GRAY,
JAMES T. MORIARTY,
JOHN DONLIN,
CECIL B. CUSTER,
THOMAS V. GREEN,
EPPA HONEY,
M. T. FINNAN,
ARNOLD S. ZANDER,
DON H. BURROWS,
CHRISTIAN MADSEN,
DAVID BEHNCKE,
WILLIAM LEISHMAN,

Committee on Legislation.

Delegate John J. Kehoe, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Chairman Ornburn moved the adoption of the committee as a whole. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Chairman Coefield, of the Committee, announced that Delegate Kehoe, Secretary of

the Committee, would submit the report.

Secretary Kehoe submitted the following:

Your committee had referred to it five resolutions, Nos. 41, 42, 43 and 44, on pages 251 and 252 first day's proceedings. Three of these resolutions, Nos. 41, 42, and 43, were introduced by the representatives of the International Molders Union of North America, and deal with the unfair attitude of three firms in Dowagiac, Mich., toward union labor.

Your committee feels that these three resolutions should be read and the same recommendations made regarding them.

**Application of Molders to Place the
Premier Furnace Company,
Dowagiac, Michigan, on the
"We Don't Patronize"
List**

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, William Leishman, William Rapiet and Al Armbrust, International Molders Union.

WHEREAS, The International Molders' Union of North America after a strike at the Premier Furnace Company, Dowagiac, Michigan, reached a settlement with the company which to all appearances meant the establishment of a union shop; and

WHEREAS, Shortly after the settlement the company started to disorganize the men by laying off active members and other unfair tactics which resulted in another strike being declared during the course of which several men were sent to prison; and

WHEREAS, This company has consistently refused to meet the representatives of the union or a committee of the men; and

WHEREAS, The International Molders' Union has placed the company on the "We don't patronize" list of the union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled do hereby endorse the action of the International Molders' Union of North America in placing the products of this company on the "We don't patronize" list and recommend that all city, central and state bodies and individual local unions be notified of this action.

**Application of Molders to Place Rudy
Furnace Company, Dowagiac,
Michigan, on the "We Don't
Patronize" List**

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, William Leishman, William Rapiet and Al Armbrust, International Molders' Union.

WHEREAS, For many months the International Molders' Union of North America has been conducting a strike against the Rudy Furnace Company, Dowagiac, Michigan, because of the refusal of the company to operate a union shop; and

WHEREAS, The company refused to negotiate with the representatives of the union or with a committee, but closed its foundry and are now getting their castings from the Homer Foundry and Furnace Company, Coldwater, Michigan, another non-union shop, which action caused the International Molders' Union of North America to place the products of this company on the "We don't patronize" list; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, do hereby endorse the action of the International Molders' Union of North America in placing the products of this company on the "We don't patronize" list and recommend that all city, central and state bodies and individual local unions be notified of this action.

**Application of Molders' International
Union to Place Round Oak
Stove Company, Dowagiac,
Michigan on the "We
Don't Patronize" List**

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, William Leishman, William Rapiet and Al Armbrust, International Molders' Union.

WHEREAS, The International Molders' Union of North America had organized the employees of the Round Oak Stove Company, Dowagiac, Michigan, after it had operated an open shop for years; and

WHEREAS, After an agreement was reached between the union and the company to operate a union shop the union took this firm off its "We don't patronize" list; and

WHEREAS, This firm through its supervisory forces began to discriminate against the committee and active members; and

WHEREAS, After several conferences between the union and the company, and no effort was made to correct this situation, the union informed the company they would be forced to again place them on the "We don't patronize" list which was carried out; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled do hereby endorse the action of the International Molders' Union of North America in placing the products of this company on the "We don't patronize" list and recommend that all city, central and state bodies and individual local unions be notified of this action.

Your committee has carefully considered

Resolutions No. 41, 42 and 43 and is in complete accord with these resolutions, and feel that these firms have taken an arbitrary position in their dealings with the International Molders' Union of North America, in order to destroy legitimate unionization in their plants.

However, inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor has not been called on or requested to attempt an adjustment of these disputes we feel that these matters should be referred to the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with a recommendation that they use their good offices in an attempt to bring about a satisfactory settlement, so that justice may prevail instead of strife between these companies and the International Iron Molders' Union of North America.

Your committee also recommends that in the event of the failure of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to bring about a satisfactory settlement that the unreasonable attitude of these companies be given the widest publicity possible by notifying organized labor and all affiliated bodies of the positions taken by these firms in order that labor may be advised as to the proper channels in which to spend union-earned wages.

Your committee recommends approval of this procedure.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Request to Place Williamson Heater Company, Cincinnati, Ohio on "We Don't Patronize" List

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, For many years the International Molders' Union of North America and the Sheet Metal Workers International Association have made every effort to bring about organization at the plant of the Williamson Heater Company of Cincinnati, Ohio; and

WHEREAS, Because of the antagonism shown by officials of this company towards organized labor their efforts have been unsuccessful; and

WHEREAS, The 31st Annual Convention of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., held in Cincinnati, Ohio, beginning September 25, 1939, placed the Williamson Heater Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, upon the "We don't patronize" list"; be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be hereby authorized to notify all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Bodies and Local Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor of the action taken by the convention of the Metal Trades Department, and the action taken by this Convention of the American Federation of Labor on the subject.

Your committee gave this resolution its earnest consideration and is in entire sympathy and accord with the aims, objects and desires of the Metal Trades Department and are also satisfied that every effort consistent with good trade unionism has been put forth by the Metal Trades Department to bring about an honorable settlement of this controversy. However, we, your committee, feel that this entire matter should be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of attempting to bring about a settlement of this controversy and in order that legitimate and fair labor relations might be attained between this firm and the Metal Trades Department, and if such efforts are unavailing, that the unreasonable attitude of this firm be made known to the entire labor movement and its affiliated bodies for the purpose of educating the workers so that they might use their purchasing power in their own interest and direct their patronage to assist those who deal fair with labor, as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends approval of this procedure.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 99, dealing with the dispute of the Chicago Printing Trades versus R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, which was introduced at the Tuesday morning session, October 10th, Page 498—7th day of proceedings, and was referred to the Committee on Industrial Relations, reads as follows:

Chicago Printing Trades Unions vs. R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor

WHEREAS, The Chicago Printing Trades Unions have, for years, been compelled to com-

pete with the unfair and notorious non-union R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, the Reuben H. Donnelley Company and the Lakeside Press, which are among the largest producers of non-union printing in America; and

WHEREAS, The following publications are among the products of these unfair concerns: Time, Life, Rising Tide, Science Digest, Book Digest, Farm Journal, Hunting and Fishing, Youth, Encyclopedia Britannica, Funk and Wagnalls Encyclopedia, The National Provisioner, Chicago Mail Order Catalog, Butler Brothers' catalog, Sears Roebuck catalog, Montgomery Ward catalog, and many children's Sunday School publications, besides telephone directories, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The Organization Committee of the Chicago Printing Trades Unions are now making a concerted organization drive on the said concerns, and is asking the cooperation of all organized labor to give publicity to said unfair concerns, publications and their products; and

WHEREAS, The Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor at Springfield, Illinois, September 18, 1939, endorsed this campaign and directed that the matter be brought before the Convention of the American Federation of Labor for similar action; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the campaign of the Chicago Printing Trades Union against the non-union policy of the R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, the Reuben H. Donnelley Company and the Lakeside Press.

Your committee having carefully considered Resolution No. 99 is in entire accord with the objective sought and are fully aware of the attitude of R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company toward union labor, and we feel that organized labor and its friends should only patronize such publications as show a fair and cooperative attitude toward organized labor.

It is therefore the recommendation of your committee that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor recommending that they continue their efforts to bring about an adjustment of this matter and failing to do so that they notify organized labor and its affiliated bodies of the cause of such failure for the purpose of advising labor and its friends how best to use the purchasing power of labor in channels fair to organized labor

Your committee recommends approval of this procedure.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN COEFIELD, Chairman.
JOSEPH J. KEOHE, Secretary.
CHARLES D. DUFFY
JOSEPH S. FAY
CHARLES J. CASE
JOHN J. McAULIFF
ALBERT G. WHITE
JOHN O'ROURKE
H. F. NICKERSON
CHARLES N. PAULSEN
ROBERT MORGAN
W. W. BRITTON
JOHN LUNDERGAN
JOHN R. OWENS
WILLIAM DONOVAN
THOS. CAIRNS
SAMUEL REINLIB
GEORGE L. WARFEL
LOUIS KROUSE

Committee on Industrial Relations.

The report of the committee as a whole was unanimously adopted.

President Green: I wish to present to you for a brief report at least, our dear old friend, Vice-President Felix Knight, of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and one of the fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress.

I know I express your sentiments when I say that we are happy beyond measure over the safe return of Brother Knight and his good wife from Great Britain. They arrived at New York yesterday. I know they must have traveled thousands of miles across the Atlantic with feeling of grave concern and apprehension. The reports received regarding the dangers to be encountered by those who travel the high seas between our country and Europe indicate that such trips must be regarded as perilous indeed. The attacks made by German submarines on vessels have been sudden and startling. I know their experience must have been extraordinary, but we are glad they are back. We are pleased beyond measure over their safe return. They came direct from New York safely and are here in our convention this morning. It is with feelings of the greatest pleasure and supreme satisfaction that I present to you our dear friend Felix H. Knight, fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, for the purpose of speaking to you for a few minutes --Brother Knight.

VICE-PRESIDENT FELIX H. KNIGHT

Fraternal Delegate to British Trades Union Congress

Vice-President Felix Knight: President Green, officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor assembled—first I shall take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the convention for having elected me in the last convention in Houston in my absence. I arrived in Ridlington, on September 4, during the hectic times in Europe. Due to war having been declared, the Congress cut short their deliberations. The first thing on the program was the address of the Mayor. Who he was I don't know, as none of the fraternal delegates met him. He was followed by the secretary of the Central Trades Congress there, a central organized congress; then the President of the British Trades Union Congress addressed the convention. That was followed by a report and recommendation from the executives of the Congress. The only recommendation they made was that the Congress be cut short, permitting all delegates and officers to return to their constituencies that they might advise them in the fight England was making for its existence. That recommendation was accepted and from that on there was but little done other than to read from the executives' report the number of resolutions, not even mentioning the resolution. No vote was taken. The chairman said, "Objections" and passed right on. There was one resolution, however, that came up that there was some general discussion on.

This resolution was unimportant, but there were people there who took advantage of the occasion to take some digs at the United States of America. There were three Communists who came on the platform and discussed it, and they said, without any qualifications, that America in 1917 was in identically the same position and condition as was Soviet Russia at that time, and the announcement had just been made that Soviet Russia had gone behind the curtains and signed a pact with Germany. No reason for that, no justification for it, but they were doing everything within their power to relieve Communist Russia of any stigma that might be placed upon them or directed toward them.

On the 26th day of September I sat in the House of Commons and heard Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Churchill make their reports. There are a few Communists in the House of Commons and they followed the same tactics in trying to relieve Communist Russia in every way possible, even to smearing their own country in an attempt to relieve a country of which they were not citizens, but a country that was of the same political belief.

The British Trades Union Congress went on after that and no mention was made of it. The president of the Electrical Workers Union No. 3, sat on the platform with me. He did nothing. Had I been permitted to take the floor I would have gotten into an argument without about thirty Communists sitting in that convention. When the Communists finished up, within a day or a day and a half, they adjourned.

It was a wonderful experience! I was glad to be there, but no fraternal delegate was permitted to make an address. I was introduced at the beginning of the Congress, and at the close of it, but there were statements of "No speech making." We were told we would have time to merely convey the fraternal greetings of this country we represented. It took me about a minute and a half to do that, but the speech I had intended to deliver was printed in the minutes of the convention.

Now, if I may be permitted, I might digress and say that I visited three of the countries that are in war. I spent twelve days in Germany. I got out the day before the lid was put on. I was on the North Sea when Hitler went into Poland, and I rode from Edinburgh, Scotland, to London, on the last train that had a dining car.

I saw more preparations for war in Germany than anywhere else. I saw the Black Shirts, boys of ten and twelve, march up Unter der Linden before the hotel where I was stopping. Everything was preparation, but the Germans did not want war and did not think they would have war. It is my opinion that if Hitler had thought England and France would back up their declarations he would never have gone into Poland. He made this compact with Russia, and from what I learned over there, he paid a price no sane man would want to pay. Russia backed him

up in Poland farther than they were expecting her to do.

You know what Hitler did to the Jews in Germany, and there are more Jews in Poland in proportion to the population than in any other country. He is now evacuating the Germans from all countries. When I was in England it was reported that a million and a half Germans were being brought from other countries and put into Poland, and the Poles were being taken out of Poland and distributed in German territory.

France and England are prepared. I saw thousands of soldiers in France going to the front in trains; I saw thousands of soldiers in England. I was just across the dock on the other side when I saw three boatloads of soldiers going to France. France and England are playing a waiting game. Germany is hard pressed, particularly for food-stuff. When I was in Germany they were on food rations, and those rations have been reduced since war started.

France now has got the most productive coal district in Germany. We went down the Rhine from Wiesbaden, and tugs with from two to nine barges of coal were as thick on the Rhine going up as automobiles are out here in the street. You would see five or six tugs running alongside of one another, and those barges strung out for half a mile behind them. How they did it I don't know, but the French have those coal mines now.

All over England and France, particularly in the industrial district, there are many thousands of balloons high in the air. They are about the size of the Goodyear balloon that sails around over Washington, which perhaps some of you have seen. There are various instruments in those balloons. I am told they can detect an airplane for miles. They are filled with gas, and immediately an airplane hits one it goes into flames.

There are trenches everywhere and dug-outs, as they call them, bomb shelters, and there is a great business now in France and England in sand sacks. All along the streets in London they are used for protection. About the hospitals they put a frame up to the second and third stories and then sacks of sand all the way up. It is quite a business. They are profiteering over there. Just before we sailed a statement came out that sand is the greatest breeder of insects known

and so they are now spraying the sand sacks.

When I registered at the Savoy Hotel I had to sign a card giving the name, date of birth, and all sorts of things. After that was done the clerk said, "Mr. Knight, you will want a gas mask. It will be five shillings." I was told we were to go to get measured for a gas mask. I went down immediately and went to the Public Library, but there wasn't anybody there. We got a mask and were fitted. I asked what the price was and was told that the British Government supplied them without cost. I told them what had been said to me at the hotel. They said they would telegraph the headquarters and have the matter settled. A man from headquarters came and I told him the story, and that night when I went back to the hotel the doorman said, "The manager wants to see you." I didn't mince words in telling him what the clerk had told me. He said it was a mistake. In checking out I paid my bill and had a receipt and then the cashier said, "Just a minute, Mr. Knight, your gas mask. We have to collect them." I said, "You are not going to collect mine." He said, "We have orders to collect them." I said, "It is too bad; I didn't get the gas mask from you and I am not going to give it to you. The people who gave us the gas masks said we could take them back to America and show them what they are. I have both of them up in my room now. I would like to tell you a lot of conditions over there as a result of the war. There is going to be a different picture in Europe, regardless of how the war goes.

I thank you.

President Green: One thing Vice-President Knight failed to touch upon, and in order to satisfy my curiosity I would like to have him tell us about it. You recall that he sent a telegram saying he was stuck in the Bay of Biscay, and he had to wait for the tide to turn before he could sail. We were all under the impression that as a good American citizen on a boat coming home the tide ought to be waiting for him rather than him waiting for the tide. I want him to tell the convention what was the matter with the tide at the Bay of Biscay.

Vice-President Knight: On the second day of last November I went to the United States Steamship Company lines in Wash-

ington and made reservations and put up a deposit. I paid in full for the trip over and back last summer. I was to sail from Southampton on the Washington on December 2, but, due to the evacuating of Americans, the Washington was a half trip ahead and was in New York City, on September 2.

I was enjoying myself over there and we just sat down in London and waited until its return. We went aboard the Washington at Southampton on September 30, and laid there all that day and night and until the next afternoon. We left port and started for Bordeaux. That is on the river on the Bay of Biscay. The Washington is the largest ship that ever docked in that port. When we entered the Bay of Biscay they went to sounding for depth. We hadn't been there but 40 minutes until we grounded. We went in on one tide and were there three days and nights.

I might say to some of you who don't partake that over there they do not put water on the table, but they use wine. They put carloads of champagne on the Washington. Those Frenchmen over there worked like they were tired. In New York they would have loaded that ship in a day. We went out in a storm, a very severe one. The captain posted notice on a board "Very rough," and it was really rough. The nose of that ship would go up in the air and hit the trough and you would think a cannon was going off. The last three days were very nice sailing and fine weather. We went aboard September 30 and landed in New York the same day Columbus discovered America.

President Green: That is satisfactory, but I have a grievance against the tide. I don't think it was fair for them to lay in the Bay of Biscay so long. I thank you, Brother Knight, for your report. We appreciate the facts and information which you submitted.

The Chair desires to submit a supplemental report. It is the report of the delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and it will be included in the proceedings.

Report of E. L. Wheatley, Fraternal Delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, London, Ontario

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifty-

ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greetings:

I hereby submit my report as Fraternal Delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, held in London, Ontario, from the 25th to the 30th day of September, 1939.

The 55th Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was held in the Masonic Temple, London, Ontario, during the week of September 25th, 1939. Addresses of welcome were delivered by R. Hessel, President of the London Trades and Labor Council; by His Worship Mayor Allan Johnston; by R. A. Rigg, Director of the Employment Service of Canada, who represented the Canadian Minister of Labor; by Dr. A. S. Duncan, member of the Ontario Legislature, and by Hon. N. O. Hipel, Minister of Labor for Ontario.

Secretary-Treasurer R. J. Tallon occupied the Chair in the unavoidable absence of President P. M. Draper. He read a communication from President Draper in which he stated that upon the advice of his physicians he was obliged to resign the office of President. "Paddy" Draper has served the Congress in some executive office for the past forty-eight years, most of which time he filled the office of Secretary-Treasurer. There was general regret at the retirement of this veteran trade unionist and the delegates wish him a rapid recovery and a long life.

The Credential Committee reported that 432 delegates were entitled to a voice and vote. While this attendance was smaller than last year it nevertheless represented workers in practically all trades and callings from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from international boundary to the North Pole.

In view of the fact that Canada is at war with Germany the Committee on Resolutions brought forth a composite resolution embodying the views of the Congress in the present conflict. After reviewing the decision of last year in which the Congress declared its opposition to aggressor nations, in a substitute resolution for resolution, it declared:

"WHEREAS, The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, a year ago, at its Niagara convention, declared: 'We are meeting with the black clouds of war overhanging Europe, threatening to engulf the world, devastating cities and towns, raining bombs and slaughtering women and children;' and

WHEREAS, This Congress further declared for the need and necessity to render help to all democratic countries whose independence and integrity were being challenged, and at that time urged upon our government to co-operate with other peace-loving countries of the world in whatever steps were deemed essential to destroy the reign of terror imposed by Nazi and Fascist dictators, and thus remove the menace of international lawlessness; and

WHEREAS, We have, in the past, com-

mended our brothers in Britain and France for their stand in defense of those nations, who have been singled out for attack and destruction by dictatorship powers, assuring them that should the time ever come when, through their action in defense of democracy and the rights of the workers in any land, they might be in need of our assistance and help, that we would rise to their defense; and

WHEREAS, In all Fascist and Nazi nations the free trade union movement has been outlawed, its property and funds confiscated, its leaders persecuted, in many cases ruthlessly murdered, thousands of its most active members are now in prison or languishing in Nazi concentration camps where dreadful terrorism is being used to break down their health and spirit, similar treatment being meted to democratic, political organizations and institutions, thus destroying not only the trade union movement, but also the medium through which the common people in any of these countries could utilize constitutional and orderly methods to bring about improvement or changes in their social and economic structure, which action constitutes a complete destruction of democracy; and

WHEREAS, the Trade Union movement has supported all conciliatory efforts that have been made to preserve peace, which unfortunately have failed, and it has become necessary to resort to arms in order to prevent the aggressive action of Germany and her Allies from destroying the independence of Poland and other nations where democratic government still exists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 55th Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada reiterates its stand of former years and pledges its unwavering support of our membership to the Canadian and British Governments in the prosecution of war against the aggressor nations to the end that the threat of aggression may be removed for all time and that democratic privileges, institutions and rights may be restored to the people now suffering under the heel of dictatorship; and be it further

RESOLVED, In order that the full resources of the country may be utilized for the achievement of victory, it is essential that profiteering and greed must be eliminated in the production of the sinews of war, and the supply and distribution of home requirements. To this end we urge that the machinery of production and the wealth of the nation be mobilized to serve the country's interest instead of those of individuals and corporations, so that there will be an equitable contribution on the part of capital comparable to that of the sacrifice of human life."

This was adopted with only 16 dissenting.

In connection with the prosecution of the war the convention also instructed the Executive Council to convene a conference of representatives of international organizations engaged in munition and war supply industries to lay down a definite policy to

be presented to Premier MacKenzie King and members of his government, under which all workers will be given the legal right to join trade unions of their own choice for collective bargaining and to guarantee fair and equitable wages, hours and working conditions.

By a roll call vote of 236 to 96 the convention approved the following report of the Committee on Resolutions, the result of which the C. I. O. unions were suspended from membership in Congress:

"C. I. O. and UNITY

Covering Resolutions 27 to 70 inclusive.

"Your Resolution Committee having been instructed by the convention to consider and report on that section of the Officers' Report appearing on Pages 29, 30 and 31 and dealing with the suspension of the C. I. O. unions and at the same time giving consideration to Resolutions Nos. 27 to 70, dealing with trade union unity beg to report as follows:

We have carefully read and considered the Officers' Report dealing with this matter, the circumstances which faced your Executive at the latter part of 1938 demanded the suspension of the C. I. O. unions in order to retain in membership during 1939 those organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which have in the past, and do now, represent the vast majority of the organized workers of this Dominion and whose affiliation has over a long number of years assisted to build and give influence and prestige to this Congress.

We find that in suspending the C. I. O. unions the Executive Council was within its rights and in full accord with the resolutions of the convention of last year which stated: "That action taken shall be on terms acceptable to international trade unions and thus avoiding any disregard for or defiance of their laws and policies." This is corroborated by the fact that closely following our last convention the Committee for Industrial Organization held a meeting at Pittsburgh, Pa., which they themselves have designated as the first convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and which action resulted in them becoming definitely dual to the American Federation of Labor, also changing the relationship with this Congress as it existed at our last convention.

To maintain the strength and authority of our Congress it is essential and necessary that the action of the Executive be confirmed and that a roll call vote to reach a decision on this issue be now taken in accordance with provisions in Section 7, Article III of the Constitution.

The resolutions submitted show a desire that every effort should be continued to assist in whatever development shall take place that would lead to remitting the forces of organized labor in this Dominion and in concurrence with this view recommend that the incoming Executive assist wherever possible and hold themselves in readiness to do their utmost to heal the breach so that labor can

continue to grow in solidarity and strength within the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada."

To overcome difficulties which confronted the Congress in recent years regarding suspension of unions, expelled from the A. F. of L., the Constitution was amended to provide that organizations expelled by the A. F. of L. would automatically be suspended from membership in the Congress. It is also provided that the same rule will apply to membership in Trades and Labor Councils and Provincial Federations of Labor, chartered direct by the Congress.

It was decided to inaugurate an organization drive in cooperation and with affiliated National and International Unions.

The report of Secretary-Treasurer Tallon showed a decrease in membership of 22,614 due entirely to the suspension from membership of C. I. O. unions. The revenues of the Congress were higher by more than \$10,000. The total membership upon which per capita tax was paid was given as 137,764.

The Constitution was amended to vest with the Executive Council authority to change a convention city if proper hotel accommodation may not be obtainable. Rules governing issuance of charters to Provincial Federations of Labor were revised to give the Congress sovereignty over them. It means that Federations of Labor must not adopt policies contrary to those of the annual conventions of the Congress.

A policy was laid down to bring about a measure of social security as follows: (1) Provision of work to eliminate unemployment; (2) Adequate provision for those requiring aid; and (3) measures to cope with future unemployment in an organized manner and prevent its recurrence to the greatest degree.

Among other decisions were the following:

The Executive Council was instructed, in conjunction with representatives of the various international unions, to lay down a definite policy for the organization of the unorganized in transportation, public services, textile and mass production industries, so far as it is consistent with existing conditions and means at its disposal.

Reiterated its demand for the repeal of the Quebec padlock law.

Reiterated its policy of public ownership and democratic management of all public utilities.

Bringing all modes of transport under some central authority.

Labor representation on all war boards appointed by the federal and provincial governments.

Establishment of an advisory board to include representatives of labor, farmers, together with competent engineers, statisticians and economists to plan the production and distribution of Canadian wealth.

Public ownership and control of all banks and credit institutions.

Endorsement of a campaign for the establishment of a "Canadian Wagner Act."

Establishment of labor courses in one or more universities and also summer labor courses at Canadian colleges.

Direct labor representation on all liquor control boards.

Strict government supervision of all private detective agencies and a requirement that such agencies submit names and reports of their operations to the Federal Department of Justice.

The convention acted on 347 printed program resolutions exclusive of the Executive Council Report and its recommendations.

The fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, Mr. George Hicks, M.P., cancelled his visit to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress so his services would be at the disposal of his home country, which had become involved with outbreak of war.

Fraternal greetings from the American Federation of Labor were conveyed by Walter Wheatley, President, International Pottery Workers' Union; from the International Labor Organization in Geneva by James Wilson; from the Dominion Legislative Board of the Transportation Brotherhoods by Wm. L. Best.

By the unanimous vote of the convention P. M. Draper was elected honorary president for life.

Other officers elected were: President, Tom Moore (Carpenters) of Ottawa; Secretary-Treasurer, Robert J. Tallon (Machinists) of Calgary; Vice-Presidents, P. R. Bengough (Machinists) of Vancouver; James Whitebone (motion picture operators) of St. John, N. B.; and Arthur D'Aoust (Papermakers) of Hull, P. Q.; fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, Frank H. Hall (Railway Clerks) of Montreal; fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. John B. Kennedy (seigmakers) of Toronto. Vancouver was selected as the convention city for 1940.

I submit the following as the chief topics of my speech delivered to the 55th Annual Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress:

It is my privilege to present to you the greetings and felicitations of your neighboring national labor movement—the American Federation of Labor. I come to you at a time when our hearts and minds are filled with apprehension and distress at the turn in world events, the outcome of which no one can foretell. Your nation is even now at war with the aggressor nation of Germany. My own nation is committed to a policy of national neutrality. Though our sympathies be where they may, no one can but feel that the emotions that come with war are shared by the entire human family and the loss or separation from loved ones is felt just as keenly by those fighting for one cause, no matter how mistaken they may be, as for a just cause. For that reason we have a common bond with all. It is a sad commentary on what we have been pleased to call our

advanced civilization that men still resort to the law of the jungle in the settlement of their disputes, whether they be personal, national, or international. Though self-defense is the first law and the protection of our homes and country has always been instinctive, I am confident that there is no one here today who does not share with me a sincere regret that some of the sovereign nations of the world are for the second time in twenty-five years engaged in actual warfare.

Times of stress and difficulty have ever proved opportune for those who would divert us from real issues to press their own cause and advance their personal ambitions. There will be those who will seek to distort real issues and thus gain support for their own ends. Experience has proved that the labor movements are the target for such tactics, and we must be constantly on guard to protect our standards and interests at all times. From the inquiries which are made of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor we know that there are systematic efforts being made to obscure trends in trade unionism in the United States. These false friends are actually seeking support for movements which would destroy and not build a lasting, constructive labor movement. For this reason I deem it most appropriate to explain the aims and purposes of the American Federation of Labor in some detail to this convention.

You are aware of the efforts which have been made to destroy the effectiveness of the American Federation of Labor through the creation of a dual secession movement. However, the A. F. of L. is today stronger, more forceful, more respected than ever. We are growing in numbers and economic strength generally year by year. The Report of the Executive Council to the forthcoming convention of the American Federation of Labor which will convene in Cincinnati, Ohio, on October 2, will show an increase in our membership of 1,566,299 over the membership of 1936 at which time it became necessary to drop from our rolls those organizations which had seceded from the American Federation of Labor and joined in the dual movement known as the C. I. O. In three years we have gained not only the number which it was necessary to drop at that time, but 583,956 in addition. Our paid-up membership on August 31, 1939 was 5,006,354 comprising 105 national and international unions composed of 33,744 local unions; 49 State Federations of Labor; 806 city central bodies; and 1,568 directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions. Despite all obstacles which have been placed in our path and all efforts made to divert the policies of the American Federation of Labor from that enunciated by its founders, we have never deviated from our original objective—a better life for all. We will never permit our great institution to be used as an instrumentality for either individuals or groups with a particular creed or philosophy to advance. Ours is truly an American institution and an asset to our nation as a whole as well as to the wage earners of our continent.

There is no rigid form to which our national and international unions must adhere. The American Federation of Labor is not committed to any form of organization, industrial or craft, to the exclusion of the other. We have industrial unions, and we have craft unions. The basis for organization is determined by the problems of the industry as well as by the status within the organized labor movement. So long as we make tools to produce machinery we must have craftsmen, even in a machine age, for craftsmen and craft unions are essential to the maintenance of craft skill. However, it is essential that unions of production workers join with craft unions for collective bargaining and to meet this need we have been developing joint councils. All unions have representation on such councils.

One of the major activities of the American Federation of Labor is in the field of national legislation. There is maintained at our headquarters a legislative committee working directly with the President and the Executive Council. This committee is charged with the responsibility of securing legislative support for measures which the Federation desired to have enacted into law, and guarding against undesirable legislation.

Decisions as to policy are determined by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor which convenes annually. During the sessions of our conventions we are privileged to hear from the fraternal delegates representing the British Trades Union Congress and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

In the interim between conventions, the affairs of the Federation are entrusted to the Executive Council under the chairmanship of the President of the A. F. of L. In our organization provision is made for the representatives of all affiliated unions to be heard. Decisions are made by the majority in true democratic manner. However, a proposal voted down in one convention may be submitted to the succeeding convention if those interested wish to submit their contentions for reconsideration. In true democratic form the decision of the majority is binding upon all, however, until such time as decision may be reversed. There is no place in our movement for dictators or autocratic methods of procedure. It is obvious, therefore, that there is no justification for reprisals for non-acceptance of any proposal through the formation of secession or dual movements, and those who follow such a course must be regarded as the enemies of the workers. Any attempt to destroy the strength of the workers must be interpreted as contrary to their own best interests. It is lamentable that the energies and resources of the wage earners of America have had to be diverted into channels other than those that build a stronger and more powerful labor movement. It should never have been necessary to divide the resources of the American Federation of Labor to combat forces of division within the family of Labor. In the United States a dual union, is a hostile union, seeking to displace the one already in operation. However, the history of

dual movements of the past is being repeated today. Attempts to mislead those interested as to the issues involved and the ultimate result, reflect the last-stand attitude of those who know that they are even now defeated.

Outstanding among the problems confronting the workers of the United States today, as in the past few years, is that of finding a permanent solution to our unemployment situation. Years of experimentation with direct relief and relief projects in the form of made work and extended public works have forced us to the conclusion that there is only one real solution possible—that of reabsorbing the millions of displaced workers into private employment. In July of this year there were approximately 10,560,000 unemployed or employed on relief projects. This estimate is based on government figures and indicates something of the problem which still must be solved. We believe the first step toward meeting this problem should be a reduction of the hours of work for those now employed.

Within the past year there was enacted a Fair Labor Standards Act, setting minimum wages and maximum hours for those employed in industries engaged in interstate commerce. The administration of this law is now being worked out and though we are not satisfied with many of the provisions of this Act, we do feel that it represents a step in the right direction.

The American Federation of Labor is working for amendments to the National Labor Relations Act in the light of experience under the administration of this law. The amendments proposed by the Federation would definitely strengthen the Act by clearly defining its purposes and functions so that its activities may be redirected along wholly constructive lines and its energies not dissipated in making decisions between the unions of the American Federation of Labor and those of the rival C. I. O. unions. The American Federation of Labor sponsored the original legislation and seeks not to destroy it, as has been falsely charged by those who would seek to perpetuate the mal-administration of the Act as it now stands, but to make it an instrument of real service to the workers.

Constant watch is being kept over developments under our social security program and amendments will be sought as the need appears. We are keenly interested in trends in the administration of the unemployment compensation provisions of the Social Security Act. The A. F. of L. seeks to broaden both the scope of the Social Security Act and the provisions thereunder. It is our ultimate aim to have all workers covered whereas now the Act is definitely limited and completely excludes agricultural and domestic workers. Benefit provisions under the Act are inadequate and should be increased. With the obvious industrial tendency to limit the wage earning years of the workers we must face the need of lowering the age at which payments under social security begin.

Another beneficial law was the Public Contracts Act fixing minimum wages and hours of production covered by all contracts with the Federal Government. This legislation helps prevent competition in low labor standards on government contracts.

In closing I would leave with you a clear understanding of the position of American Labor on the subject of international affairs. The workers of the United States are deeply concerned over the trends in the relations between nations. Past experience has proven that no group in society is affected so greatly as the workers in time of international strife and war. We know only too well that it requires diplomacy of the highest and finest type to prevent the embroilment of neutral countries in wars between other nations. Labor of the United States wants peace. We are willing and anxious that our Government exercise all influence at its command to promote a peaceful solution of difficulties between other nations and to use its good offices in every helpful way, but these efforts must be of such a nature as will prevent the involvement of our own nation in any conflict between other nations. The influence of the American Federation of Labor will be directed toward a policy of strict neutrality. Men and women of labor throughout the length and breadth of our land crave peace, they pray for peace, they strive for it and are determined to use all power at their command to maintain it in our own nation.

* * *

CONCLUSION

Due to Canada's declaration of war in support of the Mother Country, I endeavored to assume in behalf of the American Federation of Labor an attitude of neutrality. I trust that the mission of honor and of responsibility you bestowed on me has been executed without lowering the standards of the American Federation of Labor and the confidence you placed in me has been maintained. Because of the war situation and the large number of resolutions before the convention, the chief topics of my address were brief and were accepted by expressed enthusiasm by the entire assemblage of delegates and visitors.

In conclusion I extend to the officers and delegates of the Fifty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor my sincere thanks and appreciation for their cooperation and assistance in making possible the opportunity to visit and extend a good-will message to our friends of the Canadian Trade Union movement.

The hospitality and friendship accorded to my wife and me by each and every Canadian during the week spent in Ontario will long be remembered and cherished.

Respectfully submitted,

E. L. WHEATLEY,

At 12:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned until 2:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Tenth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Ricket of the Committee on Adjustment.

REPORT OF ADJUSTMENT COMMITTEE

Chairman Ricket: The Secretary of the Committee, Brother Maloney, will make the report.

Secretary Maloney: Mr. Chairman and delegates, Resolution No. 38 by Delegate John J. Scully, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots. Unless there is objection, I won't read this resolution.

Masters, Mates and Pilots vs. Longshoremen

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate John J. Scully, National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots.

WHEREAS, The jurisdictional dispute which has been hanging fire between the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America and the International Longshoremen's Association, is still unsettled despite four (4) years of strife; and

WHEREAS, The three preceding conventions of the American Federation of Labor ordered this settlement made by mutual conferences under the direction of President Green; and

WHEREAS, Innumerable fruitless conferences before President Green, and petitions to the Executive Council have left the matter in the status-quo; and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that our jurisdiction has been confirmed repeatedly, no move has been made to penalize the illegal issuance of charters dual to ours; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of said dual charters has been supplemented by raids upon our membership by coercive methods; and

WHEREAS, Closed-shop contracts held by our group have been raided and abrogated by this coercive policy of the International Longshoremen's Association; and

WHEREAS, These raids of jurisdiction formerly confined to New York are now being perpetrated in other ports, notably Phila-

delphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and New Orleans, and

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor definitely discourages vertical unions, yet the International Longshoremen's Association is permitted to operate such a marine union which includes longshoremen, engineers, firemen, oilers, cooks, etc., into which our licensed officers are herded without regard for their needs or desires and naturally, are submerged and ignored therein, and

WHEREAS, Many of our members carry two cards; one with us and one with the International Longshoremen's Association, since they cannot work unless they carry an I. L. A. card although they have no need for an I. L. A. card since they are already American Federation of Labor men through our organization; and

WHEREAS, More tragic than the two-card monte system, which the men resent, many are so disgusted that they have suspended all labor affiliation and pay no dues in any group and as this state continues, labor gets a real black eye in complete disorganization; and

WHEREAS, Previous experiences too bitter to ignore, have taught us that there has been no hope that a just settlement can ever be had by the methods laid down by the three previous conventions, since President Green and the Executive Council have booted our case back and forth; admitted our claims, but lacked either courage or inclination to discipline the International Longshoremen's Association. It is merely the case of "Hitler" versus "Czechoslovakia" and "Poland" being enacted in America. It is a firm conviction of many experienced mariners that funds from the shipowners legislate against us and keep this matter in a state of inertia. The proofs cannot be photostated for you, but sure conviction and a series of happenings place the seal of suspicion on the activities directed against our group which has never accepted bribes or let our men down, and never will; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Convention as supreme authority, direct this petition, for the release of our members from the International Longshoremen's Association, be ordered and that our jurisdiction of marine deck personnel be made absolute as provided by the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Longshoremen's Association be enjoined from any further encroachment upon our jurisdiction and penalties be outlined for any avoidance of the recommendations of this Convention; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor in session at Cincinnati, Ohio, direct the Executive offi-

cer or officers of the International Longshoremen's Association to cooperate with the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America as a sister organization within the fold of the American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Maloney: Your committee accorded all parties to this dispute an opportunity to present their views, and during the discussion it was admitted by the introducers of the resolution that they had no facts or evidence to substantiate the statements made in the last "Whereas" in the resolution, and they therefore requested permission to withdraw and strike from the resolution and the convention records the last "Whereas."

Your committee recommends that this be done.

Your committee earnestly endeavored to have the parties at interest compose their differences, but without success. Previous conventions have declared and reaffirmed the jurisdiction of the International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots. The Executive Council, through President Green, has directed the Longshoremen's Association to comply with these decisions, which that organization to date has failed to do, taking the position to do so would not mean that these workers would go into the Masters, Mates and Pilots, but would either go independent or to a rival organization, which in either case would result in great injury to the International Longshoremen's Association.

Your committee believes it can best serve the interests of the American labor movement and the workers engaged in this dispute by recommending that this convention adopt and approve the last "Resolve" of the resolution, which reads as follows:

"Resolved, that this convention of the American Federation of Labor in session at Cincinnati, Ohio, direct the executive officer or officers of the International Longshoremen's Association to cooperate with the National Organization Masters, Mates, and Pilots of America as a sister organization within the fold of the American Federation of Labor."

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate John J. Scully, Masters, Mates and Pilots: Mr. President and delegates—I rise to speak on the committee's report, but I feel like I should apologize for taking up the time of the convention on a matter that has been before three previous conventions, and which we hope will be finished at this convention. I realize the delegates are pretty well sick and tired of listening to jurisdictional disputes, and I am going to make my remarks very brief.

The actions taken at the previous conventions were to confirm our jurisdiction and to condemn the action of the I. L. A., International Longshoremen's Association, and the matter was referred to President Green and the Executive Council, to protect the jurisdiction of our organization, and to make every effort to have the International Longshoremen's Association keep within its own jurisdiction. I will read to you from the action of the Houston convention, which is contained in the report of the Committee on Adjustment. Their report is:

"Your committee finds that at the Denver convention it confirmed the facts as to the jurisdiction rights of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

"Your committee wishes again to confirm this. It condemns and disapproves the trespassing on these rights by the International Longshoremen's Association.

"We believe that President Green and the Executive Council should continue their efforts to protect the jurisdiction of this organization, and use every effort to compel the International Longshoremen's Association to remain within its own jurisdiction and discontinue trespassing on the jurisdiction of other International Unions."

That recommendation of the committee was approved by the convention.

A number of conferences were held with President Green, and also the matter was considered at every meeting of the Executive Council during the past four years, but their efforts to bring about a settlement were unsuccessful. Finally at the meeting of the Executive Council held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, August 7th to 18th of this year, the matter was acted upon, and I received a letter from President Green, which reads as follows:

August 30, 1939.

Mr. John J. Scully, Secretary,
National Organization Master,
Mates and Pilots of America.

Dear Sir and Brother:

"By direction of the Executive Council, which recently held its mid-summer meeting at Atlantic City, N. J., August 7-18, I sent a letter to President Ryan of the International Longshoremen's Association, a copy of which I enclose.

"This represents the action of the Executive Council following the submission of the letter sent to me and to the Executive Council, signed by President Delaney and yourself, dated August 7, 1939.

"I hope and trust I may receive a favorable reply from President Ryan to the letter which I sent him.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

The letter sent to Brother Ryan reads as follows:

August 30, 1939.

Mr. Joseph P. Ryan, President
International Longshoremen's
Association,
265 West 14th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir and Brother:

"I submitted to the Executive Council at its meeting held in Atlantic City, N. J., August 7-18, 1939, a strong letter of protest received from the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, alleging continued transgression upon the jurisdiction of the National Organizations Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, on the part of the International Longshoremen's Association.

"The Council directed me to submit to you a copy of the letter received, which was signed by President James J. Delaney and Secretary John J. Scully, with the urgent request that you call upon those who have become members of your union, but who come under the jurisdiction of the Masters, Mates and Pilots Organization, to transfer and accept membership in the National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots of America. The Council wishes you to do this before the convention of the American Federation of Labor meets in Cincinnati, Ohio, beginning October 2nd.

"I urge you to carry out the recommendations of the Executive Council as herein stated immediately and without a moment's unnecessary delay. I will be grateful to you if you will do this and advise me promptly of your favorable action in this particular matter."

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM GREEN, President
American Federation of Labor.

I wrote President Green in acknowledgment of this letter on August 31st, addressed to Mr. William Green, President American Federation of Labor:

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"We have yours of August 30, with enclosure, copy of letter addressed to Joseph P. Ryan, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, dated August 30, and also the envelope which was addressed to you at the Hotel Ritz Carlton, Atlantic City, N. J., by this organization; said letter being received after the close of the Executive Council's meeting.

"We note with a great deal of pleasure and mixed emotions, the action taken by the Executive Council, especially that part, that President Ryan call upon those who have become members of his Union but who come under the jurisdiction of the Masters, Mates and Pilots' Organization, to be transferred and accepted into membership in our organization. We note also the Council wishes this done before the convention of the American Federation of Labor which meets in Cincinnati, Ohio, beginning October 2, 1939.

"We note also with pleasure the last paragraph of the letter addressed to Brother Ryan wherein you urge him to carry out the recommendation of the Executive Council immediately and without a moment's unnecessary delay. We are most anxious to hear the reply of President Ryan and we trust he will live up to his promises made to you in conferences in your office, wherein he stated that if the Executive Council directed him to release those men from his organization he would do so.

"We are firmly of the belief that if Brother Ryan carries out the wishes of the Executive Council as set forth in your letter, it will be of immense value in organizing the marine deck personnel in the different ports, especially in the port of New York where any number of men have been waiting for the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and have withheld paying dues on that account. They tell us if the Longshoremen release those men and cease their tactics of organizing them, they will be very happy to come back to us. We further believe that if the wishes of the Executive Council are carried out in this respect, and if Brother Ryan will cooperate with us, we can be of very material value to each other in the efforts of securing decent wages and good working conditions for the marine fraternity in general.

Again thanking you and the Executive Council, for the action taken, and with best wishes I am

Yours fraternally,"

JOHN J. SCULLY, Secretary.

Both President Green and the members of the Executive Council, as well as the Committee on Adjustment, have made every reason-

able effort to settle this case in accordance with the custom established by the American Federation of Labor, but their efforts were in vain. Now we feel that this convention should endorse and approve the action of the Executive Council and set a time limit for the order to be obeyed, and if not obeyed a penalty be imposed until the order is obeyed.

With reference to the several statements made by President Ryan, referring to the hearings of the Committee on Adjustment, we believe for the most part it is built up on suppositions, and we are entering a general denial of same. His information comes from men on his payroll and not from the men concerned. We have furnished President Green with any number of protests coming from our members who were coerced into joining the International Longshoremen's Association. They were told by representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association that our Federation membership card is not recognized and they must join the International Longshoremen's Association if they want to continue to work on their jobs, where in they tow boats loaded with freight to the various steamship piers. A number of others are employed on what is known as steam lighters which are used principally to carry small lots of freight to different piers for quick delivery. Our men who navigate these boats are told that they will not be permitted to discharge the freight until they take out membership cards in the International Longshoremen's Association.

Our membership employed on self-propelled vessels on inland waters in the locals of our organization in the various ports cannot understand why two national organizations within the American Federation of Labor, where each has its own jurisdiction, should be in conflict. Neither can the employers understand where we had men under a satisfactory contract with them why the International Longshoremen's Association, a sister organization in the American Federation of Labor should step in and break up our contract and substitute a contract of their own covering the men over which we hold jurisdiction in the A. F. of L.

Because of this confusion and uncertainty there are a large number of men who are paying no dues and standing on the sidelines

waiting for this matter to be straightened out, and there are a number of others who are carrying two cards, one in the International Longshoremen's Association and the other in our organization. Several of our locals, because of the loss of dues are in a critical condition and praying for relief.

So we are requesting the delegates at this convention to support the action of the Executive Council and to direct the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association to obey the orders of the Council within a given time—we would suggest sixty days—and that a suitable penalty be imposed until the order is obeyed. President Ryan has stated at various hearings if he was ordered by the A. F. of L. to release our men he would do so.

President Green: Are there further remarks? President Ryan of the International Longshoremen's Association.

Delegate Joseph P. Ryan, Longshoremen's Association: President Green and delegates to this convention, I realize the time of adjournment is drawing to a close, and any extended remarks by me at this time may detain you men from making your reservations to get out of the city. At the same time, the fact you have remained here until the closing session warrants that you should know just a little bit more about this matter than we have divulged in the four previous sessions of this convention.

We are satisfied with the report of the committee, as we have been in the past. The report of the committee is we be instructed to cooperate with the national organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots, and that is the same as we are doing, without instructions, cooperating with any branch of the American Federation of Labor with whom we come in contact. At the same time you will note at the three previous conventions we have been condemned for our action, and we have never offered any excuse for those actions. We have felt we did encroach on the jurisdiction of the Masters, Mates and Pilots, while there were extenuating circumstances with which the membership of the Masters, Mates and Pilots were familiar.

I might say in the 1936 convention in Tampa—I was not present, but our organiza-

tion was represented by Brother Dwyer of the Gulf Coast. The reason I was not present was because I, as President, was leading the fight against dual unionism in New York at that time. At that convention we were condemned, and I think condemned unjustly due to the fact the Masters, Mates and Pilots had presented—I won't say false evidence, but certainly did not present all the facts in the case.

In the succeeding convention we have stood for this condemnation from the delegates, and to avoid boring you with detail, I will say this is not an ordinary jurisdictional raid on membership of another organization.

Despite the fact you are bothered with other problems of your own, which you are anxious to have decided here, I believe if I took the time, or if this report had been made at an earlier session, I would have taken the time to give you a true picture of what our organization has been up against since the National Maritime Union of the C. I. O. took over the membership of the National Seamen's Union in the port of New York and other Atlantic ports. Even previous to that, since 1934 the C. I. O. did not get very strong until after the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor, but previous to that there was a secession movement in the ranks of the national Seamen's Union, which was successful in disrupting that great organization, as a result of which the Seamen of the United States and Canada are now represented at this Federation under a different name than that grand old organization, International Seamen's Union.

I could tell you the history of our organization. Those of you who have followed the records, and some of the delegates in attendance, know that Dan Keefe, the first President of our organization and O'Connor, the second President of our organization were Licensed tugmen, so we are and still claim to have some connection with that branch of the American Federation of Labor. We have a delegate to this convention who would be glad to take the floor and discuss it, President Gerrard of the Licensed tugmen, and they have been affiliated with our International since 1902. The Masters, Mates and Pilots received their International charter somewhere around 1917. I am going to ask

to incorporate some of these papers so that those reading the records of this convention will know some of our side of the case. I won't burden you now by reading those communications. I believe the Masters, Mates and Pilots will trust me not to inject anything in there with which they are not familiar. They have been read before the Executive Council and read before the Adjustment Committee, and they have copies of them.

One of those communications is a copy of an agreement entered into in 1918 after Masters, Mates and Pilots had received their International charter from our organization, at which time men who had been members of our organization since 1902 under the title of Licensed tugmen, were turned over to the Masters, Mates and Pilots, a new organization that had been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I don't know why President O'Connor and the Executive Council of the International Longshoremen's Association permitted a charter to be granted for the Masters, Mates and Pilots when they already had the men on the Great Lakes, masters, mates and pilots up there in the American Federation of Labor, but I assume there was good and sufficient reason therefore; but immediately, one year after that charter was issued by the American Federation of Labor we had a jurisdictional dispute with the organization, and that was settled in conference, and a copy of that agreement is presented here in evidence signed by President Pruitt of the Masters, Mates and Pilots and President O'Connor. Since then the Masters, Mates and Pilots have included in their jurisdiction the Great Lakes, which is none of our business truthfully so, except where it affects us.

In the port of Buffalo, where their office was, desk room in the office of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, a dual organization to the Steamship Operating Engineers, in good standing with this organization, this dual organization, they had desk room in that office of the M. E. B. A. until their membership dwindled to two members, and they could not even afford to have desk room in this dual organization to the American Federation of Labor.

President Gerrard of the licensed tugman, testified before the Adjustment Committee

meeting last Tuesday that a representative of the Masters, Mates and Pilots has visited every port on the Great Lakes lately where the Licensed Tugmen's Association, a member of our organization, an affiliate of our organization, have agreements with Great Lake's tugs, and have endeavored to turn those men back in the Masters, Mates and Pilots' organization where they are neglecting the men, and exceeding the jurisdiction granted by President Pruitt and O'Connor.

Coming into the situation in 1934—and I am not going to give you any of the details from 1934 to 1939—coming into the situation at that time we find there no fault of ours, our organization. We have received the best cooperation from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters since the Joint Council of the Teamsters and the District Council of the Longshoremen in the report in 1916 entered into an affiliation. Both organizations have benefited there from, without any assistance from the American Federation of Labor except the comforting knowledge that at all times they have been standing behind your back, if you need them. We have been able to secure agreements with tug steamship companies operating in the North Atlantic and the South Atlantic and Gulf,—would have been able to do it on the Pacific Coast if that membership did not at all times believe they should follow leadership that is not in accord with principles of the American Federation of Labor.

So, as I say, we had no fight in 1934 on our hands, when the secession movement was taken to break up the International Seamen's Union. We cooperated with the International Seamen's Union in that strife. One of the seceding members told me at a wage scale conference of our organization that the International Seamen's Union was ripe to fall into the hands of Communists, and he was going where his bread was buttered.

The twenty-seven members who had been expelled under the rules of the International Seamen's Union for practically mutiny were protected and supported by that shrew, Madam Perkins. She protected Curran in 1927 against the International Seamen's Union. So the International Maritime Union is now representing the vast majority of the Seamen

who should be in the American Federation of Labor.

We went into that fight. We fought the Seamen's rank and file, now known as the National Maritime Union; we fought Madam Perkins; we fought the National Labor Relations Board, we fought John Lewis when he stepped into the picture and told me that he was going to get me because I was President of the Central Labor Council in Greater New York and vicinity. I had carried out the mandates of the conference held right in this hall in Cincinnati some two years ago when the breach was declared open forever and the C. I. O. organization should get out of the Central Body.

I say it wasn't enough to fight all the others,—we still had to fight the Masters, Mates and Pilots. Their men went on the picket lines, and this matter has been presented to your Executive Council but never mentioned on the floor of the convention, because we don't want to take our fights out in the open and thereby render support to those who are trying to vilify us.

But the "Whereas" they struck out, when I demanded before the Adjustment Committee, last Tuesday, that they either delete that last "Whereas" or we will be paid by the steamship companies to keep this fight up amongst us, they say that may be stricken from the records of the convention report, but nevertheless the first day's copies of these proceedings are already in the hands of the enemy,—I suppose they have a copy of it in the C. I. O. convention at San Francisco now.

So these Masters, Mates and Pilots, with the banner of the American Federation of Labor, walked alongside of the pickets of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, the American Radio Telegraphers' Association pickets, unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and in spite of that the Longshoremen went through those picket lines and worked with the International Seamen's Union.

Then Mr. Delaney, President of the Masters, Mates and Pilots, in conjunction with Mr. Brown, President of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, met in Washington and authorized the strike of the M. E. B. A. and the Masters, Mates and Pilots,

and the New York papers carried the news lead, "Ryan tries to walk his pickets through in New York and Baltimore and Hampton." Now, it was an A. F. of L. strike I had sanctioned. That is how much President Delaney knows about the procedure of the A. F. of L. I am not going into the details that have been presented to the Executive Council or the Adjustment Committee, but I do say that the Masters, Mates and Pilots will have to admit to the fact that the National Maritime Union has controlled the ship personnel until the Seafarers' International Union you chartered at your last convention, who were in control of the situation on the Pacific Coast, and they will testify here, if you want them to do it.—Brother Dushane is here. Through our cooperation, they are making headway on the Atlantic and the Gulf. As I say, the Masters, Mates and Pilots may be in position, due to the fact the majority of the ships' personnel are members of the C. I. O., and only one master and mate and a few licensed men on the ship, that they must keep their mouths shut, they may have to go along with the Maritime Union. Still in spite of that we have felt they were forced to go along, and we have been reasonable with them, and yet in every convention they have vilified us.

I can tell you of the picture of where the Masters, Mates and Pilots' business agent, on the Pacific Coast, in either Oregon or Seattle, is also the business agent of the Marine Engineers' Association.

Brother Scully says he hopes it is settled at this convention. It won't be settled at this convention because we cannot drag those men back. We hope it will be settled in conference between now and next convention, and if it is not, you are going to vote on the question of whether or not a jurisdiction is going to be taken away from them and turned over to some other organization that will carry out the policies of the American Federation of Labor.

We have another letter here from the Seafood Workers' organization, a federal union chartered by this American Federation of Labor. It is a copy of a letter sent to President Green. It is, therefore, official. It was read before your Adjustment Committee the other day, where certainly a man who isn't on our payroll, as Captain Scully has

stated, a representative of that organization testified the Masters, Mates and Pilots went in and broke a strike and rendered aid and supported and worked with the C. I. O. crew of four of five ships that were going to take the members of the Federal Union out on these ships, fishing trips of many months' duration, and worked with the C. I. O. crew in preference to working with the Seafood Workers.

We could discuss this from now until Monday morning if the other side wished to produce the evidence here. In the committee's report we are instructed to cooperate. They should also be instructed to cooperate with the other organization.

Let me give you the picture of the men we are asked to turn back, and which I and my associates have made every honest effort to force them to go back,—if they left their organization within the last two or three years we should send them back. I am talking about the Port of New York,—the Pacific Coast and the South we will leave out,—I have described something about that. These men left the association over which the A. F. of L. gave jurisdiction, they left that under the leadership of Captain William Maher, one of the leaders in the secession movement. We tried to help the Masters, Mates and Pilots at that time to drive the bunch back in. For seventeen or eighteen years every man on the tow boats that towed our men into work, every man on that tow boat, licensed men and unlicensed men, associates of the dual organization, Marine Association, Masters, Mates and Pilots, and when the National Maritime Union, following up President Lewis' threat he was going to get our organization when the convention was held in New York City in 1936 about the same time you were meeting here in this memorable conference, they put seven organizers out to disrupt our organization in the Port of New York. They started on the Inland Boatmen, and here was the Associated Marine Workers,—they are in our organization now, 3,500 of them in good standing, their entire membership is 3,000,—they are paying tax to the American Federation, and they cannot say our organization raided it to that extent. 3,500 men, and I personally asked President Delaney and Secretary Scully to take them into the Masters, Mates and Pilots in a group

and put Captain Maher in a representative position,—I cared not what the title was. They said they could not take Maher in, he was a renegade and could not go back. Twelve hundred licensed men, Masters, Mates or Pilots, thought Maher was good enough to go along with, and their entire membership in Local No. 1 in New York and the other local I didn't know the number—they didn't have 1,200 men in their locals—1,200 men following Maher, and they said Maher wasn't fit to associate with, but when Maher was taking a charter from the C. I. O. we failed in duty to the American Federation of Labor, as well as the International organization, to issue a charter to those men.

We thought they had the railroads, where President Delaney is an employee of the Pennsylvania Railroad. We thought they had them, and it was the Pennsylvania Railroad employes that got a state charter through the state laws of New Jersey, and about to affiliate with the C. I. O., and we took them on. For what? To keep them from going to the C. I. O.

President Green and the Executive Council said to us, "It is none of your business where they go. They should be in the Masters, Mates and Pilots. If they won't go in there, put them out of that organization and let them go where they will." We said, "Suppose they go to the C. I. O.?" And they said, "We can't help that."

We said, "We are not going to let the C. I. O. break down the International Longshoremen's Association the same as they did the International Seamen's Union."

Lewis was making good his threats. We chartered those men, they were paying tax to the A. F. of L., and we said, "When they come back to the A. F. of L. we will turn them over," and President Green and the Executive Council has rightfully said, "All right, we instruct the I. L. A. to turn them over."

Now, we will not work any ship—I had a chat with Foster yesterday—his idea was we will refuse to work with any ship that tow in these men. Olson and the rest of those men are sitting here, and have testified before your committee. In order to throw them out we tow a ship up to the piers and they say, "We won't work it," and we say, "We don't care," and they decline to go

C. I. O. The Seafarers' International Union will admit now they haven't made inroads sufficient to say if we refuse to work with the men on the ships they can man them with A. F. of L. men on the Atlantic and Gulf, and until that time arrives it would be suicide to ask us to do so. If they are chased out of the American Federation and told to get back in an organization they have no confidence in, and they say they won't go back, as they have said for the past three years, I say, hold your judgment and don't enforce the constitution and tell us to turn them back. You will not only ruin us but the Commercial Telegraphers and everybody that is in the American Federation in the maritime industry.

In order that there will be no misunderstanding I am asking that certain communications be inserted in the record. First, the copy of the agreement entered into in the Great Lakes, which defines an agreement which President Gerrard claims they are violating now.

This is a communication from the Seafarers' International Union, chartered by this convention in Houston last year in which they praise the I. L. A. for the support we gave them for not only towing them in on the seatrains ships but getting them an increase in wages, and doubling up with the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association and saying they are cooperating with them and not with the S. I. U.

I have here a report from Patrick McHugh. This report deals with Local 21455, who had a Federal charter issued by this American Federation of Labor, covering cruise on the fishing boats. If you want it read I will be glad to read it or have the Secretary-Treasurer read it and see the indictment they hold against this organization who want us to turn those men over.

The other I have here is an agreement entered into by an organization that we chartered in the port of Baltimore, and Captain Cox came before your Adjustment Committee and said if they drove him out of the A. F. of L. he and his membership would have to go independent and not go back to this organization.

The other I have here is the answer I wrote to President Green. He, speaking for the Executive Council, told me as president

of our organization he expected me to carry out the command of the last three conventions before this convention convened. I wrote and told him why I couldn't do it. We appeared before the Executive Council and told them why we couldn't do it, and we appeared before the Adjustment Committee, and evidently convinced them, I think.

(The papers and communications which Delegate Ryan offered for the record are as follows:)

AGREEMENT

At a meeting of the committee representing the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, and a committee representing the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association, an affiliated branch of the International Longshoremen's Association, held March 23, 1918, at the Hotel Kennard, Cleveland, O., the following agreement was reached:

FIRST: That all passenger, lumber and freight boats, including both freight and passenger ferry boats on regular routes, shall acknowledge the jurisdiction of the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots.

SECOND: That all Captains and Engineers on harbor towing, dredging and fishing tugs, and tug engaged in public improvement work, shall be considered as under the jurisdiction of the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association.

THIRD: That all Captains and Mates on sand suckers, lighters and fuel boats, come under the jurisdiction of the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association.

FOURTH: It was further agreed that in the event of a dispute arising in connection with the jurisdictional rights of either of the organizations who are a party to this agreement, that a meeting of the representatives of same will be called and such dispute settled.

SIGNED FOR AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS:

John H. Pruitt, National President
John C. Strain, Lake Business Manager
John McSweeney, Lake Secretary-Treasurer

SIGNED FOR LICENSED TUGMEN'S PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, I. L. A.

George P. Freitas, Alex Langto
H. H. Vroman, Grand Secretary
Ralph B. Millard
T. V. O'Connor.

April 6th, 1939.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

On March 29th of this year the Seafarers' International Union of North America struck

the three vessels owned and operated by the Seatrain Lines, Inc., of New York. With a splendid display of unity, the Atlantic District of the S.I.U. tied up the one vessel laying here in New York, while a simultaneous tie-up of the other two Seatrain ships took place in New Orleans, under the jurisdiction of the Gulf District, S.I.U.N.A. The entire strike was motivated by the insistent demands of our membership, both here and in the Gulf District, for higher wages and improved working conditions.

In this strike the Seafarers' International Union received the fullest support and complete co-operation of the International Longshoremen's Association, headed by Joseph P. Ryan, President of the I.L.A., and of the Marine Division, Local 333 of the I.L.A., represented by Captain William Bradley.

Meanwhile however, after the Seafarers' International Union had tied up these ships and the I.L.A. had already evidenced its solid support, the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots (A.F.L.) and the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (C.I.O.) decided to join the strike in an effort to secure their own particular demands. Finally Local 15 of the Masters, Mates and Pilots in New Orleans sent a representative to New York to investigate the situation in behalf of his local. At a conference in the Masters, Mates and Pilots office, attended by most parties concerned, a most illuminating incident occurred. Captain Pincheon, representing the Masters, Mates and Pilots as one of their national officers, stated baldly in the presence of Patrick Ryan, A.F.L. General Organizer, myself, and several others, that he (Capt. Pincheon) and Mr. Traynor, representing the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (C.I.O.), had come to a complete agreement in this strike and that they had already agreed to work hand-in-hand in the matter.

Immediately upon hearing of this co-operative agreement between the M.M.&P. (A.F.L.) and the MEBA (C.I.O.), I demanded to know precisely where the Seafarers' International stood in the matter inasmuch as we struck the ships first and thus put ourselves out on the limb before either the M.M.&P. or the MEBA finally decided to step into the picture. To my utter amazement, Captain Pincheon informed me that he did not know that the Seafarers' had a branch office in New York City.

If, as Captain Pincheon stated, he was still unaware of the existence of the Seafarers' International in New York (which, incidentally, happens to be our Headquarters for the Atlantic District) despite the publicity we have received in the past few months and despite the more pertinent fact that we had struck the one Seatrain ship in this port, then I take the position that this man, representing the A.F.L. Masters, Mates and Pilots organization and one of their national officers, scarcely has the interests of the American Federation of Labor as a whole at heart. If, on the other hand, Captain Pincheon was aware of the existence of a Seafarers' branch in the Port of New York, then the mere fact that this man had come

to a working agreement with a C.I.O. affiliate (M.B.A.) without first consulting the actual organization which had initiated the entire strike and which happens to be an A.F.L. affiliate itself would be indictment enough.

I wish to point out further that, whether or not Captain Pincheon was aware of the existence of a Seafarers' branch in New York City, his actions in this entire situation have been such as to scarcely guarantee him either the co-operation or the support of any other A.F.L. affiliate in the maritime field in the future.

It is my sincere request that you look into this matter in an endeavor to discover precisely what position the Masters, Mates and Pilots take in regard to the International Longshoremen's Association and the Seafarers' International Union as a whole inasmuch as the activities of the M.M.&P. in the past would seem to indicate a closer co-operation between the latter organization and the National Maritime Union (C.I.O.) and other C.I.O. affiliates in the Maritime field than with its own brother A.F.L. organizations in this industry.

Trusting to hear from you as soon as possible regarding this matter, I am, as ever,

Yours fraternally,

Matthew Dushane, Chairman,
Atlantic District, SIUNA.

August 12, 1939.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In answer to your request for further information pertaining to charges made by the above Local Union against the Local Masters, Mates and Pilots of Boston, we submit the following:

Atlantic Fishermen's Union, Local 21455, has a closed shop agreement with all Boat Owners on the Atlantic Coast. There are no boats sailing out of Boston manned by non-union crews. This condition also applies to New Bedford and Gloucester, and the Port of New York.

In accordance with our agreement the captains are required to hire and have power to discharge any member of the crew including the mate. While our agreement (copy of which is on file in your office) does not provide any working conditions for the captains, it does definitely provide for mates and the rest of the crew.

About a month ago a new company came into Boston and bought four fishing boats to go to Newfoundland for herring catch. They hired four captains who are members of this Union and as has been the custom for many years, and as provided for in our agreement, each captain hired a mate and a full crew, all members of the above union.

About one week before sailing, I visited the pier where these boats were docked to see about the working conditions and wages covering the men above mentioned. One of the agents came over and introduced him-

self as a representative of the company and requested me to bring an agreement. We arranged to meet on the following day. At that time the company representative stated that these four fishing boats were going to Newfoundland; that they had hired the skippers and wanted fishermen to man these boats. The next day Mr. Ames, the man with whom I would have to make the agreement, was out of town and did not return until Saturday. On his return on Saturday he put me off again and stated he would see me later. I did not press the matter as I understood these boats would not sail for another week. About 2:30 that afternoon our Union delegate called up and said the boats were to sail immediately. I went to the dock and called the men ashore, then went to the agent, advising that our men would not sail unless we had a signed agreement, owing to the fact that this was supposed to be a ten months trip. He made no answer. Upon that we immediately placed a picket line at the head of the pier.

At that time Captain McCarthy of the Masters, Mates and Pilots entered the picture and stated that the captains and mates must be members of his union, and that these boats were going to sail that night regardless. This was my first contact with Captain McCarthy in two years, all of which time I have been business agent of the Union. I had not seen him since we sat in joint council meeting of the National Maritime Union (of C. I. O.) prior to our joining the American Federation of Labor. About three days previous to this occasion, he called the American Federation of Labor office, asking them to arrange a meeting with him to discuss the situation as regards the Masters and Mates in the fishing industry. The meeting date was set for the following week by Organizer Velleman. The next day Captain McCarthy called me himself and asked me to drop into his office and talk this matter over with him. The Masters, Mates and Pilots have been chartered by the American Federation of Labor for the past twenty years or more, and during that entire period they have never attempted to organize the masters and mates in the fishing industry. In the two years that we have been organizing the fishermen under the supervision of your local organizers, that union has never made any attempt to get the masters and mates on the fishing boats into their union, even though our business agent on different occasions asked him why he did not organize them. Yet on Saturday, July 29th, after we had struck these boats and arrangements had been made by your organizer in Boston for a joint conference the following week, he came along insisting that he should have the masters and mates, and that if he did not get them the boats would sail regardless, whether or not these men were out on strike. I reminded him that we had a date for the coming week to talk this matter over with Organizer Velleman of the American Federation of Labor and that if he wanted to organize the masters and mates instead of bothering for a few days about these four men, he should start on the fish pier where he would have our co-operation

as there are two hundred who do not belong to this or any other union and that he then would have not alone these four captains but he would transfer thirty others who belonged to our organization.

We all went into Mr. Ames' office, the agent of the company where McCarthy kept insisting that these men should belong to his union and also proclaiming that he was only interested in sailing the boats that night. I did not argue with him but simply stated to Mr. Ames that these men skippers, mates and crew, belonged to our union and would not sail unless the owners signed an agreement with Local 21455.

The next day the owner, with the assistance of the Masters, Mates and Pilots and the C.I.O. obtained crews to sail these boats; two boats sailed on Sunday, July 30th. On Monday I again called the American Federation of Labor to have Captain McCarthy come to that office which they did. While he disclaimed all jurisdiction over the men sailing on these boats, and said he had no members on these boats, it was suggested by your representative, Organizer Velleman, that matters be kept status quo and that the entire question be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. It was further suggested that owing to the fact that these crews were hired by the captains who were members of Local 21455 that he withdrew his men, allow the boats to sail with the men who were hired first and if the question was settled by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, these Captains would be transferred to the Masters, Mates and Pilots when the right time arrives.

It was further suggested by us in front of your Organizers, Velleman and Barry, that if these captains joined his Union that the crews who were hired by them and who are members of Local 21455 should be allowed to stay on the job. Captain McCarthy stated in their presence at the Office of the Federation of Labor, that he was not going to stick his neck out, that in the merchant fleet his captains and mates were A. F. of L. and were getting along nicely with C. I. O. crews and if he played along with us there would be reprisals by the C.I.O. against his membership. He further states that if the captains and mates, members of our Local would transfer their membership to the Masters, Mates and Pilots, the C.I.O. crew would be satisfied to sail with them, but if they held their cards in Pat McHugh's Union, they would not sail with them.

After the meeting at the Federation of Labor Office McCarthy was on the pier again the following day and recruited masters and mates to sail the other two boats with C.I.O. crews. And I have been informed by National Maritime Union Delegate that the masters of these sailing boats paid McCarthy money to get him for them. Now the seriousness of this situation is, that for the first time the C.I.O. Maritime Union has been permitted to go into the business of supplying fishermen in this port where heretofore all New England's ports and New York, are signed up with A. F. of L. Unions and are

working under closed shop conditions. I found out later that McCarthy and the C.I.O. agents had a meeting with the owner in his office about 11:30 on the Saturday that the trouble started and during the time that he had promised Organizer Velleman to be up in the Federation Office to settle this matter, for the purpose of signing an agreement with Mr. Ames and neither Mr. McCarthy's Union nor the C.I.O. ever had any contract with Mr. Ames nor had they at that time one man on these boats.

On Saturday evening the Captain informed our men, members of our Union, that unless they joined Captain McCarthy's Union, they were through, which they refused to do and they took their bags ashore.

McCarthy's only defense before your representatives at the Federation Office was that these boats were not fishing boats, that they were to receive a wage and therefore they could not be fishing boats, and that these boats should be operated the same as deep sea ships on this coast by C.I.O. sailors and masters and mates belonging to his union. This statement is conclusive proof that he apparently is not aware of the fact that there is a Seamen's Union chartered by the American Federation of Labor composed of 12,000 sailors on this coast, and if he were serious in his argument that they should be sailed by seamen, they should be operated by A. F. of L. seamen and not N.M.U. men. However, the A. F. of L. seamen whom we talked to before shipping fishermen, agreed that fishermen should sail on them. McCarthy by his actions with the aid of the N.M.U. broke our strike. Even though he claims no men on these boats and has agreed to leave our jurisdictional dispute in the hands of your Local Organizers.

In closing, let me state that this situation is a very serious one. If Representative McCarthy of the Masters, Mates and Pilots can continue this method of operating them we will have for the first time in the Boston Port an opening for C.I.O. fishermen.

Our contract expires March 1, 1940; our employers are not over-anxious to renew a closed shop agreement with the American Federation of Labor Unions; if they can see an opportunity to have someone furnish them with masters and mates people who are willing to ship and sail with C. I. O. crews then it means the end of the Atlantic Fishermen's Union.

Local 21455 is loyal to the American Federation of Labor; it has transferred its allegiance from the C.I.O. to the A. F. of L. by secret ballot and by an overwhelming majority. Our membership has made the voluntary sacrifice and have refused to sail with C.I.O. radio operators; if anyone now can make an inroad upon our industry by aiding and abetting the C.I.O. in their desire to take our jobs it should surely be someone other than a man carrying a card in the American Federation of Labor. If the Captains and Mates now members of our Union and employed in the fishing industry properly belong to the Masters, Mates and Pilots, it is our intention to see that they are transferred, but McCarthy's outfit should

see to it that when their men sail like ours, even if they are not fishermen and are ordinary seamen: there are plenty of them unemployed in Boston who carry a card in the American Federation of Labor, and they ought to hire them.

The seriousness of this situation demands that you give your loyal A. F. of L. group a hearing before your Executive Council.

Thanking you in advance, I am

Fraternally yours,

PATRICK McHUGH,
Secretary-Treasurer and
Business Agent.

MEMORANDUM

For twenty years prior to 1937, our group of tugboat licensed deck employees in the Port of Baltimore were affiliated with the M. M. & P. Local No. 14. Conditions in the port so far as tugboats were concerned were deplorable. The M. M. & P. were never able to muster any support from any affiliated A. F. of L. local in our behalf, and conditions seemed to grow worse instead of better.

About 1932 or 1933 an effort was made by the unlicensed crew members of the Baltimore tugs to form a union. They were finally given a charter by the I. L. A. At this time the deck hands were receiving \$14 per week and in a great many instances were forced to work 100 hours per week. In a very short period after their affiliation with the I. L. A. International Vice President James T. Kelly negotiated a raise for these men amounting to about \$18 per week and shorter hours. The next year they were raised to \$22 per week with a ten-hour day and overtime allowances. In both of these instances the licensed personnel were unable to get any consideration whatever, and at this point Vice President Kelly decided to help our licensed tugboat men and he secured for our members a substantial increase and much better conditions. Vice President Kelly helped this group of M. M. & P. and also the M. E. B. A. Engineers in securing better working conditions, then the M. E. B. A. went C. I. O., and from all indications our M. M. & P. association seemed to be going C. I. O. At this point Vice President Kelly withdrew his support.

The tugboat licensed personnel really felt that they were riding along on the support of our unlicensed personnel and we were really ashamed of ourselves. We were told by our business agent of the M. M. & P. that it looked as though the M. M. & P. would go C. I. O. When asked what ground he had for making such an assertion, he stated that our national offices were in favor of such a movement. At the same meeting that the above statement was made, the secretary of Local No. 14 made a plea in behalf of a C. I. O. crew that was on a sit-down strike on a ship in Baltimore Harbor and urged the local to donate \$100 towards feeding these sit-down strikers. The plea was granted and the \$100 was donated. This

was the breaking point. Our tugboat men then made an effort to secure an I. L. A. charter and finally the charter was granted, and then our small group of sixty-eight men withdrew from Local No. 14 and joined the I. L. A. local. Every effort was made by the M. M. & P. and their notorious ally Patrick Whalen, the N. M. U. Director, to disrupt our little local. The M. M. & P. openly distributed propaganda that was edited and printed by the N. M. U. union among our A. F. of L. members.

In one instance the steamship M. M. & P. members were on strike and picketed their brother M. M. & P. members who were working under a signed contract with a non-sympathy clause in same even after our national president had ordered that our contract be obeyed.

In another instance, when our tugboat A. F. of L. members were on a strike, tugboats from the Port of Philadelphia manned by the M. M. & P. deck officers and C. I. O. engineers came to Baltimore and scabbed on their brother members, even though the M. M. & P. local in Philadelphia had been notified of our strike and asked to stay away from our port. (The Conoco Barge and Bethlehem launching.)

In view of all of these unkindly acts to disrupt our organization, with the able support of the I. L. A. we were able to negotiate and did receive a 10 per cent increase in wages, also very much improved working conditions.

The tugboat captains while members of the M. M. & P. had tried for twenty years to collect the tug captains' pilot fees that were rightfully due them. We were unable even to get a hearing on same and were told by our employers that we were crazy. After becoming affiliated with the I. L. A. the payments of the tug captain's pilotage fee was obtained in exactly 45 days. Just think what we lost in twenty years. (\$30,000 per year split between 300 men.)

When our little group pulled out of the M. M. & P. there were only 68 of us. The tugboat licensed personnel in the Port of Baltimore were less than half organized, as you will note by the following figures:

When our group of 68 men came over to the I. L. A., 15 C. I. O. Engineers from M. E. B. A. Local No. 5 came over with us. Since then we have taken in our local 25 engineers and 43 captains and mates that were never organized before, which makes our total members 151.

We have confined our organization activities strictly to tugboats, which are organized 100 per cent in this port.

There are approximately 100 engineers and 100 deck officers in the Port of Baltimore employed on inland passenger and freight vessels who are at present unorganized. No effort whatever has been made by the M. M. & P. to organize these men. They have frequently made efforts to join our local, but were told that our local was strictly a tugboat local. Why is it that the M. M. & P. and the M. E. B. A. do not organize these men? Should they be organized? If so, by

whom? What does the A. F. of L. propose to do with the marine engineers that are in our organization, turn them over to the C. I. O. M. E. B. A. I. Is this the policy of the A. F. of L.? If so I am instructed by a unanimous vote of our entire membership to say to this honorable committee that we are determined to stay in the I. L. A. so long as that body grants us permission to hang their charter on our wall. Such permission denied, the licensed marine officers, Port of Baltimore, will carry on independent of any affiliation.

I was personally told by one of the officers of Local No. 14 just recently that Local No. 14 would never pay another nickel of per capita tax to the national organization of the M. M. & P. so long as J. J. Delaney was its president.

Rumors are that every effort is being made by the national organization of the M. M. & P. to have the A. F. of L. turn our members back to them and when such a move is successful the M. M. & P. expect to capitulate to the C. I. O.

September 9, 1939.

Honorable William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Dear President Green:

Your communication of August 30th, 1939, with enclosure of letter of protest sent you by the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, and notifying me of the action of the A. F. of L. Executive Council at its meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey, August 7-18, 1939, was submitted by me to a joint meeting of the entire Atlantic Coast District Executive Board, I. L. A., and a sub-committee of our International Executive Council consisting of First Vice-President Walter B. Holt and Vice-President Anthony J. Camarda, representing the Port of Greater New York; Vice-President Daniel J. Donovan, representing the Port of Boston; Vice-President James T. Kelly of Baltimore; Vice-President George W. Millner of Hampton Roads and Vice-President A. M. Sullivan of the Port of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

This very representative committee instructed me to draft a reply to your communication of August 30th, as well as a commentary on the communication submitted to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. under date of August 7th by the Masters, Mates and Pilots (hereinafter referred to as the M. M. & P.) and say to you that while we realize the mandates of the Federation shall be complied with, we believe the extenuating circumstances existing in the controversy between the M. M. & P. and our organization should again be submitted to the Executive Council at its pre-convention meeting, if one is to be held, as we would like the opportunity of the Executive Council hearing all of the facts in connection therewith before making a recommendation to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor. Needless to say, I am in hearty accord with

the instructions given me by our joint committee.

In the M. M. & P. communication of August 7th they say you have given them no assistance in the jurisdictional dispute between our two organizations. The Council and yourself know that you have rendered them every assistance and have taken up the time of the Council and committees from both organizations in an endeavor to adjust this dispute.

Briefly, our contention is that when the dual organization was started several years ago against the International Seamen's Union, an A. F. of L. affiliate, our organization carried out the policies of the A. F. of L. to the letter, and rendered every aid and support to the I. S. U. at considerable sacrifice to our organization and our membership. The M. M. & P., on the other hand, supported the dual organization to the I. S. U. by having men with the banner of their organization march in the picket line with not only the I. S. U. Communistically controlled secession group but also with the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (a dual organization to the A. F. of L.'s affiliate, the International Union of Operating Engineers) and, in addition to that, joined the C. I. O. Communistically controlled Marine Council.—At that time President Delaney issued a statement to the New York press to the effect that 'now that the M. M. & P. had endorsed the Seamen's outlaw strike, that Ryan and his associates could not send their men thru the picket lines because it was an A. F. of L. strike'.

In spite of all of this we carried on until the C. I. O. chartered the National Maritime Union, the dual organization to the International Seamen's Union, and the Associated Marine Workers, under the title of the Inland Boatmen's Division of the C. I. O., immediately launched an organizing campaign, putting seven (7) organizers into the field in the Port of New York alone to enroll the towboat captains; the marine engineers; the coal boat, grain boat and deck scow captains; lighter captains and deckhands—in fact, every marine craft that came in contact with our general longshoremen, checkers and other pier labor.

The most significant fact of all was that when John Lewis, head of the dual C. I. O., appointed Joe Curran of the National Maritime Union as organizer of the Seamen's Unit and Harry Bridges of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union as the longshore organizer, he also appointed Captain Pinchon, an official of the M. M. & P., as the organizer for that particular craft.

We have contended that not until this grave situation confronted us, and only then, did we take into our organization a group of men who should have been enrolled under the A. F. of L. banner thru the M. M. & P., but who for a number of years were either members of the Associated Marine Workers, headed by Captain William Maher, a former officer of the M. M. & P., or were members of no organization.

Not only in defense of our own international organization, but certainly in the defense of the marine warehousemen and transportation crafts affiliated to the A. F. of L., we brought back into membership all of the unorganized marine workers in the various North Atlantic ports, and I wish to point out here that in a very short space of time we were successful in disrupting this organization of Associated Marine Workers who had been towing liners in and out of the North Atlantic ports; thus practically controlling the destinies of our longshoremen in these harbors ever since the Association was formed in 1921.

We also took into membership the United Licensed officers, under the leadership of the late Captain John Milliken, who had represented the deck officers on our ocean liners for the past twenty years in spite of the fact that the M. M. & P. had always had jurisdiction over these men. We had been of the impression that the M. M. & P. at least had the railroad equipment in the North Atlantic thoroughly organized until we were approached by the representatives of an independent railroad organization, chartered under the State of New Jersey, who were employees of various railroads operating in the Port of New York and vicinity, and who were contemplating affiliation with the C. I. O. Realizing that if the C. I. O. gained a foothold in any part of our industry our fight would be made that much more difficult, we did charter this group of men, and their representatives, as well as the other representatives of the United Boatmen's Marine Division of the I. L. A., have appeared before your Executive Council, as well as yourself and Secretary Morrison, on various occasions and have told you if they were forced out of the A. F. of L. by instructions of the Executive Council of our organization they definitely would not affiliate with the M. M. & P.

Elections were held on the railroad operated boats by the National Mediation Board in which the M. M. & P., the I. L. A., and independent organizations were listed, and the result showed an overwhelming vote in favor of the I. L. A. Our Association has since negotiated and signed agreements covering these men. We have also been successful in obtaining agreements with all of the tugboat owners in the ports of New York and Baltimore for the men who formerly belonged to Captain Maher's organization, and which the M. M. & P. should have organized during the past twenty years. In these agreements we instituted the eight-hour day for the first time in history on privately owned boats; brought about this victory thru a strike in which our entire organization supported these men, sacrificing other agreements to do so.

At the time of writing the Building Trades Council and the Teamsters in the Port of New York will cheerfully testify to the fact that when the A. F. of L. Executive Council ordered a strike of all W. P. A. projects until the prevailing rate of wages were restored—

when the Building Trades Council and Teamsters Joint Council struck the North Beach airport and called for assistance from our organization, our marine division not only saw to it that no materials were delivered by boats manned by our membership but also placed boats at the expense of our organization at strategic points to police the job twenty-four a day to prevent any materials being delivered to the airport by water. This is the first time in the history of our port that marine and land crafts cooperated to control a situation of this kind.

And, then James J. Delaney as President and John J. Scully as Secretary of the National Organization of Master, Mates and Pilots, sign a letter in which they claim we have issued spurious charters, racketeered men into our ranks and defied the constitution of the A. F. of L., etc. We leave it to yourself and the members of the Executive Council to compare the evidence submitted to you by the Seafarers' International Union, the A. F. of L. Seamen's affiliate, dealing with the activities of the M. M. & P. in the recent strike that organization conducted against the Seatrain Lines, Inc., in an effort to improve the wages and better the conditions of the men, AND, pass judgment on whether or not our organization acted the part of a "racketeer". Our organization cooperated one hundred per cent with the S. I. U. and refused to man the ships until the men's demands were granted. I refer you to the communication addressed to you on this matter by the Seamen's International Union under date of April 6th, 1939, and ask you to decide whether our organization or the M. M. & P. played the part of men who had little regard for the constitution or policies of the A. F. of L.

The North Beach airport and the Seatrain matters I have commented on apply to the Port of New York. At the meeting of our joint committee referred to above, Vice-President Kelly of Baltimore cited an instance of a dispute between our men and a steamship company in Baltimore, where it became necessary to tie up the tugs, and the M. M. & P. sent in a tug manned by an M. M. & P. Captain and a C. I. O. crew to replace the men ordered out on strike by Vice-President Kelly. Vice-President Donovan of Boston reported a similar instance where an A. F. of L. representative in Boston ruled that the men on the fishing boats, covered by a Federal charter, did not belong to the M. M. & P., and Vice-President Silke of Portland also pointed out the fact that the men being organized on the towboats in that port proved a big factor in upholding the wages—the men on the towboats refusing to tow unfair ships.

We believe the weaknesses of the M. M. & P. in every port on the North Atlantic, South Atlantic and Gulf Coasts can only give every possible encouragement to the C. I. O. in their endeavor to destroy our organization. (I might add here that I understand the M. M. & P. on the Pacific Coast are properly functioning and cooperating with President Lundberg of the S. I. U. and with Sec-

retary T. A. Thronson of our Pacific Coast Longshoremen).

In fact, President Green, the situation as described heretofore has become most tense, and I wish you would convey to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, that my associates on our Executive Council and myself would welcome the opportunity to appear before them to submit all of the facts in this case. We are prepared to bring in representatives of the Building Trades and of the Teamsters from some of the North Atlantic ports to substantiate our statements. Let the Executive Council then render its decision before the matter reaches the floor of the convention.

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH P. RYAN,
International President.

President Green: Are there further remarks? I will recognize Delegate Powers of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

Delegate Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union: Mr. President, for the record, I wish to repeat what I said before the Adjustment Committee on behalf of the radio officers in Marine Division, Commercial Telegraphers' Union, that we appeal to our brother licensed officers of the Masters, Mates and Pilots to get together, to sit down and be realistic in this situation with the International Longshoremen's Association.

We, as radio officers, acknowledge with pleasure and with gratitude that the International Longshoremen's Association as an organization, and its members and officers, have been real American Federation of Labor friends of the Marine Division, C. T. U. when we needed a friend. We believe the Masters, Mates and Pilots can find better friends in the I. L. A. than they can by trying to cooperate with the unlicensed C. I. O. organizations, as so many of their representatives have been doing since this fight started.

The Marine Division, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, representing over 1,000 radio officers on the Atlantic, Gulf and Trans-European Services, has put up a real fight for an American Federation of Labor marine industry. Nobody outside of the American Federation of Labor itself has given us more real assistance than the International Longshoremen's Association.

Now, we are closer to the war than many other organizations. Our members have already suffered the strain and uncertainty of

where and when their vessel would be added to the toll of nearly one hundred vessels which have already been submarined. Our licensed and unlicensed brothers are interested in adequate war risk insurance. We are going to have to work fast to get it, for when this country is drawn into war, if that should happen, we are going to find ourselves enlisted as officers of the U. S. Marine Service, and it will be too late. Right now this convention should have before it the united and undivided appeal of every A. F. of L. waterfront and seagoing organization to secure through legislation or otherwise some adequate form of war risk insurance. Instead of that we find that because of inescapable circumstances there is a bitter feeling between a water-front organization which loads and unloads the boats, and the deck license officers who command the boats. How the C. I. O. and the Communists do enjoy that spectacle, and how they do feed flames to the fire so that it may spread, and be to their advantage.

The radio officers who stood up and fought for their lives and jobs against the machinations of the C. I. O. and the Labor Board always knew that the American Federation of Labor was the organization for them.

They did not always find the Masters, Mates and Pilots on their side when they had to defend themselves against one hundred to two hundred seamen and the radio officers sometimes comprised only one, two or three on board ship. But they knew if they got the worst of it while at sea—and I mean physical abuse—they always knew some of their friends in the American ports of the Atlantic and Gulf would protect them.

Let us look at the other side for a moment. If a vessel is manned by the C. I. O., Communist-dominated group, the Master knows or should know that the Communist Party instructions to its members are to work hand in glove with the C. I. O. radio officer. If they don't know it, the United States Navy knows it. Have they ever wondered how it happened that the Rathornbournes and Pyles and Haddocks knew more about what transpired at sea than they themselves did? Have they wondered how it happened that the crews of so many widespread vessels always seemed to take the same "fellow traveler" action? It was because "sparks"

was the Secretary of their meetings, and wire-
lessed every detail to C. I. O. headquarters
in New York, where it reached Roy Hudson
or some other Communist leader.

If the marine industry is to obtain the
proper protection in organizing the industry,
in protecting its members and in safeguard-
ing American shipping, then we can do it
better by having an American Federation of
Labor front, and not by trying to cooperate
with a group which must explain why Mos-
cow is so interested in running their unions.

I wonder what the Masters, Mates and
Pilots would say if the C. I. O. radio officers
had as their leaders known members of the
German Bund? I know the answer to that
one. Well, why isn't the answer the same,
when it is known that members of the Com-
munist Party are in positions of power in
the C. I. O. radio union.

I appeal again to the Masters, Mates and
Pilots to realize this is not a time to be tech-
nical, to get together, sit down with the In-
ternational Longshoremen's Association and
iron this out, and let us have a united Ameri-
can Federation of Labor front on the water-
front and on the sea.

President Green: Are there further re-
marks?

Delegate John J. Scully, Masters, Mates and
Pilots: Mr. President, and delegates, it is not
my intention to make a clothes-line fight out
of this, but there are some statements that
have been made here that need correcting.
This agreement signed by the Tugmen's As-
sociation has been carried on by our organiza-
tion and does not enter into this matter at all.

One of the men mentioned by Delegate
Ryan is not even a member of our union. He
was for a short while, and we put him out.

The Buffalo local, which has been repre-
sented as having only two members, has
150 members, a fairly decent local.

With regard to the statement about taking
in Maher, on the advice of President Ryan,
Maher had a vertical union composed of fire-
men, oilers, deck hands, and everything he
could get into it, and we couldn't take over
any union of that kind. All we could take
over was the Masters, Mates and Pilots, and
we are always willing to do that. Those
other men that belong to other groups could

have found a place in the American Federa-
tion of Labor in some craft they should prop-
erly go into.

In regard to the records that have been
submitted, we should like also to be privi-
leged to put in records to refute those, and
I hope we will be allowed that privilege.

(The following papers were submitted by
Delegate Scully to be inserted in the record:)

September 28, 1939.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Hotel Netherland Plaza,
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Sir and Brother:

We are in receipt of copy of President
Joseph Ryan's answer to your notification
concerning our jurisdictional rights and his
hackneyed and banal arguments, exploded by
us several times previously by date, not sup-
positions, of what might happen. The usual
camouflage to cover his derelictions and de-
gradations against our group are all paraded
again.

We would like to deny each paragraph and
insinuation therein categorically and em-
phatically.

The "very representative committee," so-
called, are merely the pawns in Mr. Ryan's
bag of tricks and rubber stamps, blindly
obeying his dictates. They represent exactly
nothing but echoes.

The matter of the dual organization to the
I. S. U. is merely a subterfuge. The charge
that any unit of the National Organization of
Masters, Mates and Pilots controlled or sup-
ported any organization of Communists or
C. I. O. is utterly false. No officer or group
ever sanctioned any such action. The I. S. U.
held their own strike, made their own terms
and were on strike before and after the in-
dividual strike our men carried on because
we had been denied hearings and agreements
by the steamship companies involved. When
our strike was called, we placed our own
pickets out, subject only to our orders. Our
men watched the International Longshore-
men's Association's men violate our picket
lines under Ryan's orders. Our men had
their own headquarters and ran the show
singly at all times, with no aid from any C.
I. O. group, and opposition from the In-
ternational Longshoremen's Association, a sup-
posedly sister affiliate of the American Fed-
eration of Labor. Mr. Ryan tries to justify
his violating of our picket lines by mud
throwing and raising the cry of Communists.
Hitler raised that cry to gain his gullible fol-
lowers and now breaks bread with the Com-
munists. Ryan and Hitler used the general
term Communist as a bugaboo to stymie all
opposition. It's worn thin ere now.

The Masters, Mates and Pilot's contention
that no assistance was given previous to the
decision of August 30th is just and truthful.
Until that time, endless conferences were

certainly held, but Mr. Ryan's technique was unvaried in each. He carted along a dozen or more men and they shouted and snarled and threatened and so befogged the issue that the status quo was maintained as regards any real help given to us. On no occasion was an intelligent brief submitted by the International Longshoremen's Association. Sheer bravado and bullying were the weapons employed to bludgeon both Mr. Green and the Executive Council; small wonder that Mr. Ryan objects to the only just, ethical and legal opinion which resulted in spite of their imbroglia which deluded no one but required courage and determination to combat.

The paragraph in which the name of Captain Finchin is coupled with John L. Lewis and Harry Bridges in scurrilous innuendo, Mr. Ryan neglects to mention that neither Captain Finchin nor any other officer of this group ever deigned to notice such an appointment nor exercised any function thereof. Mr. Lewis could name President Green to organize the mine workers; he could likewise name President Roosevelt to organize the White House personnel. Being named to an office doesn't carry either acceptance or obligation in association. This thrust is merely another stab in the back, characteristic of I. L. A. propaganda. Mr. Ryan himself was summoned by Mr. Lewis and conferred with him at the same time, but nothing clicked.

Mr. Ryan very plausibly admits that he has taken our men into his dual group which we should enroll. He very plausibly announces that he broke up the Associated Marine Workers. He fails to mention that he personally chartered this group in his fight against us, and after coddling them with A. F. of L. funds, lost them to the C. I. O. and then proceeded to destroy them, but not until they went C. I. O. Another evidence of lying propaganda.

Next, Mr. Ryan smoothly informs you that he took over the U. L. O. under Mr. Todd and Captain Milliken, again spending A. F. of L. funds to support a group dual to ours. He was ordered to let this group go and revoke the charter, which he did when the organization blew up in a factional fight in court and left the treasury raided and flat. Then, and not until then, did Mr. Ryan drop this hot potato. Another plausible alibi shot.

The next paragraph is the greatest piece of skullduggery uncovered thus far. He refers to the railroad employes approaching him, whom he calls "independents." Before he formed his dual group of Railroad Marine-men, there was no such thing as an independent railroad group. A few disgruntled men who were delinquent in dues in this organization, with some others in a similar capacity, obtained a shyster lawyer to procure a State charter in the State of New Jersey, and if allowed to go on by themselves would have blown up inside of a year. The representatives of the Longshoremen attended one of the meetings of this group and prevailed upon them to accept a charter in the American Federation of Labor. This fact was given some publicity in the public press and caused President Delaney, of our organization, to

protest the actions of the International Longshoremen's Association in a letter sent to President Ryan under date of September 23, 1936, copy of which was sent you for your information, and which letter was ignored by President Ryan. This was done at a time when our organization had contracts and agreements with all of the various railroads entering into the Port of New York (nine in all), and it's worthy of note that these were the first agreements ever negotiated with any marine organization and the railroads in that port.

From this point on, up to the present moment, the representatives of the Longshoremen have been coercing and forcing men who should belong to our organization to join the International Longshoremen's Association. In addition to this, in order to add to their membership, they inveigled men to join by false promises, some of which were a forty per cent raise in wages, vacations with pay and other improvements over the contract made by our organization. Through these tactics, they succeeded in dividing up the deck personnel employed and under contract between our organization and the railroads, and they applied to the National Mediation Board and asked for a vote to be taken to determine whether deck officers, over whom we had jurisdiction, would have our organization or the I. L. A. represent them for the purpose of collective bargaining. Due to the very alluring promises made, they succeeded in having three of the railroads vote for the Longshoremen to represent them. The roads were as follows: Pennsylvania Railroad, Lehigh Valley Railroad and the Erie Railroad. Thus, with our agreement abrogated with these roads, agreements were entered into between the I. L. A. and those particular roads.

It's worthy of note that since two or three years have elapsed, the promises made were not fulfilled. As a matter of fact, there was nothing gained by the men who were falsely led away from their respective crafts, so that at the present time, and for some time past, there are a number of men who were formerly paying dues into our organization, who have refrained from paying dues anywhere until this matter is finally settled and the jurisdiction of our organization well established by a ruling from the A. F. of L., and the I. L. A. ordered to keep within their own jurisdiction.

There was another road where the Longshoremen asked for a vote, namely the Central Railroad of New Jersey. The men decided by their vote to still retain our organization to represent them and, therefore, turned the Longshoremen down. This, however, has not stopped them from trying to get the men in this road in their group and for some time, and right up to the present moment, they are still trying to get authorizations from these men to have the Longshoremen represent them.

Another case where we had 100 percent membership in our organization and had a contract for several years, was with the Newark Terminal and Transportation Com-

pany. The Longshoremen forced these men to join their organization and they would not permit them to unload their freight at the piers off of their lighters or boats they towed to the piers. I personally saw two of those lighters stopped from working at the Clyde Steamship piers in New York City, and the checker refused to receive any freight by direction of the representatives of the Longshoremen, until they joined the Longshoremen's organization. This upset another agreement which was working satisfactorily with both the organization, the men and the company themselves. These men have approached us frequently and asked what decision was being made by the American Federation of Labor on our jurisdictional dispute and they assure us they are most anxious to come back into our organization as soon as they can be assured they can carry on their work without interference by the Longshoremen.

Another case was with the Electric Ferries Company at New York City, where we had a closed shop agreement and where some of the men were falling back in their dues, and when we attempted to press down on them to pay up their dues, the Longshoremen stepped in and requested these men to join with them and permit them to represent them. While this was going on, they threatened both the company and the men. The threat made against the company was, if they did not abrogate our agreement and negotiate one with them and permit them to represent them, from crossing on those ferries. In this case they also asked for a vote to be taken before the National Labor Relations Board. The hearing was held, and after the Board had listened to the evidence submitted, they denied the right of the Longshoremen to represent the men. After some maneuvering they managed to get some of the men who were employed in the engine room on these ferries out on strike and after the boats were tied up for about twenty-four hours, the company gave in to the pressure brought by the Longshoremen and signed up an agreement with the representatives of the Longshoremen. This was done while we were negotiating with the company to amend our agreement for more favorable conditions for the employees.

It's worthy of note that the agreement signed subsequently by the Longshoremen; the terms of same were refused by both ourselves and the men concerned. About this time, President Green was in New York due to a jurisdictional dispute between the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, and the Longshoremen, and President Green at that time voiced his disapproval of the action taken by the Longshoremen on the Electric Ferries.

With reference to President Ryan's statement about organizing the unorganized. He didn't work with the unorganized; he seized our men, the Associated Marine Workers' men and the U. L. O. The unorganized are still unorganized and have been joined by deserters from all three of the above groups.

If Mr. Ryan was really honest in his desire to get unorganized men, our group and his could have covered the field and each taken his lawful membership without friction. Mr. Ryan wants a vertical union dual to all A. F. of L. groups; his conduct has already proven that.

The allegations that Mr. Ryan issued spurious charters and racketeered, stands. His activity is going on right now despite your orders upon our jurisdiction, another evidence of bad faith and contempt for President Green, the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council.

The remarks concerning the harbors in Baltimore, Boston and Portland are dust in your eyes to cover the fact that the I. L. A. is maintaining groups dual to ours in these ports. The remark about Portland is brazen effrontery, since it admits frankly that the tugboat men are being organized despite the fact that we have jurisdiction there.

In the next paragraph President Ryan admits our group on the West Coast is cooperating nicely. Why then, did the I. L. A. object to our groups there being in the Pacific Federation? Another logical gem from the prolific pen of Mr. Ryan.

We note that Mr. Ryan studiously avoids any reference to his attempts to interfere with the Hudson River Pilots. His agents continue to bluster, coerce and threaten these men into joining his group and have tried to inject unorganized men to secure pilotage by cutting rates. He doesn't refer in any part of his letter to the fact that he has tried to annex the Bar Pilots either, yet daily we receive reports of these depredations.

The last paragraph is a choice revelation of the colossal gall of Mr. Ryan. After your decision has been made, he wants to bring in the ghost again and prop it up for you to reanimate the dispute, but we note he wishes you to make a decision before the convention, since three conventions ordered this decision to be made and the dispute settled out of the convention. A leaf from Mr. Hitler's diplomacy. Get the diplomats together and tell the convention exactly what they must do. This request savors of the Munich agreement tactics. The convention knew its mind three times and will undoubtedly have the same conviction again. Mr. Green and the Executive Council have followed the convention's mandate and are now expected to reverse themselves because the decision isn't to Mr. Ryan's liking, despite the fact that Mr. Ryan announced repeatedly that as soon as a decision was made, he'd be governed thereby.

His letter indicates that he'd govern himself by the decision he favored, which is not the one your honorable body rendered.

Fraternally yours,

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION
MASTERS, MATES AND
PILOTS OF AMERICA.

_____, Secretary.

A RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, At a conference held in Chicago, May 6, 1939, at the Hotel Morrison, at which Mr. B. J. Hogan, President of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association; Mr. R. A. Walton, Third Vice-President, International Longshoremen's Association, A. F. of L.; Mr. C. W. Deal, President, Inland Boatmen's Union of the Pacific; and Mr. Felix Siron, Secretary-Treasurer, Inland Boatmen's Division, N. M. U., Gulf District, were present; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of this conference was and is to establish the means of close cooperation between the three organizations in dealing with the strongly organized employers on the Mississippi River and its tributaries; and

WHEREAS, The scattered nature of the local organizations has recently brought the need for such cooperation into sharp relief; and

WHEREAS, A General Council of Riverworkers has been in process of formation, and has already demonstrated its effectiveness; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED: (1) That we hereby recommend establishment of the General Council of Riverworkers on a broader basis, to include the M. E. B. A. locals on the rivers, as well as other organizations which may from time to time be formed on the rivers, whose problems and interests will involve the Council, and that in all problems involving two or more organizations, such problems shall be referred to the Council.

(2) That National President Hogan of the M. E. B. A. will recommend to the river locals adoption of a specific program to bring about the desired results; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we hereby adopt the following as a declaration of policy of the General Council of Riverworkers:

(1) Questions concerning union recognition, wages, hours, etc., are matters of mutual concern, as follows:

(a) Each group will determine its own wages, hours and conditions, except that in the case of crews of vessels the crew unit shall be preserved as far as possible.

(b) That after each group has fixed on its proposals, these shall be submitted to the Council for approval for the purpose of incorporation in the general program.

(c) It shall be the object of the Council to work toward joint negotiations and joint agreements jointly signed.

(d) When jointly signed agreements are not practicable they shall be made to expire at the same time in the case of any one company, or group of companies.

(e) Grievances arising out of agreements that cannot be settled by the union directly involved shall be handled through such machinery as the Council may from time to time set up for the purpose of settling grievances without unnecessary delay.

lay. It shall be the policy of the Council to maintain and respect all agreements.

(f) Each organization shall be entitled to cast a vote equal to that of any other, regardless of representation.

(g) Expenses of the Council shall be pro-rated between the affiliated unions; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That we, the undersigned, deem the foregoing program and policy vitally necessary for the further protection of gains made and the best interests of our membership generally, and strongly urge its adoption by our membership and their cooperation in its fulfillment, and pledge ourselves to do all in our power to that end.

(Signed) R. A. WALTON,
Vice-President, I. L. A.

FELIX SIRON,
Secretary-Treasurer, I. B. U.,
N. M. U.

S. J. HOGAN,
National President, M. E. B. A.

C. W. DEAL,
President, I. B. U. of P.,
Member Executive Council,
C. I. O.

President Green: Are there any further remarks?

Delegate Fred B. Gerrard, Longshoremen's Association: President Green and fellow delegates—I represent a group of Masters, Mates, Pilots and Engineers which dates back for 65 years, long before the American Federation of Labor was organized, in the ports of Duluth, Minnesota; Chicago, Illinois; Ashtabula, Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; and Buffalo, New York, where there were a group of captains and engineers in each of the above-named ports, known as the Pilots and Engineers' Association. There were no connections between these five groups of men until 1900.

In the year 1899 these five groups of men communicated with each other and asked that a delegation be sent to the City of Duluth for the purpose of organizing one association. This meeting was held in the City of Duluth the week of January 20, 1900, and the delegates formed what is now known, and was known then, as the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association of America.

What is the word "America"? Some suburb of Cincinnati or some little place down around Lake Michigan? That is the name of our organization and here is the constitution which calls them Masters, Mates, Pilots, and Engineers.

In August of 1902 the father of the International Longshoremen's Association, Daniel J. Keef, who was a tugman in his younger days, saw the growth of this Licensed Tugmen's Association, and immediately set out to have us become members of the International Longshoremen's Association. We did affiliate in August, 1902, and became part of the American Federation of Labor through our affiliation with the International Longshoremen's Association.

In the year of 1917, or about that time, a charter was granted to the Masters, Mates and Pilots. I immediately made a protest against that charter, after reading about it in the press, to the International President, T. V. O'Connor. O'Connor made a protest to the late President Samuel Gompers, but it was too late; the charter had been granted.

The Masters, Mates and Pilots' Association immediately tried to get jurisdiction over all passenger boats, ferry boats, and all of the boats that had been under the jurisdiction of our organization from the year 1901, which concerns we had signed agreements with. When they discovered they could not get in on these passenger boats and ferry boats, and such like, their Executive Board requested our Executive Board to meet with them and see if we couldn't sit down around the table and settle the jurisdictions of these two organizations. In the first place, we take the position that that charter to the Masters, Mates and Pilots should never have been granted. We did agree to meet with them and see what we could do, and the meeting was arranged to be held in the City of Cleveland, Ohio, and this is an agreement that was reached between the two organizations. Please pay careful attention to this agreement.

At a meeting of a committee of representatives of the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots and a committee representing the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association, an affiliated branch of the International Longshoremen's Association, held March 23, 1918, at the Hotel Kennard, Cleveland, Ohio, the following agreement was reached:

"First, that all passenger, lumber and freight boats, including both freight and passenger ferry boats on regular routes, shall acknowledge the jurisdiction of the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots.

"Second, that all captains and engineers on harbor towing, dredging and fishing tugs, and tugs engaged in public improvement work, shall be considered as under the jurisdiction of the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association.

"Third, that all Captains and Mates on sand suckers, lighters, and fuel boats, come under the jurisdiction of the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association.

"Fourth, it was further agreed that in the event of a dispute arising in connection with the jurisdictional rights of either of the organizations who are a party to this agreement, that a meeting of the representatives of same will be called and such dispute settled.

"Signed for American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots:

JOHN H. PRUITT,
National President,

JOHN C. STRAIN,
Lake Business Manager,

JOHN McSWEENEY,
Lake Secretary-Treasurer.

"Signed for Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association, I. L. A.:

GEORGE F. FREITAS,
ALEX LANGTO,

H. H. BROMAN,
Grand Secretary,

RALPH B. MALLARD,
T. V. O'CONNOR."

That is the agreement that was reached in 1918, and the members of our association have been carrying this agreement out to the letter while the Masters, Mates and Pilots violated the agreement before the ink was dry on it.

In 1937 a representative of these men by the name of Roland visited every port on the Great Lakes. He would go to a hotel, call up some of our men and ask them to meet him up there. They didn't know who Roland was, and they didn't know he was calling five or six from each port. After they got in his room he told them who he was and who he represented, and he tried to get them to agree to leave our organization and become members of the Masters, Mates and Pilots. When he was not successful in doing this he went over to the Marine Engineers, who are affiliated with the C. I. O., and wanted them to demand the engineers of our organization under their C. I. O. charter

The answer he was given by the Marine Engineers—I give them all the credit in the world—was that they weren't out to disrupt organizations; they were out to organize non-organized men.

This agreement with the Masters, Mates and Pilots does not confine itself to the Lakes, as the Masters, Mates and Pilots have told you. It does not mention Great Lakes in here in any way, shape or manner, and the organization they are aligned with is the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association of America. When we made this agreement with the Masters, Mates and Pilots, it compelled a great number of our men to drop their affiliation with our organization and become members of the Masters, Mates and Pilots.

I can cite to you what happened right in the City of Buffalo this year on the Crystal Beach boats, on which our men used to get \$2,800 or \$2,500 a season of four months. Those excursion boats were sailed by Masters, Mates and Pilots this year for \$1,200.00 for the season. There is the Master's, Mates' and Pilots' Association!

They went into the City of Chicago. Remember this agreement that we have here gives us the jurisdiction of all sand suckers. They went into the City of Chicago, and they have agreements with about eight or nine sand boat companies in Chicago—and there was a letter there from their representative, when I was there, to hold a meeting,—that those boats were under their jurisdiction, that they had at one time had an agreement with us, but they had cancelled that agreement, and at the present time while Mr. Scully and the President of the Masters, Mates and Pilots were before the Adjustment Committee Board here, the meeting held Tuesday, they admitted that this agreement was made, and they stated that they were going to carry it out. Now, are they going to carry it out or are we going to get put out of the American Federation of Labor?

The organization that I represent could not go into the Masters, Mates and Pilots if they wanted to. Half of our organization are engineers, and they certainly have no right taking engineers into their organization.

We ask the delegates to support the report of the committee.

President Green: Are there further remarks?

Delegate Matthew Dushane, Seafarers' International Union: Mr. President and delegates—I represent the unlicensed personnel of the deep water and coastwise seamen on the Atlantic Coast, and I want at this time to thank the International Longshoremen's Association for all the support they have given us.

I want to recite a particular case of where we went out on strike. We called a strike on a Seatrain Line out of New York. Through the support of the International Longshoremen's Association we secured an agreement on that train for wages and also for overtime—something they never had on those vessels before. The Masters, Mates and Pilots at that time had no men on those vessels, so instead of our putting the heat on them, we forced them into negotiations.

Captain Scully just walked out of the room—he doesn't like to hear this.

I sat in the negotiations when the licensed officers on those vessels were offered \$30.00 a month increase in wages through the support of the International Longshoremen's Association, and the Seafarers, when they didn't have a man employed on those vessels that was paying dues in the Masters, Mates and Pilots.

Our intention at that time—and it is still the same way—was to make every vessel coming into New York Harbor an A. F. of L. ship. I sat during the negotiations when they agreed to that, but when the agreement was finally signed, after the company had agreed to a thirty-dollar increase in wages a month, they received only twenty-five and no overtime. That is the reason why the men are leaving the Masters, Mates and Pilots and don't want anything to do with them. It is not the Masters, Mates and Pilots they are opposed to, it is the men who are running the Masters, Mates and Pilots.

Later on we struck the Eastern Steamship Company, the first time they had been struck in twenty years. We tied fourteen of their ships up solid in twelve hours. I asked the Masters, Mates and Pilots at that time for their support. They told me they couldn't give support in the Port of New York because the local was from Boston. We asked

the Longshoremen for support and got it, and tied those ships up tighter than a drum.

In several conversations I have had with Joseph P. Ryan, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, his beef is not with the Masters, Mates and Pilots themselves. I know they sat in the National Maritime Council in New York, a C. I. O. affiliate, when they applied for a C. I. O. charter. There was no opposition raised in that meeting when they applied for a C. I. O. charter by the delegate from the Masters, Mates and Pilots. In other words, they are nothing but fence riders, they are going to go down the line with the A. F. of L. providing the A. F. of L. comes out on top; they are right in the middle right now, and if they ever get control of these ships in New York Harbor they are going to swing them into the C. I. O., because I am down on the water front every day and I know what is going on. That is their purpose right now. They are not looking out for the A. F. of L.; they are strictly for the C. I. O.

So, as far as we are concerned, the Seafarers' International Union, we are willing to go down the line with the Masters, Mates and Pilots providing they go down the line with the A. F. of L. If they don't, we are going to give them the bum's rush.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen vs. State, County and Municipal Employees

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, Approximately fifty engineering employes of the City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, former members of Local No. 54 of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions, refusing to be bound by the action of the National Convention of said organization and being in disagreement with the national officers of the same, have dropped their membership; and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned group has sought asylum under the American Federation of Labor by joining the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and

WHEREAS, All technical engineering employes clearly come under the jurisdictional grant of the International Federation of

Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions according to action taken by the 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct that the officers of the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees immediately drop these engineering employes from their membership; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these same officers be instructed to confine their organizing efforts to those employes allocated under their charter grant.

The introducer of this resolution informed the committee that both organizations had gotten together and were confident they could adjust their differences.

Consequently your committee recommends no action be taken.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Technical Engineers Protests Issuance of A. F. of L. Charter to Federal Labor Union No. 21870, Brooklyn, N. Y., Representing Supervising Professional Engineers

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1919 directed that all technical engineers and architectural workers in field and office belong under the jurisdiction of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions; and

WHEREAS, Fully thirty per cent of the present membership of the I. F. T. E. A. & D. Unions is comprised of duly qualified professional engineers with supervisory experience; and

WHEREAS, On December 27, 1938, a Federal charter was issued to a group of professional engineers of Brooklyn, New York, known as Federal Local Union No. 21870; and

WHEREAS, Four members of said union are known to be employers; and

WHEREAS, The granting of said Federal charter is in direct violation of the action of the 1919 Convention of the American Federation of Labor and trespasses on the jurisdiction of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 59th Annual Con

vention of the American Federation of Labor direct the immediate revocation of the charter of Federal Local No. 21870, Supervising Professional Engineers of Brooklyn, New York; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this group be informed that their "employee" members come under the jurisdiction of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects' and Draftsmen's Union.

Your committee recommend this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the understanding that a hearing of all parties interested shall be held within a period of ninety days, and if the facts developed are as represented the charter shall be withdrawn in compliance with the request contained in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Painters Protest Issuance of Charter By Blacksmiths to Ship Scalers and Boat Yard Workers Union No. 589, Seattle, Wash.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Joseph F. Kelly, James M. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, John Oliver, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers has issued a charter to an organization known as the SHIP SCALERS AND BOAT YARD WORKERS' LOCAL 589, whose principal work is painting; and

WHEREAS, Such scaling is preparatory work to painting and comes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of the Scalers and Ship Yard Workers' Charter is disrupting the conditions within our local unions and the Metal Trades Council in Seattle, Washington; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor notify the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers to reject and relinquish any jurisdiction over men coming within the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

The introducers of the resolution requested permission to withdraw it. Your committee recommends compliance with their request.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Wall Paper Craftsmen vs. Pulp and Sulphite Workers

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate, United

Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, by virtue of the charter issued to the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, gave jurisdiction of all the employees in the Wall Paper Manufacturing Industry to said United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada has infringed on that jurisdiction, by organizing the employees in the Bailey Wall Paper Mill, Cleveland, Ohio, which company manufacturers wall paper exclusively, and which company's employees come under the jurisdiction of the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America; and

WHEREAS, Repeated efforts have been made by the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America to arrange and consummate a transfer of the employees of the Bailey Wall Paper Mill from the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, to the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America; and

WHEREAS, Even though the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers International recognizes and concedes the jurisdiction of the Bailey Wall Paper Mill employees to the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, said Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers have not made any earnest effort to consummate the transfer of these employees, after approximately two years of said jurisdictional infringement; and

WHEREAS, The United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America feel that sufficient time has elapsed since this infringement, and sufficient negotiations have taken place with the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers to warrant a transfer, if it is the intention of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers to make the transfer; and

WHEREAS, Because no transfer has been effected, the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America feel that the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers International is not sincere in its efforts to effect the transfer of the employees of the Bailey Wall Paper Mill; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America International Union goes on record protesting to the American Federation of Labor the jurisdictional infringement of and practiced by the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada International Union, and petition and request the 1939 Convention of the American Federation of Labor to take action at its sessions, ordering the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers to relinquish all jurisdiction and to arrange and effect an immediate transfer of the employees of the Bailey Wall Paper Mill, Cleveland, to the United Wall

Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America; and he it further

RESOLVED, That in the event a transfer of these employees can not be made immediately, the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America petition and request that the 1939 Convention of the American Federation of Labor order the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of The United States and Canada to immediately revoke the charter it issued to the Local Union formed by the employees of the Bailey Wall Paper Mill, Cleveland. We stress and urge that the American Federation of Labor order the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers to either arrange an immediate transfer of the Bailey Mill employees to the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, or in the event such a transfer is not made, to order the revocation of the charter issued to the Bailey Wall Paper Mill employees, by the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada.

Your committee finds that the officers of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada have made a sincere effort to comply with the decision of the Federation, but thus far without success.

Your committee is of the opinion they should make a further effort, and if they are unable to bring about the transfer of those employees referred to in the resolution within a period of ninety days, the charter issued by the Pulp and Sulphite Workers should be revoked by that international.

Your committee so recommends.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Heil, United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers: President Green and delegates—I have the honor to represent the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, and I wish to take a few minutes of your time to speak in favor of the committee's report.

It is of the utmost importance to the welfare of the organization which I represent that no other International Union be allowed to encroach upon the jurisdiction granted to us by the A. F. of L. when it issued our charter, particularly so, when, as in this case, the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers' International Union have been making contracts with a wall paper manufacturer in Cleveland, Ohio, engaged exclusively in the manufacture of wall paper, calling for longer hours, lower wages and other working

conditions entirely out of line with the standard set-up for the wall paper manufacturing industry, through collective agreement with the Wall Paper Institute, and which are in effect in approximately 95 per cent of the wall paper mills in the United States.

Our contracts with the wall paper manufacturers operating union shops is known as the standard form of union contract for the wall paper manufacturing industry. This is a small industry, employing in the United States about 5,000 people. Of these 5,000 people more than 4,000 are members of our International Union in good standing.

When the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers' International Union organized this local union in Cleveland, Ohio, about three years ago, this organization knew nothing about it. As a matter of fact, we had made efforts during the past twenty-five years to organize the craftsmen in that mill, but because of the anti-labor policies of that employer we were never able to organize the craftsmen. This organization had the jurisdiction for both the craftsmen and the workers in the wall paper industry, and the Pulp and Sulphite Workers should have known that when they organized them, and if they did not know that, they could have gotten that information very easily from the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. But they didn't do that. They proceeded to organize these employees in this particular wall paper mill, and since that time, almost three years ago, our organization, through its International Officers, has tried to have the Pulp and Sulphite Workers' organization transfer these employees of the Bailey Wall Paper Company in Cleveland over to our organization. We have exhausted every means to that end. We have appeared before the Executive Council on two occasions. We have conferred with President Burke. We have had numerous meetings with the employees in Cleveland, with the organizers of the Pulp and Sulphite Workers, we have had meetings with the officers of that local in the office of Representative Clary, of the American Federation of Labor in Cleveland, all to no avail.

The Pulp and Sulphite Workers' International Union have freely admitted that the jurisdiction of these workers belongs to the

United Wall Paper Craftsmen of North America, but they say, What can you do about it if they don't want to go over into your organization? We have a standard national agreement for the wall paper industry covering approximately 95 per cent of the mills in the industry. Here we have one employer who has an advantage over this 95 per cent of the industry, through an agreement with a sister organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and as a result of that condition we have had repeated complaints from the employers who have co-operated with our organization, and rightly so, because the American Federation of Labor has been permitting a sister organization to make contracts with an employer in the wall paper industry, whereby that employer is securing competitive advantages over the rest of the industry, which is co-operating with our International Union.

In addition to that, our own members have been protesting against this condition for two and a half years and have sought to get relief through the American Federation of Labor.

I appeared before the Executive Council of the Federation in August of this year, and I wish to have read into the record—delegates, I am sorry that I am taking up your time. I feel that as a member of the family of labor I should have the right to present the case of our organization. This is the first time that I have ever aken the floor in a convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I am just trying to present to you the case of our organization.

I will not take any more of your time in trying to give you the facts, but I wish to say in conclusion, if I may have your indulgence for just a few minutes more, that it was with a great deal of concern that I listened to the dispute of the Teamsters and the Brewery Workers yesterday afternoon and last night. I am one of those who believe that the American Federation of Labor is a free and democratic institution and that it has the authority to set the jurisdictional boundaries of its affiliated unions. I am one of those who believes that if the American Federation of Labor did not have this authority its affiliated unions would soon become a mass of warring organizations, trespassing and encroaching upon each other's jurisdictional rights, raiding each

other's membership, with the result that the stronger unions would overrun the weaker ones and destroy them. We would have constant confusion and chaos within the American Federation of Labor. Such a condition would soon discredit the American Federation of Labor and place it in the same category with the discredited, irresponsible C. I. O.

We must have law and order in the American Federation of Labor, and I am one of those who believes that the convention of the American Federation of Labor is the supreme authority of the Federation and that its rulings and decisions must be respected and accepted as the law of the A. F. of L. by all its affiliated unions. I am one of those who believes that the decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor should be enforced at all times and that there should be no pussy-footing, as in the case of the Teamsters and the Brewery Workers. I am one of those who believes that there should be a time limit set beyond which no affiliated organization could continue to defy the rule or decision of a convention of the American Federation of Labor without being suspended from membership therein.

I am one of those who believes that any affiliated union which seeks to destroy the democratic government of the American Federation of Labor by trying to force minority rule upon it through injunctions issued by Federal Courts or otherwise is no friend of labor and should have no place in the councils of the American Federation of Labor. There must be respect for constituted authority, otherwise we invite and encourage disrespect and contempt for all the laws of the Federation and for the American Federation of Labor itself. This would mean the end of the American Federation of Labor, and we must prevent such a catastrophe at any cost.

The Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers' International Union have now encroached upon the jurisdictional rights of the United Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America for nearly three years. They freely concede that we have the lawful jurisdiction, and yet they have held on to these people in spite of all of the efforts put forth by our organization to bring about a transfer

of these workers during the past two and a half years. And in spite of the order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that these workers be transferred to our organization at the earliest possible moment. I trust that this convention will put a stop to such disregard for the rights of a sister union by adopting the report of the committee.

Delegate Sullivan, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers: Mr. Chairman, I just rise to make a statement. I rise to support the report of the committee. This group of wall paper workers did happen to be in our organization. They have been there, as Brother Heintz stated, for two or three years. During that time we have made several efforts to have those people transferred. The committee's report says an honest effort has been made, and I want to make this statement, that within the ninety days described by the committee's report, if those people do not see fit to transfer, we withdraw the charter.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Maloney: This completes the report of the Committee on Adjustment, and it is signed by the following members:

T. A. Rickert, Chairman; James Maloney, Secretary; Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, Othmer Mischo, F. H. Fljodzal, E. J. Brock, Frank Brewster, D. W. Tracy, D. J. Mahoney, Al. Armbrust, W. R. Robinson, George W. Lawson, William Mohlman, Joseph P. Kelley, Harry Nacey and Joseph J. Delaney, Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Maloney: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Adjustment as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Chairman Woll for a supplemental report of the Committee of Executive Council.

Vice President Woll: Mr. Chairman and delegates—This is a supplementary report of the Committee of Executive Council, and reads as follows:

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(Resolutions Received from Directly Affiliated Local and Federal Labor Unions)

The constitution of the American Federation of Labor directs that resolutions received from "directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals."

The Executive Council herewith submits its report upon the resolutions received from the A. F. of L. Local Unions and the action taken thereon.

Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, Ohio.—By Delegate Walter J. Mason; presented resolution requesting labor representation on governing bodies in national, State and local affairs. Since the convention has taken definite and adequate action on this subject, no further consideration is required.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—By Delegate William Ketner. Proposed regulations for auditing of accounts of A. F. of L. directly affiliated local unions. The Executive Council requested President Green to have an inquiry made into this proposal and submit report to the Executive Council.

Envelope Makers Union No. 20311, Dayton, Ohio.—By Delegate George W. Winget. Requests affiliated organizations to use government self-stamped envelopes. The Executive Council directed an inquiry into the subject and report thereon, when the matter will receive further consideration.

Dental Workers Federal Labor Union No. 21651, Philadelphia, Pa.—By Delegate Bertram P. Herron. Request moral and financial aid for organizational campaign in organizing dental workers. The Executive Council expressed its full accord with the desire to organize these wage earners and referred the request for the assistance of an organizer to the President for such action as time and circumstances warrant.

Fur Workers Unions Locals 21479, 21480, 21481, Toronto, Canada.—By Delegate Max Federman, who introduced two resolutions, one requesting drive among fur workers of Canada, the other soliciting financial support for such organizing campaign. The Executive Council expressed its full accord in the purpose of the resolutions and directed that the President cooperate with all locals' efforts put forth to organize these workers and to render such aid and assistance as time and circumstance may warrant.

Fruit Cannery Workers Union No. 20228, Olympia, Wash.—Requests aid in organizing workers in the canning industry upon an industrial basis. The Executive Council directed that the President make an inquiry into the situations set forth and report his findings to the Executive Council for consideration.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 16456, Milwaukee, Wisconsin—Request formation of an International Union of Office Employees. The Council directed that inquiry be made into the situation presented and report to the Executive Council for further consideration.

Theatrical Agents and Managers Union No. 18032, New York, N. Y.—By Delegate Grossman, requested definition of jurisdiction of theatrical managers, agents and treasurers, and issuance of international charter. The Executive Council directed that an inquiry be made into the situation presented and, if deemed advisable or desirable to call a conference of organizations in interest. Thereafter the Executive Council to give the subject further attention.

There were presented five resolutions requesting the formation of an International Union or the formation of a National Council of Warehousemen, introduced separately by the following organizations:

Wholesale Grocery Supplies Union No. 20658, Chicago, Ill.—By Delegate Harold F. Nelson.

Wholesale Hardware Dealers Union No. 20549, Chicago, Ill.—By Delegate John W. Jordan.

Wholesale Merchandise Workers Union No. 20475, Chicago, Ill.—By Delegate M. E. Stowe.

Storage Warehouse Employees No. 18571, Philadelphia, Pa.—By Delegate Edward J. Hartsough.

Storage Warehouse Employees Union No. 18571, Philadelphia, Pa.—By Delegate Edward J. Hartsough.

Inasmuch as the convention referred several resolutions of a like nature to the Executive Council for inquiry, consideration and action, all of the foregoing proposals to receive the attention of the Executive Council in connection with similar resolutions referred to it by the convention.

Labor and Community Newspaper Union No. 21877, Chicago, Ill.—By Delegate Charles F. Willis. Requested creation of committee to draft recommendations to the A. F. of L. to plan for support of a labor press.

The Executive Council directed the President to make further inquiry into the situation presented and report its findings to the Executive Council.

Office Employees Union No. 20732, Chicago, Ill.—Requested that we reaffirm our traditional stand in favor of adequate financial support for public schools and universities, and urge our affiliated bodies actively to op-

pose all attempts to curtail public education by means of reductions in school revenues. The Executive Council approves of this request and will be guided accordingly.

Jewish Ministers, Cantors Association No. 21585, Montreal, Canada—By Delegate Nathan Remenik. Presents complaint against activities of Hebrew Choir Singers Association chartered by the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. The Executive Council directed the President to refer this matter to the officers of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress in an effort to bring about an adjustment of the complaint presented.

Fur Workers Union Locals No. 21479, 21480, 21481, Toronto, Canada—By Delegate Max Federman. Requests condemnation of the Hitler-Stalin pact. The convention having already acted on this subject, no further action is required.

Fur Workers Local Unions Nos. 21479, 21480, 21481, Toronto, Canada—By Delegate Max Federman. Protests the restriction of Jewish immigration in Palestine by the British Government. This subject having been acted upon by the convention, no further action is required.

United Soap, Glycerine and Edible Oil Workers Union No. 18840, Hammond, Indiana—Expresses itself against any revision of the Wagner Relations Act, such a request having been disapproved by the convention, likewise disapproved by the Executive Council.

Federal Labor Union No. 20388, Battle Creek, Michigan.—By Delegate Russel M. Hickey, Battle Creek, Michigan. Protests labor policy of Post Products Division of the General Foods Corporation of Battle Creek, Michigan, and requests funds and organizer to organize the Post Products Division. The Executive Council referred this subject to the President to render such aid and give such service as time, opportunity and circumstances may warrant.

There was also presented a resolution by the North Dakota State Federation of Labor, by Lawrence J. Mero, calling upon the President of the United States and members of Congress to support the neutrality laws of this nation and requesting organized labor and the citizens generally to refrain from any demonstrations favoring any nation now engaged in conflict in order that we may not become involved and thus continue as a free nation.

The Executive Council has considered this resolution in the light of the report of the Committee on Resolutions dealing with that part of the Executive Council's report under caption of "Conflict Between European Nations," and as acted upon by the convention and reports as follows:

The American Federation of Labor and the

whole American nation realizes that we had no part in causing the present war in Europe, nor can we settle the issues. Neither could we carry out the terms of a peace if we could impose it. Europe itself must work out the basis upon which European nations shall live together.

The American Federation of Labor is convinced that we must maintain neutrality, and we believe this policy coincides with the conviction of our nation. The first step toward unity in national policy is to lift this issue above personal sympathy and above party politics, and to consider the welfare of our country in its various relationships. The United States has its own destiny to work out and its primary obligation to its own citizenry, foremost among which is the preservation of representative institutions and democratic procedures. Therefore we join with the overwhelming majority of our nation in insisting upon neutrality.

While there is difference of opinion as between embargo and cash and carry, we believe the nation is united in demanding that our citizens and ships shall be kept out of the zones of combat and that credit provisions shall not permit reasons for loss of neutrality to develop. Labor must insist that our government remain neutral in spirit and in act; that there should be no extension of credit that would give this country a stake in the outcome of the war; that all belligerents buying in our markets must accept title and carry in other than United States ships, and that our citizens and ships be restrained from traveling in war zones.

We would protect our government and our citizens from entanglement in European issues and wars, that we may be free to maintain peace and democratic ideals; and maintain unity within our own nation.

Vice-President Wall: That is the report of the Executive Council as submitted for the records of the convention.

President Green: The Chair is going to call for a vote of approval of this report of the Executive Council.

Vice-President Wall: I move you that the report be approved as presented.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: You recall that just be-

fore the noon adjournment Brother Felix H. Knight stated that he would bring the gas mask to the convention which he carried away with him from Europe. Now he is here and we are going to ask him to acquaint you with it and tell you something about it.

VICE-PRESIDENT FELIX H. KNIGHT

These things are made for men, women and children of two and a half years old and older, mules, horses and dogs. They have different ones for babies. It is a metal one and comes up over the top with mica eyes and glass windows, and you take the youngster and shove him in there head first and then there is a strap there to bring up between his legs, and then a little bellows on the side that you have to pump all the time.

I was in the public library in the evening getting this after I got there, and I talked to the attendant. A lady came in with twins and she went out with two of these things this big around. These are very simple to put on. You inhale through here and the exhale comes out right over your ear. They may be all right, but I wouldn't want to wear one very long.

Then let me give you some homely advice. Stay out of Europe. Don't go over there and wear any of these things. I am much more strongly opposed to getting into the war in Europe now than I was when I went over there. I was talking to a very prominent member of Parliament and he said, "When are you going home?" I said, "In two or three weeks." He said, "My God, you people get back to America on the first boat that is sailing and tell those people to get in the war. This is their fight the same as ours." I said, "Yeah!"

President Green: Thank you, Brother Knight, for this information.

We will now have the report of our last committee, I think, the Committee on International Relations. The Chair recognizes the chairman of the committee, Brother Thomas Burke.

Chairman Burke: We are now ready to make our report on the several matters referred to the Committee on International

Labor Relations. Secretary Woll will make the report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Vice-President Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

(Pages 218, 221, Executive Council's Report)

The year that has passed has witnessed some important changes in the work and personnel of the Labor Organization. First of all was the resignation of Harold Butler as director, who had served this institution so effectively for twenty years—first as deputy director and then as director. As his successor, Mr. John G. Winant, former Governor of New Hampshire, and long interested in labor problems, was elected to the post of director. Thus, twenty years after this institution at Geneva, which owed so much to the initiative of a great American, Samuel Gompers, has now another distinguished American as its directing head.

In the second place the International Labor Organization felt compelled, in the face of the war emergency, to forego any further discussion of the reduction of hours of work in industry. Thus this world forum, which had done so much to ventilate the whole question of reduction of hours as a means to reduce unemployment, had to recognize that today they were confronted in the world with a fact, not a theory. The supreme fact was that in the feverish rearmament race the first necessity was to increase production of war materials; not finding work for idle men. The delegates voted to refer the matter of hours of work to the governing body for re-submission at a later date. It was an act of wise statesmanship. But one may well speculate as to the date for the re-submission of that question.

With these two items on reduction of hours eliminated from the agenda of the annual conference, the delegates turned to a consideration of four topics:

Regulation of hours of work in transport.

Technical and vocational education and apprenticeship.

Regulation of contracts of employment of indigenous workers.

Recruiting, placing and conditions of labor of migrant workers.

In the first of these items, Daniel J. Tobin, the American Workers' Representative on the Commission, performed a distinctive service in securing an agreement among the nations represented on the commission. Your Committee on International Relations feels that Brother Tobin's statesmanlike service is deserving of the commendation of this convention.

The annual conference adopted two recommendations on the second of the items dealing with vocational education—the one dealing with apprenticeship and the second with vocational education. In view of American labor's long and active interest in the subject of vocational education and apprenticeship, the conclusions reached by this second commission are of special interest. In this connection the services rendered by Herbert Woods of the Operating Engineers' Union deserve commendation.

In the matter of contracts of employment of indigenous workers the International Labor Organization was directing its consideration of problems primarily concerning native workers, and with special reference to colonial territories. While this subject is not one that immediately involves the United States, the representatives of our own country joined with the other delegates in adopting two conventions and two resolutions on this question.

The fourth and last active item on the agenda dealing with the recruiting, placing and conditions of labor of migrant workers is again a problem that is concerned with the continent of Europe. Out of the discussion of this commission a convention was evolved and subsequently passed by the conference.

In addition to the official action taken by the International Labor Organization, an important resolution was passed directing further efforts to increase protection for women workers, to assure equal pay for equal work. Other resolutions dealing with the follow-up of the ratification of the decisions of the

annual conference was adopted; also a study on the establishment of special labor courts.

Two other resolutions which were adopted by the workers' group—one expressing sympathy for the Chinese people in their struggle against Japanese aggression, the other for the people of Czechoslovakia who were so ruthlessly suppressed by the Nazis. The workers' group also gave their wholehearted support to President Roosevelt's plea for an international conference to lay the basis for "an honorable and enduring peace."

While the work of the International Labor Organization comes to a unique and significant focus at the annual conference, the work of this organization in its meetings of the governing body, the research and consultative service of the office continues on throughout the year.

At the quarterly meetings of the governing body, Robert J. Watt has been in regular attendance and has represented the interests of the Federation of Labor. Moreover, the service of James Wilson, as American labor's representative in the office, has insured not only an adequate safeguard for the interests of American labor, but has provided the movement at home with a capable and understanding interpreter. While the work of the Organization is presented through the pages of the Federationist and through pamphlet literature to our members, the liaison work performed by Brother Wilson is invaluable and should be continued. He has helped to lay a basis of understanding on the part of American labor for the work of this internationally important agency that it would be difficult to overestimate.

With these observations and comments we recommend approval of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADES UNIONS

(Pages 221, 223, Executive Council's Report)

The International Federation of Trade Unions, which was brought into being largely as a result of the last World War, again faces the prospect of meeting the new needs of labor in Europe. In the impending wars

sweeping changes have taken place in the world. Within the last year no less than four national centers that had representation in the I. F. T. U. have been wiped out as a result of ruthless exploits of Nazi Germany Czechoslovakia and Poland, Danzig and Memel, formerly of the I. F. T. U., have now been taken into the Third Reich. Austria experienced a similar fate a year ago. Today, even as we meet in annual convention, the linking of Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany in the treaties of mutual assistance and economic collaboration may mean the suppression of other national centers which have previously enjoyed membership in the International Federation of Trade Unions. And yet the purposes for which the International Federation of Trade Unions were brought into being remain not only basically sound, but the need for some agency of international collaboration among the free trade unions has become even more indispensable. More and more it is clear that the trade union is the bulwark of democracy and the sure defense against totalitarianism. By the same token free trade unions can function best only under a government which is controlled by democratic principles.

When the Eighth International Trades Union Congress met in Zurich, Switzerland, on July 5th of this year, it was confronted both by changes in membership and also the necessity of taking some appropriate action to meet the changes which were going on in many different countries. While cordial welcome was extended to the delegates from new centers of the United States and New Zealand, it had to say farewell to Danzig, Memel and South West Africa, as well as South Africa and Greece. But the net gain to the Federation was some six million workers since the last Triennial Congress. The International Federation of Trades Unions mapped out a program of activities to be carried out by each of its twenty-three centers. There were, first of all, a series of studies projected dealing with the problem of industrial councils, hours of work and economic policy. While these studies at the moment will have to be postponed, it disclosed the range of activities which the International Federation of Trades Unions is prepared to explore.

It was on the question of the defense of peace that there developed a considerable

discussion and subsequent sharp division of opinion. For the "defense of peace" issue was involved with the admission of the Russian Trades Unions to membership in the International Federation of Trades Unions. In order to make the position of the American Federation of Labor unequivocally clear, President Green sent to the International Federation of Trades Unions a letter indicating the unqualified opposition of the American Federation of Labor to the admission of the Russian Trade Unions. Robert J. Watt was directed to represent the Federation at Zurich by President Green and to present the letter. After a debate on this question of the admission of the Russian Trade Union membership, the Congress finally voted down the proposal for the admission of the Russian delegate and adopted the proposal as presented by the United States delegate which recommended that they discontinue further negotiations with the Russians in line with the action taken at the Oslo meeting the previous year.

Your committee wishes to extend to the American Federation of Labor and to Mr. Watt, the representative of the Federation at Zurich, Switzerland, their appreciation for the faithful way in which they have carried out what is the declared will of this Federation. For it must be clear to the delegates to this convention that the Russian Trade Unions are not only subservient to the Soviet Government but are pawns of the state. When the Soviets made their cowardly attack upon the Polish Republic and virtually obliterated the Republic of Estonia under pretext of a mutual assistance pact, the Russian Trade Unions were silent. The International Federation of Trades Unions can not compromise with dictatorships or unions existing under dictatorships.

Free trade unions have the privilege of criticizing their governments, and they exercise a much-needed function. The International Federation of Trades Unions wants only such unions in its membership.

The decision on the part of the International Federation of Trades Unions to consult the four national affiliated centers of North and South America, the United States, Canada, Mexico, and the Argentine, about the increase in the number of vice-presidents from five to six is a matter that should be

carefully considered by the Executive Council, and we recommend that the general procedure be followed.

It was the hope of the International Federation of Trades Unions that they might meet in the United States in October of this year. This has become impossible because of the involvement of many of the nations in the European War. Your committee recommends to this convention that the International Federation of Trades Unions be invited to hold its regular executive meeting in this country as soon as the international tension makes it feasible. American labor would have the I. F. T. U. know what it is to be a free trade union movement under a democratic government.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

**(Page 224, Executive Council's
Report)**

At this time of world crisis it is inevitable that both movements and nations should look to their own defenses. As the twenty-one nations which make up the Pan-American Union meet in Panama to build a defense in the Western Hemisphere against involvement in the present conflict by closer collaboration, so the labor movements of the Americas should be prompt to recognize the importance of closer cooperation. The Pan-American Federation of Labor was the creation of the American Federation of Labor. It grew out of the necessities of the time. For many years Samuel Gompers was its president and moving spirit. Its service to the workers in the Central and South American Republics was distinctive and helpful. Every reason that called it into being originally is now reinforced by the events of recent months.

Your committee notes with satisfaction that the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor held a meeting in May of this year; that it explored the effective methods of reorganizing the Pan-American Federation of Labor and establishing a closer bond of unity between the workers in the Western Hemisphere. One of the direct results of this exploration was the

decision on the part of the Executive Committee to approve a careful survey of labor conditions in the twenty South American Republics, to learn more definitely the state of the labor movement in these countries and the best way in which they could be brought into closer collaboration with the Pan-American Federation of Labor. It was the further decision of the committee, when such a survey had been completed, that a Congress could convene in Havana or Washington to lay the basis for a vigorous reorganized program of the Pan-American movement.

Your committee wishes to underline the general conclusion of the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and to point out the special urgency of the present crisis. It makes any effort for international co-operation in the Western Hemisphere a matter of pressing importance. We, therefore, express the hope that President Green will take it upon himself to inaugurate such a study of the Central and South American Republics and carry forward such a program as will make possible a convening of the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor either in Washington or Havana some time in the near future.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee Observations

One of the tragic outcomes of the march of dictatorships in the world is not only the suppression of free trade unions in many lands, but the means that have been employed to suppress racial and religious minorities in one country after the other. Envy, hatred, malice and intolerance have been let loose by these tyrannical dictators and the liberties of people have everywhere been jeopardized. The right of men to worship God in accordance with conscience, the privilege of men to be secure in their property rights, have been ruthlessly set aside.

Religious leaders of various denominations have suffered persecution and privations. In some cases they have become martyrs for the faith. Religious institutions, church and synagogue alike, have been closed, in some cases desecrated—in some cases have even been destroyed. Such conditions do violence to

the standards of civilized society and cannot be suffered to continue.

Religious persecution is a matter of deep concern to labor; for it is either a forerunner of the persecution of labor or in some cases it has followed the suppression of labor. Organized labor believes in the right of all men to the enjoyment of these civil liberties; again and again in its long history it has opposed any denial of these rights and has insisted upon these basic rights as the privilege of citizenship.

Today the refugee problem has become one of the heartrending tragedies. Millions of racial and religious minorities have been compelled to seek new homelands under the threat of persecution and arrest in their homelands. Jew and Christian alike have experienced the pressure of religious intolerance.

Your committee expresses its deep sympathy for all these victims of religious and racial persecutions and affirm the conviction that such conditions are barbaric.

To meet this need the Jewish people sought some years ago to create a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The nations of the world have in the past recognized the just claim of the Jews to re-establish their home in Palestine. The government and the people of the United States have from the very first shown their deep sympathy with this claim. On June 30, 1922, the House and the Senate went on record in favor of Jewish rights in Palestine. Since that time every President of the United States has reiterated this sympathy of the American people. Americans, on their part, have manifested their sympathy and confidence. Thousands of American Jews have settled in Palestine, and Americans have invested over \$100,000,000 in that country.

In view of the foregoing, we call upon the British Government to uphold the Balfour declaration and guarantee to the refugees of an ancient race the right to a homeland of their own. We likewise urge the British members of the I. F. T. U., the British Trades Union Congress, to render every possible support in the attainment of this objective.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FINAL OBSERVATION AND RECOMMENDATION OF THE COMMITTEE

Our Canadian Membership and The War

Shortly after the British Government made its formal declaration of war against Nazi Germany the Dominion of Canada, which is a self-governing unit of the British Commonwealth of Nations, joined with the other Dominions in declaring war against the Nazis. This act by the Canadian Government received the cordial support of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

By this action loyal members of the American Federation of Labor who constitute its Canadian membership are now engaged in this war to put an end once for all to government by violence in the world. Many of our Canadian brothers have already joined the colors and will be called presently for active duty. As these loyal trade unionists go forth to battle in behalf of a more civilized world order, we, the American members of our great Federation, would want them to know of our fraternal good wishes.

Your committee, therefore recommends that the convention convey to our Canadian brothers a message of our most cordial and fraternal good wishes for the achievement of the high objectives which has prompted their patriotic action.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Woll: This completes the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, which is signed by the committee:

Thomas E. Burke, Chairman; Matthew Woll, Secretary; William Green, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, William L. Hutcheson, William J. Bowen, John Coesfield, Edward J. Gainer, Albert Adamski, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, E. E. Milliman, J. A. Franklin, John P. Frey, Christian M. Madsen, Michael J. Colleran, Edward Flore, Henry F. Schmal, Dennis Lane, William J. McSorley, Edward Canavan, W. C. Birthright, John B. Haggerty, P. J. Morrin, Felix Knight, James Maloney, Committee on International Labor Relations.

Vice-President Woll: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole and as approved by this convention.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I just want to say that I deplore exceedingly that this interesting and forceful report has been given to us when almost all the delegates are gone. I believe this is one of the most important agenda before the convention, and I sincerely hope that at future conventions the time for reporting for this committee will be set aside so that all of us will have the benefit of this interesting, instructive and very important matter.

Although I realize that we are going to read it in the proceedings, I believe if the delegates would have an opportunity to hear the report as rendered by Delegate Woll, it would be ever so much more instructive than being merely read.

I offer that as a suggestion, Mr. President, that you find room for this report somewhere ahead during the convention rather than at the end, when most of the delegates have left.

President Green: I appreciate the suggestion you offer, Delegate Ernst. I, together with you, entertain a deep appreciation of the importance and value of this report submitted by the International Labor Relations Committee. However, we must all understand that the committee has been very earnestly and sincerely at work and it did not complete its report until last night. It could not report sooner than that because it could not complete its report up until this time. I regret that so many delegates were compelled to leave the convention before this report was submitted.

The motion to adopt the report as a whole was carried by unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT GREEN'S CLOSING STATEMENT

President Green: We have now received and acted upon the report of the last of the convention committees. That means that the work of the convention has been completed. We have now reached the end.

I wish at this time to announce a meeting of the Executive Council of the American

can Federation of Labor in Parlor G tomorrow morning at 10:00 o'clock. I ask that all members of the Executive Council be present and that those who wish to meet with the Executive Council at that time be in attendance.

In addition I wish, before concluding my remarks, to refer to a resolution adopted by this convention upon which no discussion took place, but which I regard as of very great importance. I refer to the resolution relative to the alleged strike of the Newspaper Guild, a C. I. O. organization, against the Chicago Herald-American, a newspaper published in the City of Chicago. There is no strike in effect at that plant. An agreement was entered into between the employees of that newspaper and the management of that publication who were all members of American Federation of Labor Unions, which provided for the payment of decent wages and for the existence of tolerable conditions of employment. All are members of A. F. of L. Unions—the editorial staff, the commercial staff, the mechanical trades. But this Newspaper Guild is attempting to force the management of this newspaper to discharge these American Federation of Labor members and accord work opportunities to the members of the C. I. O. Most vicious propaganda has been circulated among the membership of the American Federation of Labor and the workers throughout the country. Appeals have been made to our members to contribute toward the support of this alleged strike, and some of our members, believing it to be a bona fide strike of working men, have contributed because the C. I. O. unions have deceived the workers by making it appear that it is a strike of organized labor. It is no such thing. Then, in addition to that, the members of this Guild have gone out and picketed and boycotted business institutions and businessmen and merchandising establishments, because they advertise in this publication.

It has been difficult to follow it up, but I want to state these facts to you and to the world, so that you can acquaint your membership with the fact that this is a fight of the C. I. O. against the American Federation of Labor Unions, and our membership should be educated and informed and advised to refrain from cooperating with those who are

seeking to destroy us. I hope you will do so. The resolution is included in the proceedings of this convention. Officers of national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies, please acquaint your membership with this resolution and help us in our fight to maintain the American Federation of Labor in this newspaper plant in the City of Chicago.

It is with some feeling of regret, a deep feeling of regret, that I announce at this time that this great 59th Annual Convention is about to adjourn—regret because of sad events which have transpired at this convention. I regard the work of this convention as outstanding. That will be made manifest in the historical records of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of this convention will show that we have met every issue presented and every question proposed with courage of the highest order. We have evaded no issue presented to this convention. We have expressed ourselves in no evasive terms, but in a definite, emphatic way. The world knows the position of the American Federation of Labor upon national and international affairs and upon all economic questions presented to this convention for consideration and action.

I am proud of the way in which we courageously measured up to the highest requirements of the situation. I am proud of the record made. The Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention will go down in history as one of the greatest the American Federation of Labor has ever held.

Our reports have been frank and open. We have evaded nothing. A true and honest financial report has been submitted to this convention. We have not claimed a membership. We have reported a membership. The paid-up membership of the American Federation of Labor was presented to this convention. We hear no echo from the Pacific. No word reaches us from the Western Coast as to the paid-up membership of our rebel, rival, dual union. Our paid-up membership is here, given to the public. We demand that this dual movement do likewise—let the people know what they have got.

One of the proposals made by our committee negotiating peace was that a public accountant examine the records of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor and the records of the C. I. O. in order to determine and ascertain and make public the paid-up membership of both organizations. That proposal was rejected. Why don't they make their membership public? Can they forever live on deception and bluff and bluster? The public eventually will know, and then the day of reckoning will be at hand. Labor throughout America and the public at large are entitled to know the membership of organized labor. We will submit it here. We welcome the public accountant to examine our books. We ask these people to do likewise, and if they have got 4,000,000 members we will know it. If they have only got a baker's dozen we will know it also, and then we will know whether we are dealing with an organization which has a baker's dozen or whether they have a respectable membership. You can always proceed when you get the facts. Why are they hiding the facts? What is the purpose behind it? Why this deception, why this secrecy?

There is none of that in the American Federation of Labor, for our books are open, our records are open, our conventions are open. We are a great democratic institution, maintaining that vital principle, honesty, integrity, frankness and open dealing with the membership and with the public as well. It seemed to me that I could with perfect propriety make these remarks at the closing hours of this convention.

And now I must refer to the sad events which took place here. Two old veterans whom we love passionately and devotedly have announced their retirement from official position with the American Federation of Labor. We are deeply touched because of these developments. It reminds us, after all, that the law of life and of nature, inexorable as it is, exacts its toll and it brings home to us a full realization of the fact that the end will come to all of us.

I wish to pay my personal and official tribute to these venerated men, this great servant sitting here, this man who has made a brilliant and enviable record, the one we hold in reverential affection—Brother Frank Morrison, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. For forty-three years he served us, giving of his intellect, his training, his knowledge, his strength and his

life to this movement, and the record made is a brilliant one. There is no stain of suspicion on it anywhere. In fact, the name of Frank Morrison and the words "integrity" and "honesty" are synonymous terms.

Did you ever hear any one raise a breath of suspicion against this man? And when in these days our movement is sometimes criticized because some members of it fail to measure up to the high standards set by our social order for honesty and integrity, and some are inclined to measure our movements by the acts of those to whom I have just referred, I point them to the other side. Here are the men, Secretary Morrison, Vice-President Duffy, who typify the American Federation of Labor.

And my old friend, Vice-President Duffy—I was rendered almost speechless when he sat by my side and announced for the first time that he would not be a candidate for re-election. It seemed I heard a strange voice. It seemed it could not be true, that if he had not intended to be a candidate for re-election, I would have known of that fact before he came here to nominate me for President of the American Federation of Labor. I have served with him for twenty-five years or more. We became members of the Executive Council together, and there we have sat and served on that Council for all these years.

And now, as I look back in retrospect, it seems but yesterday since we began—a man of honor, a man of integrity, whose life is an open book, the type of union man who properly represents the American Federation of Labor anywhere and everywhere. I cannot, nor can you, adequately appraise the value of the services rendered by these two men to the American Federation of Labor and the organized labor movement during their years of official service. I express to them my very deep appreciation of the standard of excellence of service they set. I should like to have the men in our movement, every one of them anywhere and everywhere measure up to the standards of honesty and integrity which they have set. They will always live in our memory, in the memory of friendship, the hearts and minds of the American Federation of Labor. I know of no men who are held in such reverential regard by any labor organization or by any fraternal organization as these two men.

But after all we acquire intangible riches through our membership and our associations in our great labor movement, not material wealth, but that wealth of friendship that endows us with riches that cannot be acquired through any other way or any other manner.

So these two, our colleagues, our friends in the twilight of life, can carry within them the richness of memory—memory of service, memory of friendship, and memory of associations. I know I express to them the deep feelings of your hearts and minds when I say to them that we wish them happiness, a long life and the enjoyment of the richest memories of associations with us during the time they have been members of the American Federation of Labor.

I know those who have succeeded them will give the best of service to the American Federation of Labor. They will be inspired by the example set and they will give us the best, so that after all the American Federation of Labor will receive the benefit of trained men whose hearts and minds and souls and interests are centered in and with the American Federation of Labor.

Now I am through. I thank the officers and delegates to this convention for the co-

operation which you have given me. The discussions and the debates have been upon a high and exalted plane. I wish the world might have sat here and watched us at work and listened to our addresses. If that could have been possible, the prestige, the standing and the influence of the American Federation of Labor would be lifted to a higher plane.

The committees that served so well and so faithfully are discharged with the sincere thanks of the convention.

And now may I wish to all of you a safe journey home, and may I ask you to give to our movement during the coming year that wholehearted support and cooperation which you have manifested here, and let us come back to the Sixtieth Annual Convention stronger, bigger and better than we have ever been.

And now, at this solemn moment, I declare the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

At 5:25 o'clock, p.m., Friday, October 13, 1939, the Fifty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

Frank Morrison.

Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor.

J. M. Ridgeman

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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